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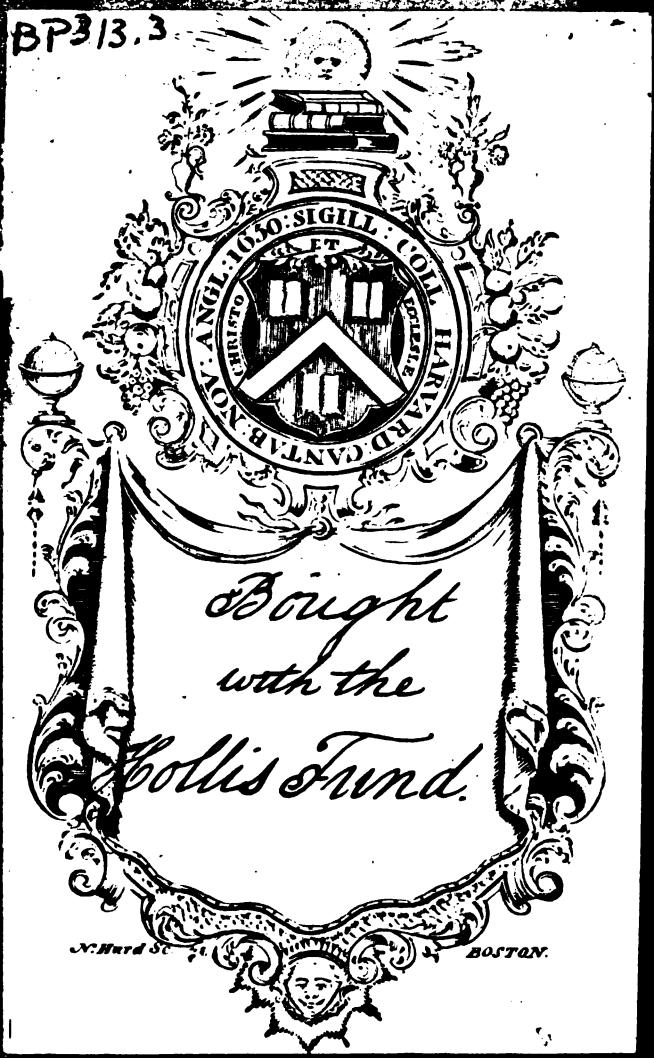
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ART. I.—*Madrid in* 1835: *Sketches of the Metropolis of Spain and its Inhabitants, and of Society and Manners in the Peninsula.* By a RESIDENT OFFICER. In 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley. 1836.

OUR readers may think that we have of late directed their attention so frequently to Spain, as to warrant a pause of considerable length before recurring again to the same quarter. Indeed, the intemperate or the party-coloured accounts which have filled almost every work that has been written concerning that interesting country, since the commencement of the present civil war, have rendered the subject suggested by the title of these volumes, even more unwelcome than mere frequency of discussion could have done. The events that have occupied the attention of many of the writers referred to, are also of a character by no means engaging; and therefore we did not at first suppose that the work before us should obtain more than a short notice on our part. A slight glance at its contents, however, satisfied us that it dealt little about the war or the merits and prospects of the hostile parties; that in short it was what it professed to be, Sketches of Spain, or rather of Madrid and of the people of Spain. Life, society, manners, sights, the inhabitants in their every-day and holy-day trim, and such like things as are always to be seen and studied, chiefly engage the author. He does not spare the follies or the foibles of the governors or the governed. He writes well, and he knows it. This talent and this conviction have rendered him even too fond of letting his hand run on to an unnecessary length, to the overloading of his subject or to its enfeebling. We detect too often symptoms of exaggeration in the writer's attempt to excite a laugh or complete a picture. To be sure, Spain, above all the countries in Europe, abounds with the picturesque. The institutions of the country, the traditions, the feelings of the people, and their modes of living, are far less changed than has been the case with similar things elsewhere. The Spanish

peasantry in particular, are worthy of being elaborately portrayed. They are still a noble race, in spite of great oppression and long misgovernment. Their garb, their bearing, are not more characteristic than their integrity of character. Their quaint prejudices are of themselves excellent subjects for the pen; while the "Auld Lang-syne" memorials of the land have a mellow hue that must ever prove attractive to all who love to cherish the most affecting recollections of the past. Our author is clearly one of these lovers, and an adept at communicating to his pictures the warmth and the raciness of the original; so that though he may at times border on extravagance, he is, in general, in character with his subject, and an amusing, as well as a sensible guide.

We can easily believe that Madrid must be approached, by every stranger who is duly alive to the charms of chivalrous history, with peculiar emotions. It has been said that there is but one Madrid in the world. And yet, we are told, that in nearing its gates, there are no agreeable suburbs to be seen, nor such as generally grace the exterior of a proud city. Miserable hovels present themselves, or here and there a wooden weatherbeaten cross on the roadside, with some stones cast around its base, marking a spot of violence and blood; and if the ingress be by the Bayonne road, it is also said to be difficult to believe oneself to have reached the far-famed "Metropolis of Spain and the Indies," until the wretched accommodation, filthy attendance, and extravagant charges, fully convince the most incredulous of having, at length, arrived at the wished-for goal. With the exception of a very few streets and public buildings, the city by no means relieves the disappointment caused by the nakedness of the exterior. It is not uncommon—to mention one striking irregularity in the grouping of the houses—to find a tumble-down looking dwelling, supporting itself against the palace of a grandee. A similar discrepancy prevails in the style of living among the higher and lower orders. Every thing is in extremes. Luxury and misery, comfort and squalidness are constantly elbowing one another. Certain municipal improvements, however, have recently taken place. The streets are nearly now as well lighted as other great continental towns. Flagways are being laid down for the convenience of passengers. Above all, the beggars, with their rags, vermin, and lamentations, have been obliged to withdraw, a fit Lazaretto for their reception having been provided. The inhabitants are of a cosmopolite-looking description, differing marvellously in language and costume—European, Oriental, and Spanish, all mingling together. The far-famed Prado, it would appear, furnishes the most diversified and stirring scene belonging to this metropolis. Take that part of it called the Saloon—the spot most renowned in this field for amorous intrigue and adventure.

"The young, the elegant, and the mass of the population, assemble here at fixed and different hours. Though much frequented at all sea-

sons of the year, it never presents so brilliant a spectacle as in the fine afternoon of a day in spring, when the deep blue sky of Madrid displays its cloudless vault and surpassing beauty. On such a day, when the flood of population is rolling downwards towards the Prado, following the narrow flagways in two dark lines, and a portion dispersed over the wide street of Alcalà, the spectacle presented by the infinite variety of colours and costumes, the buz of so great a crowd, and a bright and glorious sun gilding every object, is of the most striking and animated kind. This imposing mass of life flows on and increases in volume, until it finally disburthens itself into the ample 'saloon,' as rivers discharge their waters into the bosom of the wide ocean.

"Now begins an agreeable confusion, a friendly elbowing, a volley of 'Senora! at your feet;' 'I kiss your hand, Caballero!' ogling of eyes and manœuvring of fans, an everchanging succession of faces, and an incessant exchange of laudatory or splenetic remarks on each other.

"The rumble of carriages, the galloping of horses, an atmosphere loaded with white thin dust, the battling and barking of well-washed, shorn and whiskered poodles, the shrill cry of the *aguador*—'Berro, Berro, cold as snow, another little glass, who will drink it? Water! Water!'—the little ragamuffin's plaintive, 'Candela! Caballero, quien la quiere?' and the whisking of his burning ropes-end in fiery circles—the low rushing sound of many feet and voices, are all so many proofs of the Prado being in its pride and strength!

"Acquaintances meet and stop in little groups to chat about the ball or *tertulia* of the night before. The ladies kiss one another's cheeks in the most affectionate manner. 'Adios! Juanita! How do you do? Have you slept after the ball? Jesus! I could not waltz at all with that horrid *pesado*, who persecuted me the whole night.' 'Abour! Joaquina! you already know that I love you!' 'Tell me, Juanita, did you ever see such a bonnet as she wears. There she sails along, so proud of it! It does not at all become her. If she thinks she looks like a *Francesca*, I can tell her she is very much mistaken.' 'Paquita! for God's sake, look at that fat *dolores*, strutting about in a *basquina*. Vamos! Some people are either blind or mad. She has no shape at all, the same everywhere. Ave Maria! look, look at her foot, go to. I would rather take the air outside the gate of Toledo all my life, than shew such a piece of furniture, for all the world like a *butifarà* from Mallorca. But my aunt is bellowing to me; good bye. Pichoncita (little pigeon), adieu!' This charitable flower knot is again mingled with the mass."—vol. i, pp. 189—193.

Who has not heard of the language of love which a Spanish lady can discourse by means of her *frulling* fan? It is, says our author, the inseparable companion of the little girl, from three years of age to fourteen, when, from a handy plaything, it is turned into a formidable offensive and defensive weapon, giving a trembling swain an ecstatic "yes!" or crushing a presuming suitor with an irrevocable "no!"—the spreading and furling of the wings of this painted interpreter, expressing all the intermediate degrees of feeling and passion. A Spanish woman without her fan, if young,

is "a fairy without her wand—if old, a witch without her broomstick." If the fair sex be dexterous performers by means of the fan, the gentlemen are equally expert with the cigar. It is no uncommon thing to see one of these lords of the creation striving to earn the applause of his acquaintance, by discharging a column of smoke, first down one nostril, then down another. The organs of eating and of smelling are not alone made subservient to the *weed;* those of sight are also called upon by these men of skill and taste, to perform a share of a vapourish exploit, and to send forth a portion of the blue cloud. Nor is this all; the ears are made the conduits by which many a graceful wreath of smoke is transmitted to take an upward flight, constituting the *ne plus ultra* of cigar practice.

Almost every house in Madrid has its *tertulia* or circle of acquaintance, who meet to spend the evening and discuss the thousand-and-one reports which are abroad. Our author represents the people of that city as being remarkable for their news-thirstiness; and really, if the specimens of conversation which he gives, be a fair sample of their prevailing discourse, the Spaniards must be the most arrant triflers we ever read of. There is one peculiarity, however, in their *tertulian* gossip, according to the statement before us, which cannot but strike a stranger, with regard to such a community, and in a country so governed; and this is the familiarity with which both men and women speak of public affairs and public characters. There are strange incongruities in the human mind. The Spaniards are proverbially celebrated for gravity and circumspection, and yet there is an abundant store of frivolity and light-heartedness at bottom, if we are to judge of them by their fancy for masks, promenading, and bull-fights. In Carnival time, the most squalid beggars pick up a grotesque head-dress, or some filthy disguise, performing all sorts of antics, while songs and unbounded merriment are the accompaniments. Among the higher classes, every house is converted into a tailor's and dress-maker's shop.

"Fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, husbands and lovers, aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces, tutors and pupils, are all in council assembled. Some cut out paper patterns, unravel silk, shape a hat, match ribands, thread needles, pick up thimbles, sew, talk, scream, and try on their costumes; discuss and settle the balls they are to go to, and the subscriptions to be taken among all, so as to allow a change of scene. Now is the precious moment for a hitherto neglected suitor to open his purse and prove his attachment, according to the old proverb, that 'Obras son amores.' Let him lay at the feet of his 'fair tyrant' two, three; or four subscription tickets for different balls; one for Santa Catalina, one for Abrantes, another for St. Bernard's, or for Solis, or for the Theatre del Principe. She must be the most flinty-hearted of all damsels, or he the most unfortunate of swains, if such unequivocal liberality does not meet its due reward."—vol. i, pp. 280, 281.

Every stranger who has sojourned for any considerable length of time in Spain, and who has instructed or amused the world with an account of his travels, has tried his descriptive hand at bull-fights, which an antiquated author, Argote de Molina, says "is the most gentle pastime known in Spain." But we do not, in the pages now before us, discover anything very novel on this subject, and therefore pass it over; resting in the hope, however, that the degrading and cruel pastime, which not very many years ago was deemed worthy of being practised by the grandees of the kingdom, is about to fall into disrepute, according as education finds its way among the superior classes of the community. It belongs to the fair sex to accomplish this reform; for nowhere does woman maintain a more despotic sway over her admirers than in this country of bull-baiting; and were these beautiful tyrants to absent themselves from all such savage diversions, it is not to be supposed that their slaves would long countenance the naturally disgusting show.

Our author's account of men in office in Spain, from the lowest to the highest, is far from flattering. The mode in which place-hunters go to work—the conduct of place-holders—and the routine of public service, furnish topics and anecdotes which are as unworthy of an energetic and high-minded people, as they are grotesque. Take, as a sample, the description of a minister's levee.

"A good hour before the appointed time arrives, the anti-chamber and long lobby are crowded with multitudes pacing to and fro; some in groups, holding council in an under tone and animated gestures; others singly, with their heads down, their finger resting on the chin or lip, evidently concocting shrewd and convincing arguments; whilst a few *caballeros*, remarkable for their free and easy carriage, looking up at the ceiling, and yawning, or passing in review the row of females ranged upon the wooden benches placed against the wall, may be known at a glance for persons who had nothing more to do but to perform the agreeable task of returning the minister thanks for the satisfactory termination of their business. The crowd in attendance is composed of military officers of all grades; peasants, male and female; and soldiers, halt, blind, and maimed. Among the officers, were veterans, with bald pates and straggling grey hairs; uniforms, equally curious for their fashion as venerable for their antiquity; swords and sword-belts to match; cocked hats, with huge red cockades of six inches in diameter—all, all, both men and wearables, relics of old forgotten times, and representations of long-forgotten services, commencing under God knows what king, and of some half a century or more in duration, and pleading wounds and toils by land and sea as additional claims upon the government for compensation. The lavish massy gold or silver embroidery on the cuffs and collars of some of them, mark the transatlantic warriors—men who had for years led the life of the desert under the banners of the captive king, and escorted the millions of Peru and of Mexico to the galleons of Old Spain. Here they

are, as time-marks, to separate the present from the past. Long used to the sight of bars of silver and ingots of gold, with facilities of reaching both, they appear in the crowd like the elders of the east, telling of vanished splendour and countless riches, in the garb of poverty. 'Eh, sirs! we have fought for Spain, the Old and the New; we have been witnesses of her power, and pomp, and gorgeous bearing! But that is past! we are old—we are in want! *Date obolum Belisario!*'"—vol. ii, pp. 49—51.

It is a great mistake, which those fall into who are familiar with the history of the *ricos hombres* of proud Castile, and of many illustrious lines of Spanish ancestry, when they still regard that romantic land as a soil whence a crop of noble scions worthy of the parent stocks, naturally and successively spring up. The Grandees of the present day, says the writer before us, exhibit the most humiliating contrast to their ancestors; and this not more by the debasement of their minds, than the debility and diminutive size of their bodies. Their ignorance, their low pursuits, their familiarity with servants, their want of ambition, and their want of importance in the state, are all topics of regret, and points which require a sweeping reform. The wretched condition of their estates, the decay of edifices, the pernicious character of their agriculture, and their cumbrous establishments, are unequivocal signs of a broken-down order of men and things. The education of the daughters of the nobility is both old-fashioned and ridiculously defective; while their condition is anomalous. Polite accomplishments, such as music, dancing, and drawing, are not yet universal among them. They are taught their prayers, to sew and embroider, attend mass, sermons, processions, and so forth; and they are destined to the arms of one of their own caste and kindred, without the hope or chance of having their fancy consulted. The author has some curious observations regarding the offspring of such unions.

"Many profound physiologists and natural philosophers have attributed the pigmy size of the present race of grandees, both male and female, to the aristocratic and brahminical custom of coupling constantly by castes. An anomaly somewhat singular on this subject, which I have myself observed, has however escaped their notice hitherto—namely, that the hair and complexion of the younger scions of the family, are seldom like those of either father or mother: the former generally exhibiting light hair, fair complexion, and blue eyes; while the latter are black and swarthy, or *vice versâ*. It is the *mayorasgo* (first-born) alone who seems to inherit the features and characteristics of his noble parents. I regret that my studies have not been of the kind to enable me to offer such a solution of the difficulty which this case presents, as would be accepted by my readers as satisfactory."—vol. ii, pp. 106, 107.

We fear it will be long before so many long-established, but ridiculous customs and erroneous opinions or methods, as our author sets down to the account of the people of Spain, can be modified or

suppressed; but till a general reform takes place, we may in vain look for her assuming her proper status among the nations of Europe, or of her ceasing to be considered as a sadly degenerated country. One of the most interesting chapters in these volumes, and one which affords a melancholy picture of the schoolmaster's services, contains an account of the cholera in Madrid in 1834, and of the credulity of the inhabitants, who for a length of time believed that the city was blessed with such a salubrious air, as to resist the approach and reign of any such pestilence within the precincts of the walls of this charmed spot. Reports ever and anon came up from the south, of the ravages the disease was making at Seville and other places in Andalusia. But they scarcely excited a remark in the metropolis; for, was it not well known "that every animal, dog, cat, or man, coming by a violent death, and cast into the streets, not only does not smell nasty, or breed worms, but parches and dries up pleasantly, and retains so healthy and lively a look, as to save the necessity of embalming, which is so extravagantly dear in other countries?" And thus was every person tranquillised, and encouraged to snap his fingers at the blue enemy.

But the cholera did approach and enter the heroic city of Madrid, when the consternation of the people became as extravagant as their security had been. Immediately after the fact of this direful visitation became generally known, our author sallied forth into the streets, that he might judge with his own eyes of the state in which things were. The following is part of his sketch of what he saw in the course of this perambulation.

"The streets presented a singular aspect: here and there knots of people were talking and gesticulating vehemently in the shade of a vestibule; others were passing rapidly on, some with handkerchiefs to their mouths, by way of precaution. Straw and hay were scattered about before the doorway of many houses, symptoms of packing and departure; all sorts of vehicles, from the family coach down to the humble two-wheeled ox-cart, were to be seen waiting for their burthens in every direction. There was no getting up stairs, for the crowd of servants, masters, and mistresses thronging them on various errands—trunks were lying in the entrances and on the pavement, too bulky to be taken, and left to the care of any acquaintance or menial. I observed one corpulent gentleman in particular, who had secured a *calessin* for himself. It was crammed with luggage before and behind; but one large trunk still remained on the pavement, whose contents must have been valuable, judging from the owner's earnest attempts to persuade the apathetic and incredulous *calessero* that it was as 'light as a feather,' 'might go on the top,' &c. Just at that moment, a friend of the departing traveller passed by, and whispered something in his ear. The result was a nimbler spring into the carriage than could have been looked for from his bulk, and a shout of '*Anda!*' to the *calessero*. '*Y el baule?*' (And the trunk?) said his *gallego* in waiting. 'The trunk!—take care of it, and God will reward you!' answered the

fat man. The *calessin* set off at a sharp trot, and disappeared in a twinkling.

"It was distressing, and at the same time ludicrous, to see the carriages full of men, women, and children, crushed in together—some before, some behind; trunks and band-boxes hastily packed, some not even shut, displaying the fag-ends of their contents; caps and bonnets tied and pinned to the windows, dangling to and fro with the motion of the carriage. The passengers in the *galeras* were not much better off. Obliged to stow themselves on the top of the luggage, which nearly reached the awning overhead, the men were too happy to secure their admission by taking off their hats, and crouching themselves into a ball;—the females diminished their bulk by divesting themselves of their combs, and caps, and bonnets—any sacrifice for a 'fit.' When they set off, they formed as unenviable a collection of human flesh as one can conceive."—vol. ii, pp. 345—347.

Few remained in the capital who had the means to leave it, the rest resigning themselves to fate or to despair. The usual sanatory precautions were taken, but still the pestilence raged and reigned. And now, men more cruel than that pestilence threatened many of the peaceful and healthy. These inoculated the ear of the populace with the most wicked and dreadful insinuations, declaring "that the fountains were poisoned!—that the Jesuits, the friars, had done it!" Death to these men was now vociferated, nor was it long ere a woful scene of carnage disgraced Madrid. Nearly sixty unarmed and innocent monks were massacred, and for a moment the cholera was entirely forgotten'; and all this in Spain, during the nineteenth century. It is a striking commentary, certainly, on the progress of light and civilization. The motives which swayed the originators of this base conspiracy are thus spoken of by our author:—

"There is little doubt that it was the intention of the projectors to produce a rival to the *St. Bartholomew*, the *Sicilian Vespers*, or some of those other wholesale butcheries which crimson the pages of history. Had such a catastrophe occurred in a distant province, or been perpetrated by an overwhelming and infuriated populace, it would be more a cause of lamentation over the fierce aberrations of ignorant and savage men, than of stigma upon those whose business it is to counteract their effects. But, in this case, the garrison of a large capital, and nearly the whole of its inhabitants, were witnesses to the absence of all excuse or palliative for the conduct of the persons who were, on that day, invested with the reins of authority. The government was only the interpreter and representative of the public feeling of indignation when, by one vigorous act, it removed all the authorities of the capital, both civil and military, and gave the strictest orders for the apprehension and punishment of all the actors in this horrible scene.

"The troops bivouacked in the streets during the night, and prevented the recurrence of any farther disasters. The monstrous and mischievous fable of the poisoned waters (a fable, by the way, which, with various modifications, found its way to popular belief, and was productive of similar excesses in most European countries where the cholera made its

appearance), died the day after its birth, and disappeared from the public recollection."—vol. ii, pp. 366—368.

However innocent the monks of Madrid might be of poisoning the waters, our author is of opinion that they have done the Queen's cause much harm, by poisoning the ears of the peasantry in the remote provinces where the war rages. And yet this influence, he believes, is possessed through fear, rather than respect. The confessional is abused for this purpose; and not unfrequently has the summons to arms in behalf of Don Carlos and the Inquisition, been thundered from the pulpit. The obstinate contest now maintained in the north, therefore, owes its origin and duration to the ghostly race. Nay, the sturdy monks have in many cases thrown aside both cowl and missal, and gone forth to preach "no quarter" to their enemies; they being, continues the writer, the most sanguinary among the troops of Charles V. But he also repeats the denial regarding the nature of the bond of union between friar and peasant.

"The monks stand precisely in the shoes of rich proprietors, or powerful landlords, with regard to their tenantry. A great proportion of the soil of the country being ecclesiastical property, the resident inhabitants, who are employed by the monks in the cultivation of their lands, naturally look up to them as their landlords and masters, on whom is their sole dependence. They know these masters too well not to be aware that a refusal to obey their orders, or any sign of disaffection to their cause, would be certain to deprive them of their whole means of existence.

"That this is the real tone of feeling of the peasantry in general towards the friars I am fully convinced. There may be here and there exceptions, produced by family ties, when friends or relations have put on the habit; but it may be safely asserted, that the great majority are actuated by such notions as I have stated. Even in the kingdom of Navarre—that classic land of Levites and their admirers—it is well known that, at least, half the young men comprising the insurgent forces are pressed into the ranks; and they are only kept there by the dread of the most terrible chastisement. A man's life never weighed a feather with their redoubted chieftain, Zumalacarregui."—vol. ii, pp. 136—138.

This last extract contains the strongest, and, indeed, almost the only reference, which we have detected in these volumes, to the subject of the present civil war in Spain. We may therefore safely recommend the work to all parties, assuring them, were it necessary, after the specimens introduced, that the whole is written in a strain of liveliness, smartness, but yet heart-felt kindliness, that is highly engaging as well as amusing. In short, the author has succeeded in his endeavour to communicate a striking picture of Spanish character and life. His style is peculiarly elegant and felicitous.

ART. II.—*The Rambler in Mexico:* 1834. By CHARLES JOSEPH LATROBE, Author of the "Alpenstock," &c. London: Seeley. 1836.

A VOLUME which is the result, and contains the fruits, of a three months' residence and ramble in a foreign country, as in the present instance, cannot be supposed to go beyond the surface of things, in so far as the character and genius of the inhabitants, and the national institutions, or the working of the government, go. Mr. Latrobe had not even, according to his own statement, many of those opportunities which travellers frequently enjoy in other parts of the world, of studying the social and domestic manners of the Mexicans, owing to an alleged jealousy which they entertain towards all strangers coming from foreign parts. It is, therefore, only broad traits, and such as may be observed and scanned by a bird of passage, of which he could possibly be cognizant. These traits, however, are indices of a nature too unerring in New Spain, to be misunderstood or falsely interpreted by any person of ordinary penetration; and if not made to head too many or too weighty inferences, they may be advantageously described and consulted. It is on this account, and with such limitations, that the information contained in the present work must be taken. The author has had few materials to dispose of and work upon. He is also, perhaps, not devoid of prejudices of a political and religious nature. He certainly is not an admirer of popular self-government. He even argues that the Mexicans understand not the principles of democracy upon which they pretend to act; that they have not the conviction of the value of education, nor the strong moral sense and general diffusion of religious principle, necessary for consolidating, upholding, and dignifying their national system. The matters which are spoken to as facts, and as coming under our author's own observation, seem to lend support to this sweeping charge; and it might not be an unprofitable task, were one to inquire into the grounds and causes of such feebleness, degeneracy, and inferiority.

It is well known that Spain, in the government of her colonies, was impolitic and tyrannical; but why, since the Mexicans have declared themselves independent, do we not discover in their conduct anything like that patriotism which distinguishes almost every people, who at first find themselves at liberty to breathe freely, and act according as their will and fancy dictate? But instead of patriotism, there is universally among them a spirit of partisanship, jealousy of one another, and self-aggrandizement. A long course of tyranny, debasing though it be, does not necessarily and directly produce this amount of evil. But perhaps in its slow and sure tendency to dispirit, to lower the standard of feeling, and to pollute by its example and by its contact, a universal laxity of morals, and

laxity of principle, may ensue, which is fatal to national independence, by destroying all the elements of that coherence and regeneration, which are indispensable to stability, and to the advancement of whatever is good or great. The simple fact that education is at a low ebb in New Spain, and held in slight estimation, is proof positive that the nation is weak, destitute of mind and an elevated morality, and incapable of self-government. It may not be difficult to copy the theory of government hitherto so happily exercised in the United States of America; but the Mexicans want the materials which that theory requires for its practical working. And here we come to another fact which accounts partly for the inferiority of the latter;—they have descended from a different ancestry. The colonists of the South belonged to a stock as unlike to that with which the colonists of North America count kindred, as is the character, strength, and virtue of the United States, when compared with the condition and prospects of Mexico at the present moment. If therefore we put together the degrading and enfeebling effects of misrule and tyranny on the part of the mother country—the increasing degeneracy of Old Spain, during its latter existence, whence Mexico was peopled anew—and the evils of revolt even when to get rid of a harsh and unjust rule, we may not be far wide from those great sources of weakness and worthlessness ascribed to the character of the nation now under especial consideration. It is really one of the most melancholy and instructive facts the human mind can contemplate, when it finds a country blessed with a climate and a soil of unsurpassed beauty and richness—a country not more magnificent in scenery, than abundant in the most valuable products—inhabited and governed by a contemptible people. But such, we believe, is the truth in its contrasted form, and such, we are about to show, is the representation of our author.

Mr. Latrobe appears to be a passionate admirer of nature—in short, to be a naturalist of superior acquirements. He certainly is a spirited and pleasant writer. He can make a good deal of trifles, for even on trifles he throws out striking sentiments and important remarks. His style is not free of faults, and perhaps affected peculiarities. But still, while it is forcible, it has a touch of originality and raciness about it, which, we doubt not, are part and parcel of the man's nature; and whether it be sketches of scenery, of persons, or events, he is ready, rapid, and descriptive.

It was early in the year 1834 that our author landed at Tampico. Of the inhabitants he speaks badly. He says that, native and foreign, they have the same lust of gain, only differing in this, that the one strives for it by hook and by crook, while the others wait till it drops before their noses. As to religion, the God of the south is Mammon. The Mexicans are ignorant, debased, insufferably proud and bigoted; while the majority of the young European mer-

chants evince, by word and deed, that the lessons of their youth, and the God of their fathers, are alike forgotten. But turn to his representation of the neighbouring country.

"I might be daily seen, after securing a breakfast, which, considering how doubtful the dinner was, was a very necessary precaution, stealing off up to the Bluff, and among the fragile Indian huts. My accoutrement consisted of a good cudgel—a long sharp knife, the same that had operated upon the bisons—a few thousand entomological pins—a bag for seeds, and a broad-eaved palmetto *sombrero*.

"That was certainly a species of intoxication! All was new, except the earth I trod upon—trees, shrubs, plants, insects, and birds. I gathered, examined, impaled. No flowers courted my admiring gaze in vain. No insect hummed in my ear unattended to. If I skirted the river side—there was the garrulous jackdaw with his mates quarrelling in their indescribable manner among the glossy leaves and innumerable stems of the mangroves; the white snow-crane standing motionless in the shallow water, or a flight of vultures hovering over a dark corner, where my approach had scared them from the bloated carcass—not unfrequently a human one. Further, the huge slimy log, half buried in the mud, crowded with terrapins; and the loathsome alligator squatting among the reeds on the shore. I would then follow one of those narrow winding paths cut in that thick dense shrubbery which covers a great portion of the surface of the country in the vicinity of Tampico—a wilderness of curious trees and thickets matted and woven together with ten thousand creepers and parasitical plants, with their graceful hanging flowers, seed-vessels—vines, passifloras, and splendid convolvuli—rendered quite impervious by the thorny nature of the covert, and the rank growth of prickly aloes which form the undergrowth. These were the paradise of the parrot and other gaudy rivals. Here and there, a small inclosure of sugar-cane, and a picturesque Indian hut, would rise on the ordinary solitude of my stroll. I always found the pure blooded native friendly; and a yard of sugar-cane, a gourd of water, and perhaps a glass of *aqua ardiente*, was always at my service. For a whole week I found these daily predatory walks perfectly delightful. I rushed into every thicket, I culled every flower, I handled every thing within reach, and longed to handle a great deal which was beyond it."—pp. 33, 34.

Mr. Latrobe at first went wheresoever he listed, nothing doubting. But it was not long before he suffered for his temerity—and from whom, gentle reader? Why, from nothing less and nothing more than this, that he found every flower and leaf at war with him; that is to say, he found every vegetable specimen in league with armies of insects for their mutual defence against stroller and botanist; so that he can never sufficiently admire those indefatigable and rhinoceros-skinned men, who have succeeded in enriching our European collections with the wonders of the torrid zone. Among others of the enemies he had to combat were the *garapatos*, a species of wood-bug, from the size of a small pin-head to that of a pea. The slightest touch of a leaf or twig, is sure to

bring myriads of them upon your person, where, attaining the skin, they bury themselves to the neck, with their barbed claws, whence they cannot be extracted without great irritation, and often inflammation.

We introduce one other specimen of our author's description of nature, to be found after he penetrates farther into the country, and has recovered from the damage done him by the *garapatos*.

"We considered the scenery of the Canada superior to any we had ever seen, comparable to it—and we were, as you know, no novices in mountain defiles. I have no where met with the sublimity of an alpine mountain gorge on a great scale, clothed with such beauty. A varied vegetation, stimulated by the alternate vehemence of a tropical sun, and the gentle dews and moist showers from the mountains above, into an inconceivable rankness and richness of growth—all that is beautiful and gorgeous in colouring and curious in detail—birds—butterflies—insects—fruits and flowers—are here presented to the eyes of the traveller, in the midst of a chaos of rent and riven rock and dizzy precipice, which would be worthy of the most savage defile of the most savage alpine districts of Europe.

"No one who has not beheld with his own eyes, can imagine the vigour with which nature puts forth her strength under this incitement from alternate heat and moisture.

"League after league we moved forward in ecstasy. Every turn disclosed another matchless picture. It was here a grove of old and shattered trees of enormous growth, bent over the surface of the river under the load of moss and flowering parasites which drew nourishment and life from their fibres;—their out-stretched arms, struggling, as it were, in the interminable folds of the vines and creepers, whose festoons and garlands of flowers, fruit, or pods, entwined every bough to the highest twig. There again rose a thicket of flowering shrubs of all hues, glistening in morning dew, over which the insects and butterflies were gloating in the bright sun: and such butterflies—the rainbow is dull and colourless in comparison!

"Further, the high grey precipice swept down perpendicularly, with its red, purple, and grey hues, innumerable weather-stains, and lichens, reflected in the still surface of the stream; while its sheets of bare rock unveiled to the gaze of the passer by, in the hundreds of thin strata, twisted, broken, entwined, and distorted into a thousand shapes, a page of nature's secret doings, which could not be contemplated without a feeling of awe. The upper portions of the precipices where they broke down from the forested slope of the mountains above, were frequently overgrown with long strings of strong wiry grass, or by a peculiar species of cactus which rose like a whitish green column perpendicularly from the ledges.

"Then came the little opening at the entrance of some lateral valley, with its Indian hamlet, strips of cultivation fully exposed to the broad sun, and groups of rich and sunny bananas, half shrouding the simple cabins of the poor natives:—or as a contrast, one of those dens of rubbish, situated under the shade of a beetling crag, in which every thing seemed

devoted to putrid destruction;—where you moved in twilight through a mass of decaying vegetation; where no living thing sported, and the passenger breathed the chill and humid damp of death, rottenness, and decay."—pp. 64—66.

It may well be said, that surely no other country on the face of the earth is more highly favoured by nature than New Spain, when we not only think of its magnificent scenery and mineral productions, but of its vegetable riches. Instance the *Maguey* or *Agave Americana*, which, in appearance, is a stately aloe of a dark green hue and leaves of great size and thickness, growing frequently higher than the head of a rider on horseback, a single one of which will yield six hundred pounds of sap in a season. This is called the pulque, which is drawn from it several times every day for eight or ten weeks, and used as a drink, or distilled into a kind of brandy.

Every one knows, that besides tormenting insects, South America is often dreadfully disturbed by earthquakes. During our author's stay in Mexico, he experienced several slight shocks. It is curious to hear how the natives regard these appalling visitations. On one occasion, when Mr. Latrobe was roused from his reading a newspaper by a sensation of confusion and giddiness, he perceived the curtains and candelabras of the apartment in motion. In going to the balcony and looking into the street below, each individual of the passing multitude, as far as he could see, was on his knees—"the half-naked Indian beside the veiled *dama*, and the loathsome leper beside the gaudily-dressed official. The rider kneeled beside his horse, and the arriero among his mules; the carriages had halted, and their gay contents bent in clusters in the centre of the pavement." Nothing was heard but prayers, while "with a slow, lateral motion from north to south, the whole city swung like a ship at anchor, for about the space of a minute and a half." As soon as the shock was over, the multitude rose, and went about their business with perfect "nonchalance." This was in the city of Mexico, where the massive structure of the buildings and the elastic nature of the soil are greatly in favour of the people's security during such tremendous commotions. It is well observed, that the frequency of their recurrence has nerved the public mind to the pitch described.

The author uses the term *nonchalance* as descriptive of the coolness and composure which the people evinced after the shock of the earthquake. This may, however, be an inadequate or inaccurate mode of characterizing the feelings of many of these worshippers, and affords an instance where a stranger, and one of a different creed, misunderstands those whose motives and principles he attempts to measure. Perhaps the manner in which he sketches what he witnessed in the same city during the Holy Week, par-

takes of this colouring and deficiency. It would appear that at that season there is a great display of the effigies of Judas Iscariot, which vary in size from a doll of a foot long, to that of the human figure. They are tied by the neck to long poles, in clusters of twenty to thirty, and dangle over the people in the street, while others are paraded in their processions. The author tells us that an old woman shook a Judas at him, probably because he was not ready with a genuflection, in one of these processions, muttering, "See! here is a countryman of yours," which he merited, as he confesses; for why was he there if a scoffer? But we quote the passage, which we doubt not ought to be taken with the caution above suggested, regarding the want of a sufficient knowledge of the people, and the likelihood of one religionist judging erroneously of the actions and sentiments of others whose faith is different.

"During this season every church and monastery had its peculiar services from morning to night. In the Cathedral I heard several; and the music accompanied by a small orchestra, was good as to composition, though indifferently performed. Within that noble structure I remarked nothing in the general style of the rites and services of a particularly undignified or revolting character; but to describe the orgies enacted in the generality of the other churches, could but be disgusting to you. The scenes of the Passion were played and turned into comedy; while waltzes and contredances were played over the bier, on which the effigy of our Saviour was laid out in state. On the evening of that day, after making the round of eighteen or twenty churches, we returned to our quarters, thoroughly fatigued and out of spirits.

"At an early hour on the Saturday, preparations were made to terminate the season of humiliation. What humiliation! On going into the streets we saw the Judases—which I omitted to tell you, were, in fact, fire-works so disguised—hanging by thousands over the centre of the streets, and to the fronts of the houses. In the Plaza Mayor, the booths had entirely disappeared; troops were drawn up before the Palace, with the artillery in advance; and it was with the utmost difficulty I could make my way into the Cathedral. Every part of its pavement was crowded.

"I had hardly made my way to the high altar, when the deep bell of the church tolled half past nine—and the lofty roof and the impending dome resounded with the burst of sounds which instantly pervaded the great city from one end to another! Within—the trumpet and full organ mingled their burst with the clang of the great bells;—the dark veil which had shrouded the high-altar parted and rolled back, displaying the gorgeous pile of ornament which it had concealed. Without—the artillery thundered in the square—the bells of every church and convent through the city clanged incessantly, and were answered by those in the towns and villages far and wide—the Judases exploded by thousands, and the multitude hailed the conclusion of the Holy Week!

"Before an hour was at an end, the streets resounded to the roll of the carriages, and the sounds of innumerable hoofs; the calzadas and canals were crowded with Indians returning to their homes; the buyer and the

dealer repaired to their traffic; the idler to his vices, and the gambler to the monte-table. The robber, exulting under his lightened conscience, betook himself to his stand in the pine-forest, to commence a fresh career of rapine; and the assassin to the resumption of his cherished schemes of blood and vengeance. The re-opening of the Opera was publicly announced, and the citizens joyfully anticipated the recommencement of bullfights."—pp. 162—164.

Mr. Latrobe states, that notwithstanding the excellent letters of introduction which he and his fellow ramblers presented to the people of Mexico, and the many verbal compliments which they received in return, it was impossible to cultivate a friendly and social spirit with them; nay, that the European merchants and diplomatic corps who had been residents for years in the country, attached to whatever party in politics they might be, found it to be out of their power to widen their society beyond that of themselves, with the exception of the few Mexicans, whose visits to Europe had rendered them susceptible of the advantages of a different style of intercourse. This state of things in the capital of the country, is attributed to the jealousy which the natives entertain towards foreigners, and the low intrigues that universally prevail among themselves. The following is a gloomy picture.

"It is evident that the lamentable effects of the political state of the country, and the constant struggle between parties for mastery, are felt throughout the whole structure of society. There is no frankness and no forgiveness between those who are for the moment in power, and those who have in any way shewn favour to another modification of the Constitution; or abetted other rulers. The instant that the struggle is at an end by the defeat of the one, the other takes advantage of its victory to crush their humbled adversary by confiscation, exile, and domestic oppression.

"Unhappy Mexico! No sooner has a government seemed to be fairly seated, and felt itself called to exercise authority, and to enforce the laws, but some discontented partisan runs off to a distance from the Capital, gets a band of malcontents together, sets up a '*grito*' or bark—to give warning that something is brewing;—follows it up in due time by a *pronunciamiento* against the existing rulers;—proposes a modification of the Constitution; and, collecting an army, makes a dash at the metropolis. Perhaps, as was the fate of Canalizza's party, while we were in the country, he gets beaten on his way, and running abroad to escape the vengeance of his conqueror, leaves his adherents to make their peace as well as they may:—perhaps, like the hero of the day, Santa Anna, he succeeds, and gets possession of the presidential chair, to be kicked out in his turn, without a shadow of doubt, sooner or later. It would fill a volume, and be a perfect jest-book, to give a history of all the changes experienced by this country since the expulsion of the Spaniards; and the real intentions, ends, and characters of those by whom they have been brought about.

"The most serious evil is, that in this state of affairs, nothing can be

accounted stable. The sound principles of government, perchance professed by a party, most frequently perish with those who upheld them. You have read the wise intentions published to the world by this or that ephemeral President and his government, with regard to general tolerance, and the introduction of those principles of popular education and of internal policy, which can alone render the Mexicans capable of self-government. You have heard of the excellence of the police: the energy with which order was restored upon the public roads: of summary justice being inflicted upon those who transgressed the law. I should lay it down as a rule, that you never need believe more than about a quarter of that which you might be led to infer from the inflated style and mendacious language of whatever is published here;—but yet there may have been some foundation for what was asserted at such a date—at the same time that I would assure you, that the greatest probability exists of there not being a single word of truth in the statement, when applied to the real position of affairs, six months after."—pp. 151—153.

We pass over the notices that are here and there made, regarding the appearance and the condition of the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico. Our author has a good deal to say also about the Pyramids, which in the course of his rambles, he visited. We have not found anything that is of novel importance said concerning these ancient and hitherto imperfectly understood works of man. They may form a mine of wonder for future antiquarians, although we fear that the discoveries to be made within and around them will never repay the labour. Our last extract shall regard, not the works of man's hands, but those of his Maker—the scenic and geological character of the Cordillera, compared with that of the Alps of Europe.

"I was going to say none, but the traveller must learn not to be rash. The lines of just comparison are very faint. The highest summits are covered with snow; the green swelling mountain and pastures of the middle region have a general resemblance with the lower alps of Switzerland, in their outlines and colouring—though hardly in their climate; and there is something in the general features of the upland vales of the Cordillera, where they break down towards the coast, which puts you in mind of the scenery of those magnificent vallies, where the icy streams of the great southern chain of the Alps, precipitate themselves towards the sunny plains of Italy, and carry far down into the clime of the vine and chesnut, the *debris* of the inhospitable regions of bare rock and snow.

"But as to those details, which you would take as chiefly characteristic of either chain, no similarity can be established whatever.

"In the limestone, slate, and granitic ranges of the Alps, beauty of outline is far from being confined to any single ridge. It is an attribute of the secondary, as well as the most elevated;—of the parallel chains, as well as of the diverging mountains, which, like ribs, start out from the great back-bone of the continent, and sink gradually to the level of the plains on either hand. Piled, range behind range, with deep vales between—with numerous lakes;—and clothed up to the very limit of eternal snow, with green or forested slopes—they are eminently picturesque;

and the gentle luxuriance of the lower vallies, contrasts felicitously with the precipitous rocks and masses of snow, which occupy the higher regions. The scale and the structure of the Alps, permit the eye to command, in almost every situation, the whole of their varied detail. The enormous extent of the glaciers on the upper plains and acclivities, and the peculiar manner in which they descend towards the vallies, are mainly characteristic of these mountains.

"Now as to general outline, both from what I have seen, and have heard with regard to other parts of the Andes, that of the great porphyritic chains of the Cordillera can hardly be said to be generally picturesque. It is scarcely broken enough; its details are too vast. One enormous wall of mountains rises behind another, each buttressing a broad step of table-land, but in general the interval between them is far too great for the eye to command more than one at a time. Here and there, from the general level of the undulating mountain ridge, rises a tremendous cone, with a breadth of base, and an even smoothness of outline, which, at the same time that they proclaim its origin, and add to its sublimity, take from its picturesque beauty. The summit bears its mantle of snow; but compared with the mass, it is but a cap—not a flowing mantle, with its silver and purple folds and its fringe of ice.

"There are again, for the reason stated, few positions in which your eye will command at the same time, the rich and gorgeous vegetation of the lower slopes of the Mexican Cordillera, and the sublimity of the superior ranges. The vast sheets of the barren Table-land are interposed, the *tierras templadas* separate the *calientes* from the *frias*. Each have their peculiar characteristics, but they can seldom, if ever, be comprised in one and the same picture.

"You look in vain among all the exuberant forest-growth and the giant flora of Mexico, for the sweet cheering freshness of Alpine vegetation;—that luxuriance without rankness, which clothes the lower vallies." —pp. 288—290.

It will now be evident that if Mr. Latrobe has not added to our knowledge materially, by his three months' rambling in Mexico, he has at least given us a very lively and engaging account of what he saw and felt. One thing we are sure of; it is this, that whoever sits down to read one page of any of his Letters will not leave off, or be satisfied, until the whole have been perused; when the result will be, a kindly and grateful feeling to the author, and a desire to meet with him again, wherever he may go, however short his sojourn in any place described may be, or on whatever topic he chooses to employ his pen and bestow his sentiments.

ART. III.—*Britannia after the Romans; being an Attempt to Illustrate the Religious and Political Revolutions of that Province in the Fifth and succeeding Centuries.* London: Bohn. 1836.

THE subjects discussed in the present volume, are of a character that cannot be made attractive to persons who relish popular lite-

rature alone, or who will throw hastily from them whatever is not plain and practical. The work may be called a perplexing treatise on an obscure subject; for while there is not in universal history, or at least in the history of Christendom, any portion more confused and uncertain than that of the Britons during the centuries indicated in the title, the author has in his method of illustrating the period in question—a method somewhat different from that followed by former writers—gone into very close and intricate antiquarian researches, which can never be but distasteful to ordinary readers, or such as dislike hard names, doubtful events, and ancient barbarism. Even to understand this production, though the student of it should be as earnest to become master of the subject as any historian could desire, he must be acquainted with other works that have professedly treated of the same dark and doubtful era. At the same time, it must be regarded as a highly praiseworthy and important undertaking, when a scholar, a man of sound judgment, and unwearied industry, steps forth to unravel the mysteries which may envelop any portion of the annals of any country, and especially if that country be his father-land. It becomes a labour of no mean character, and the contribution to knowledge and the benefit to mankind is of no ordinary amount, when any share of new light is thrown upon any period in the history of a people, who, from a savage state, have gradually risen to the highest pitch of civilization and power. Every link or step in that history is precious in the eye of the philosopher and philanthropist, and may become a guide worthy of the deepest regard of the statesman.

This work is not so much a history of the Britons from the departure of the Romans out of our island, down to the Norman invasion, as an essay upon that portion of history; and it is an able one, evincing great research and critical acumen. It cannot be denied, at the same time, that the author, like many others, when there is much room for conjecture, especially in matters of antiquity, discloses some strong prejudices, or tendencies to favour particular theories. Most of our readers must be aware that the people and period here treated of, have been the themes of very opposite opinions. Some have regarded the songs, chronicles, and historical monuments which profess to have been composed in the sixth and seventh centuries, as genuine and worthy of credit, while others have considered them as fabulous, or fabrications of a much later date. The perplexity occasioned by the similarity of names, and the confusion of events, has engaged the unravelling ingenuity of one party, while another has boldly and at one fell swoop pronounced the whole to be the offspring of an artful mythology. Among the latter our author figures. He disparages, sometimes gratuitously, the Britons of the epoch in question; but more frequently he succeeds in his endeavours to expose the credulity of the

modern Welsh writers and others, who meet with no insurmountable difficulties respecting their ancestry, and discover nothing but goodness, magnanimity, and glorious achievements in their annals.

The great sources of all that is known of the Britons of the fifth and sixth centuries are the poetical remains of those men who were known by the name of Bards—the romances which raved about King Arthur—the triads, which were verses, consisting of three lines, employed to record facts and precepts—the compositions of St. Gildas—the Bruts (now in English and French *Bruit*) or chronicles, which are in the form of regular histories of successive reigns—and the Mabinogion, which are tales in prose, full of strange and supernatural occurrences. Each of these different kinds of composition are described and commented upon by the author; and his conclusion is, that British history has been completely falsified by them, in so far as they go, or that they exhibit the British in the centuries alluded to, as not merely inclining to return to Druidism, but their Bards as being bent on the re-establishment of a shocking idolatry. The arguments and criticisms which go to the support of these opinions, we must recommend to the deliberate consideration of the learned and the curious, as they appear in their unbroken shape, fresh and full from the writer's pen; because they do not admit of being summarily discussed, nor speedily abridged. There are two parts of the work, however, which furnish matter that we may advantageously glance at, without involving our readers in the obscurities or labyrinths of the entire essay. The former of these teaches some useful lessons to etymologists, and those lexicographers who never are at a loss to find a derivation for a word, whether that word be ancient, obscure, unknown, or otherwise. The latter excites some deep reflections, inasmuch as it involves the question, who was Arthur—he, of the round-table celebrity?

On the subject of etymology, the writer suggests various necessary cautions and general rules, which, if they had uniformly been observed by antiquarians in their Celtic researches, would have left that department of literature unincumbered by many delusive dreams, and superadded confusion which the obscure subject could ill bear. It is truly said, that etymology is well enough, when applied to the comparison of words in the same dialect, or in cognate dialects of the same language; though even here much care is required, and a just sense of analogy must guide the scholar. But faint similitudes, or even strong resemblances in different languages, when made the basis of facts and theories, become, to use a phrase of Lord Coke's "scientia ad libitum," or according to Buchanan, "quodlibet ex quolibat." Quodlibetarians has thence become the appellation by which our author designates these fanciful constructors of language; nor is the sneering title by any

means unhappily chosen. Dr. Owen's Welsh Dictionary, which has enjoyed an undeserved celebrity, falls under the particular lash of our author's criticism. According to that lexicographer:—

"Cred, faith or belief, is fetched from a British root of totally different meaning.

"Sanct, a saint, and sanctiaid, holiness, are spelt without the c; all mention of their being even so spelt is suppressed, and the words derived from san, aware, or wary.

"Ysbryd, spirit, Holy Ghost, is derived from bryd, mental impulse, and the fact of its being often spelt yspryd suppresst.

"Cathedra (whence *chair*), is a Greek word adopted into Latin; but cadair, a cathedra of office, cader, a seat or chair, and cadeiriol, a cathedral church, are all derived from cad, battle, and gair, a word.

"Diabolus, from the word diaballo, is in Welsh diavyl, which is derived from gavyl, a fork or angle.

"Llyvyr, a book, is not from liber, but from llwv, *apt to move*, or *an oath*.

"Martyr, is merely the Greek for a witness; but merthyr, a martyr, is fetched from merth, sad or grievous.

"Profes, a profession, is not from profiteri (as confessio from confiteri), but from pro, against, and fes, knowledge.

"Esgob, a bishop, is not from episcopus, but from cob, a cloak; prophwyd, a prophet, not from propheta, but from pro, and pwyd, passing; eglwys, a church, not from ecclesia, but from eg, open, and glwys, holy.

"Presen and present, the time *present*, are not from that Latin source, but are from pres, quick.

"Plas, a palace, is not referred to palatium, but to pla and as, and the uncontracted form, palas, is kept out of sight.

"Awdur, author (or auctor, from augeo, as actor from ago, &c.) is derived from awd, opportunity.

"Angel, an angel, is not from angelus, but from the Celtic monosyllables ang and el; and angor, an anchor, is not from anchora, but from ang, and cor, a circle. Both that word and angel are placed out of their alphabetical order, where they can only be found by an accident.

"Perthynu, pertinere, is derived from parth, in defiance of the whole analogy of retinere, obtinere, detinere, &c."—pp. xli, xlii.

There are a great many more examples given, and with no small share of pungent sarcasm, of this sort of manufacturing of words by Celtic writers, who, from an inordinate desire to bolster up the antiquity and range of their language, and the primeval existence of their tribes, make themselves perfectly ridiculous in the estimation of the sober-minded and patient. And yet, one would think that every tyro in the Latin and Greek languages must at a glance perceive, instead of going to far-fetched resemblances in British primitives, that he had a much clearer and nearer method of solving the matter. But then, doubtless, the classic languages have been

indebted to the Celtic, and this accounts for the whole! Not words alone, but things also, are subjected to this sort of crucible, by these sanguine scholars.

"Derivation of things, though not such a mere quodlibetical science as that of words, is very liable to be abused. Men all, as men, resemble one another in nature and tendency. As descendants from a common origin, they all resemble one another in transmitted usages. Religious and civil customs were in many respects similar among all the Pagans; and they all had several usages of civil life and of religious ceremony in common with the patriarchal and Levitical worshippers of God. Thus it is easy to get up lists of parallel facts, as well as words, which truly prove nothing, but may be used to prove any thing, e. g. that the Magi were Druids, the Druids Hindoos, the Irishmen Phœnecians, the Jews Heathens, and the Cherokees and Iroquois the Ten Tribes of Israel. This easy task requires the possession or loan of a little learning, and may be said to require no acuteness. It appertains to the school for whose use Irish schoolmasters compose Iberno-Scythic oghams, and the pundits of Benares frame Puranas of unfathomable antiquity, in whose opinion the Carthaginians talked pure Irish, and the book of Joshua was a treatise on astronomy. The facility of obtaining a name for themselves as systematists, of gratifying some nation's vanity, or promoting a favourite object, has led some, who might have climbed the steep paths of truth, to disport themselves in these pastures.

"Or is a favourite particle with them. It insinuates or assumes identity between two or more things. Dr. Owen maintains 'the identity of Hu, Huon, *or* Hesus and Anubis,' thereby assuming Lucan's Hesus to be the same person as a certain Huon. Elsewhere he says, that Hu 'is unquestionably identified in the *Heus* of Gaul and the Anubis of Egypt.' Here is Hesus deprived of his first S to make him a little more like Hu. Moreover the very name of Anubis is identified by this philologist with that of Hu, by a very simple process; it is merely dropping the *an* and the *bis*, and clapping an H before the remaining U. Lastly, he presents us with an identification of 'Hu, Huon, *or* Hesus, and Hoshea or Osea king of Samaria;' and withal shrewdly insinuates that the Welsh are the lost tribes of Israel. He avoids stating the implied corollary, that king Hoshea was Anubis! Pezron asserted that the Titans were the Celts, which done, they were thenceforth 'the Titans *or* Celtæ,' and whatever was true of a Titan was true of a Celt. 'The worship (says a recent author) of Bel, Baal, Belenos, *or* Balanus was much cultivated in Palestine; ignorantly fancying that the two former Semitic names were allied to the third Celtic (of the fourth I never heard,) he endeavours to palm that fancy upon us by means of the *or*.

"Mr. Roger O'Connor, in his preface to the works of Æolus king of Ireland, endeavours to show that Latin was a dialect of the Irish, and for proof of it remarks that Cincinnatus is merely Ceanceaniateis, i. e. *the head over the head of the people*. That cincinnatus is a regular participle from cincinnare, similar and nearly synonymous to comatus, crinitus, and capillatus, never occurred to his mind. That exercitus is the regular participle of exercere did not occur to him, when he derived it from eisar cateis, i. e. *gathering together the multitudes*. Mr. Grant of Corri-

mony (after premising that part of the great Gaelic nation, inmixed with Pelasgians, became illustrious under the names of Greeks and Romans,) observes that the primitive Gaelic words for a house and a residence are teach and tamh. By adding tum to teach, the Romans obtained their word tectum, and by adding us to tamh, they became possessed of the word domus. Tamh, as Mr. Grant states, is compounded of ti, a man, and uamh, a cave, this great nation having been originally troglodytic. It is prodigious that any writer should take in hand such topics, without, knowing that domos, a building, is a noun formed from demo, to build, according to an extensive and exact analogy, as tromos from tremo, dromos from dremo, gomos from gemo, tomos from temo; and that tectum is merely the participle passive of tego, to cover, conjugated as rectum from rego, lectum from lego, actum from ago, &c. Hu, says Dr. Owen, is a radical, signifying *what is apt to pervade or spread over;* but Hu, or Huon, or Au-u-bis is supposed by him to be the same word as Hoshea. Yet Hoshea is a Hebrew word interpreted *salvation.*"—pp. xxxiv—xxxviii.

There is a great deal of pride, and therefore of weakness, in all this; for, as the author says, that which these antiquarians cannot behold with the natural eye, they must see in dreams. "Like their wild ancestors of old, they lie down and sleep upon the tombs till they see the spirits of their fathers looking through their clouds, and hear the voices of other years." It is not always safe to assert in the presence of a Celt, be he Welsh, Irish, or Scotch, that the race is not the oldest in the world.

It is not to be denied, however, that British history, since the times of the Romans in this country, may be in some degree unmasked by a cautious pursuit of etymological studies. Our author has, we think, been very successful in this way with the names of this island and its inhabitants. The words Briton and Brittannia are striking examples—words which have occasioned so much discussion and conjecture. It appears that *Brith* conveys the idea of painted. We know that the Britons painted or tattooed themselves. It is also a point beyond dispute, that the Picts proper were Britons. Now Pictus in Latin, or Pict, is equivalent in meaning with Brith, and must at once be presumed to have been the name used after the island became a Roman Province. Of all the British tribes the Picts continued longest to colour their bodies; and as they have no apparent etymology for their name in Welsh, Armorican, or Erse, we may easily perceive the Latin name stuck by them instead of any other, and identified them with Britons.

The writer of the present volume labours, we think successfully, to prove that after the departure of their Roman masters, the Britons began again to cherish many superstitions of their ancestors, and to make a strong effort to preserve their country by her own resources; for though the Romans were no longer to be feared, the Saxons, who came to lend the islanders effective aid, were to be guarded against, and were hated. Now, the means moral and re-

ligious, which according to our author were employed for that purpose, were as strange as the effort itself was desperate. These means took the shape of a legendary mythology—a Bardic theocracy—which were intended to enlist the enthusiasm, the patriotism, and the most confident brilliant hopes as to the future, in the breasts of the people. In this effort Arthur, Uthyr's son,

"Begirt with British and Armoric Knights,"

figures in song and romance as the most renowned mythological king. Now, although the writer admits that there must have been some suitable basis of reality for the superstructure of the lies and inventions with which the deeds attributed to this name has been adorned, he strenuously and at great length argues that he was an entirely fictitious personification, and an incarnate demon of polytheism, rather than a man. He is at one time a God of war, at another a sort of Apollo, &c., &c.

"The Round Table of Arthur is declared to have been a similitude of the World; and the twelve knights seated round its circumference, represent the twelve signs of the ecliptic. The twelve great victories gained by Arthur, 'the guider of the war, the support of the battle, the bright elevated lamp,' of which twelve the last was at the hill above Caer Badon or the *Aquæ Solis*, are the twelve zodiacal entries of the sun and the twelve labours of Hercules. The Perilous Seat which was reserved in *the centre* of the round table, but in which Arthur never ventured to place himself, signifies to us the private belief of the Druidists in a code of astronomy different from that which they published, but one of which they deemed the establishment essential to the secure enthronization of Apollo Belenus.

"The hero Arthur is the terrestrial Apollo, Mithras the warrior, robber, huntsman, and king; but his descent into the prison with the strong door, and his mournful labours therein, transform him into the subterranean Apollo who is Dis. Duly to appreciate Neo-Druidism, it is necessary to consider the doctrine of Neo-Pythagorism (another Mithriac sect, if not quite the very same) as expounded by Porphyry its grand-master, in his volume entitled *the Sun*. 'The virtue of Apollo is triple, for he is the Sun in heaven, and upon the earth he is father Liber, and he is Apollo in the infernal regions: for which reason his images are adorned with three insignia, the lyre, which is an image of the celestial harmony, the griffin, which indicates terrestrial god-head, and the arrows by which he is pronounced to be an infernal and noxious god.' Subject to this modification of the great Alter et Idem, the legend of Arthur is that of Aurelius Ambrose reiterated.

"It being taken for certain that Arthur, whatsoever he was, was some person or some thing of high importance, he could not have been that for which he passes, an heroic king of all Britain, and have really lost his crown, and departed this world, in a great and disastrous battle for ever fatal to British independence, without the same tradition which recorded that battle being distinct and unanimous as to the country in which it was fought. What Roman could fail to recognise the plains of Pharsa-

lia, what Burgundian those of Nancy, or what Swedishman those of Pultawa? The Bruts affirm that Arthur's fatal conflict with Medrawd the Pict and his Saxon confederates took place at Camlan, which we are given to suppose was near Camelford, in Cornwall. The Mort d'Arthur and the more ancient romances from which it is derived assign the great plain of Salisbury, near the Stonehenge, for its theatre. While Veremond (one of those Scottish chroniclers of Iona, of whom Hector Boece has been surmised with illiberality, and unquestionable falsehood, to have invented the names) maintained that it was fought on the banks of the Humber in Deira, and that Gwenhwyvar was carried prisoner to Dumbarton in Pictland, where she died. The legend was so rife and popular, at the time when the calumniated Hector Boece wrote, that the women of Dumbarton were afraid to walk over the pretended grave of Arthur's queen, lest their wombs should become barren like hers. It was a battle fought in nubibus between the phantoms created by Bardic metaphor, and mythologists may lay the scene of it where it best pleases them. But it would have been otherwise, had he been indeed one of their fortes animæ belloque peremptæ. In that case, methinks it could equally ill have been a matter of controversy, whether he was the grandson of Constantinus who reigned at Arles over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, or whether he was son to the petty Demetian prince Meirig ap Tewdrig."—pp. 94—98.

It may well be said, then, that King Arthur must remain with a great name but without a local habitation. Yet the reflections are not the less weighty, nor the lessons the less melancholy, which his fabulous history suggests. The credulity of mankind is hence clearly seen to be the element in a rude, as we know it is in advanced state of society, upon which a comparatively few of the community, who are endowed with superior parts, and who make deception their trade, erect their power and complete their systems. Nor are the evils of this deception confined to those who have been its immediate victims. In the instance under consideration, it has been the means of leaving posterity in darkness regarding a period of eventful history; the practice of inventing and suppressing by the chroniclers and poets of those days, being far more conspicuous than is anything like sterling worth, in their aggregate and combined labours.

We have now only to add, in respect of the author's work, that though many passages in it, and the general tone of his writing, evince no small degree of prejudice, to the disadvantage of the Britons of old, there is yet so much learning, familiarity with the subject, and close reasoning, and so many valuable deductions discoverable throughout, that we cannot but hope and desire to find him obtaining that encouraging countenance from the learned public, which will secure for the world the fruits of a further presentation of his labours, according to the hint thrown out in his prefatory advertisement.

ART. IV.—*The Letters of Runnymede.* London: Macrone. 1836.

Two questions have forcibly occurred to us, in going through these Letters, which profess to be illustrative of Whigs and Whiggism—first, are they really illustrative of the conduct and character of any political party? and, secondly, if it should be allowed that they contain the truth, is this truth conveyed in a tone and a temper that is worthy of approval and imitation, or that is calculated to benefit the community? It appears to us, that were an entire stranger to the history of this country to read them, without having the aid and counsel of any corrective friend, he would not only be led to believe that the Whigs were, as a body, corrupt and worthless in the extreme, but that the most active and influential of them were individually asses or villains. On the other hand, the same stranger would be induced to think that the Tory or Conservative party were, as men, and as a class, the most enlightened, the most pure, and the most patriotic of any that ever figured on the face of the earth. But what would be the answer of any person well versed in the records of England, and who is not a partisan? Why, he would undoubtedly say, that the author attempted to prove too much, and that the conviction of any impartial and informed reader must be to the prejudice of the party to whom such a writer belongs, and whose cause he so scurrilously advocates. We look upon it as nothing less than a libel upon the country, when such a sweeping charge as the one referred to, is made against any great section of her sons—and a section, too, which has swayed her destinies—nay, that now possesses the confidence of the people—if one is to go by the best evidence to be obtained, viz., the possession of power. But it is neither truth, nor moderation, nor charitable feeling, which this enraged assailant delights in—it is personal and coarse invective, or unvarnished and gross flattery. He can turn a period with considerable dexterity, and is never at a loss for words that may be suitably married to his ideas. But instead of argument he uses assertion, and instead of well-known facts he brandishes vituperation, in all of which his mistakes and misstatements are not half so offensive as is the spirit which prompts them. Indeed, we entertain such moderate notions about parties and creeds, as to be satisfied that Runnymede caricatures Toryism as much as he does Whiggism, and that were any Whig to speak of his opponents in political life with the rancour employed in these pages, he would prove himself far more of a suicide than an offensive enemy. The best method, therefore, that can be used to demolish our author's scurrilous invectives, or reduce his adulation to its proper insipidity, is to let him speak for himself. This we shall do by examining four or five of his Letters to certain eminent personages, and in one to the people, whom he would fain cajole and mislead. His Chapters

on the Spirit of Whiggism we shall leave untouched. They do not admit of such a rapid exposure, as do his Letters to the Whigs; these latter, in fact, carrying with them much of their own refutation, wherever the reader enjoys the exercise of common sense, or ordinary information of what is daily passing. Still, the Chapters are full of gratuitous dicta, or opinions that are disputable, and characterize the writer as unfavourably as any other portion of his volume.

Come we to the Letters, and to the first in the volume, which purports to have been addressed to Lord Melbourne, in January last. And here we have an exordium in a style that is so commonplace and vulgar, that it cannot but prove prejudicial to the author, in the sight of every person of taste and candour. Runnymede thinks himself happy and witty in his repetition of a charge which the lowest scribblers have worn to the stump, about his Lordship's love of luxury and ease. He next indulges in a prophecy—a sor of employment than which nothing can be more simple or symptomatic of indolence and want of argument. The prophecy is this—"the shadows of coming events are assuredly sufficiently dark and ominous to startle from its indolence even

'The sleekest swine in Epicurus' sty.'"

Then follows some paltry sneering about the Prime Minister's talent at prologue writing, when he was plain William Lamb. And lastly, a tirade about the incapacity of his Lordship, and those whom he has selected as his assistants, which runs thus:—

"And who are your assistants to stem the profound and impetuous current of this awful futurity? At an unconstitutional expenditure of four coronets, which may some day figure as an article in an impeachment, the Whigs have at length obtained a Lord Chancellor—as a lawyer not illustrious, as a statesman a nonentity. The seals of the principal office of the state are entrusted to an individual, who, on the principle that good vinegar is the corruption of bad wine, has been metamorphosed from an incapable author into an eminent politician. His brother secretaries remind me of two battered female sinners; one frivolous, the other exhausted; one taking refuge from conscious scorn in rouge and the affected giggle of fluttering folly, and the other in strong waters and devotion. Then Mr. Spring Rice waves a switch, which he would fain persuade you is a shillalagh; while the Rienzi of Westminster smiles with marvelling complacency at the strange chapter of accidents which has converted a man whose friends pelted George Lamb with a cabbage-stalk, into a main prop of William Lamb's Cabinet. Some yet remain—the acute intelligence of Lansdowne, the polished mind of Thompson, Howick's calm maturity, and the youthful energy of Holland.

"And this is the Cabinet that controls the destinies of a far vaster population than owned the sway of Rome in the palmiest hour of its imperial fame! Scarron or Butler should celebrate its political freaks, and the shifting expedients of its ignoble statecraft. But while I watch you

in your ludicrous councils, an awful shade rises from behind the chair of my Lord President. Slaves! it is your master; it is Eblis with Captain Rock's bloody cap shadowing his atrocious countenance. In one hand he waves a torch, and in the other clutches a skull. He gazes on his victims with a leer of fiendish triumph. Contemptible as you are, it is this dark connection that involves your fate with even an epic dignity, and makes the impending story of your retributive fortunes assume almost a Dantesque sublimity."—pp. 7, 8.

And this is truth and argument, all happily conceived! Let the people of England judge.

The second Letter is addressed to Sir John Campbell, in which, by a very circuitous process, an attempt is made to brand him with the stigma of having brought disgrace upon the English Bar, by allowing the Attorney-Generalship to be insulted, in the elevation of the present Master of the Rolls and the Keeper of the Great Seal over his head, and for being satisfied with a bribe in the shape of a coronet to his lady. Nothing is too large or too small for Runnymede, when he seeks for grounds of abuse against the Whigs. If public deeds be wanting he fixes on private life; if facts be incomplete he seeks for motives, and colours them according to his own principles. So that the long and short of Sir John Campbell's deficiency of pluck is set down to the account of the Whigs as a body; for he concludes, "I have long been of opinion, that, among other perfected and projected mischief, there has been, on the part of the Whigs, a systematic attempt to corrupt the English Bar." Let the people of England judge, when they call to their remembrance the long list of splendid lawyers and excellent men, who have not only adorned the English Bar, but that of Scotland, and that of Ireland, and yet, who disdained not to place themselves under the banner which our author so unguardedly, and, we believe, unjustly seeks to disparage. But what a solace to hear that some great men are good men, although not one such should be found among the Whigs! The glad tidings become of infinitely more value when we learn that an influential party in the empire, though alone, are all that the heart could wish, or England require. The following are extracts from a Letter dated January last, to Sir Robert Peel:—

"You have an addition to the scutcheon of your fame in the emblazoned memory of your brief but masterly premiership. They cannot taunt you now with your vague promises of amelioration; you can appeal to the deeds of your Cabinet, and the plans which the applause of a nation sanctioned, and the execution of which the intrigues of a faction alone postponed. Never, too, since the peace of Paris, has the great national party of this realm been so united as at the present moment. It is no exaggeration to say, that among its leaders not the slightest difference of opinion exists upon any portion of their intended policy. Pitt himself, in the plenitude of his power, never enjoyed more cordial confidence than

that which is now extended to you by every alleged section of the Conservative ranks; all private opinions, all particular theories, have merged in the resolute determination to maintain the English constitution in spite of Irish rebels, and to support, without cavil and criticism, its eminent champion in that great course of conduct which you have expounded to them.

"That this admirable concord, a just subject of congratulation to the suffering people of this realm, has been, in some degree, the result of salutary conferences and frank explanations, I pretend not to deny; nor do I wish to conceal a circumstance in which I rejoice, that at no period have you displayed talents more calculated for the successful conduct of a great party than at the present; but, above all, this admirable concord is to be attributed to the reason, that, however individuals of the Conservative party may have occasionally differed as to the means, they have at all times invariably agreed as to the end of their system, and that end is the glory of the empire and the prosperity of the people.

"But it is not only among the leaders in the two houses of Parliament that this spirit of union flourishes; it pervades the country. England has at length been completely organized; the battle which you told us must be fought in the registry courts has been fought; and, in spite of the fanfaronade of the enemy, we know it has been won. Every parliamentary election that has of late occurred, in county or in town, has proved the disciplined power of the national party. It is not that they have merely exceeded their opponents on the poll, and often by vast majorities; but they have hastened to that poll with an enthusiasm which shows that they are animated with a very different spirit to that which impels their shamefaced rivals. Contrast these important triumphs with the guerilla warfare of the Government party on town-clerks and aldermen, and be convinced how important have been our efforts in the registry courts, by their feeble yet feverish attempts at what they style Reform Associations.

"What are to be the tactics of this heterogeneous band, time will soon develope. Dark rumours are about, which intimate conduct too infamous, some would fain think, even for the Whigs. But as for myself, history and personal observation have long convinced me that there is no public crime of which the Whigs are not capable, and no public shame, which, for a sufficient consideration, their oligarchical nerves would not endure. But whether they are going to betray their anti-national adherents, or only to bribe them, do you, Sir, proceed in your great course, free and undaunted. At the head of the most powerful and the most united opposition that ever mustered on the benches opposite a trembling minister, conscious that by returning you to your constituents he can only increase and consolidate your strength, what have you to apprehend? We look to you, therefore, with hope and with confidence. You have a noble duty to fulfil—let it be nobly done. You have a great task to execute—achieve it with a great spirit. Rescue your sovereign from an unconstitutional thraldom—rescue an august senate, which has already fought the battle of the people—rescue our national church, which your opponents hate—our venerable constitution, at which they scoff; but, above all, rescue that mighty body, of which all these great classes and institutions are but some of the constituent and essential parts—rescue THE NATION."—pp. 39—44.

How Sir Robert will listen to this inflated and disgustingly ex-

travagant praise—this eulogy, which is as unfit for human ears, as unlimited abuse is sure to fail in its intent—we cannot predict; but we are well assured the people of England will regard the whole rhodomantade with derision, otherwise, why do they not with one voice and a strong arm bring into power the god of our author's idolatry, and no longer leave the nation to the control of an *Insect* and his coadjutors? Let us see who is the minister of William IV. that is so magnanimously designated by the entomological Runnymede. It is the author of "Don Carlos," of the "Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe," and one who is described as "born with a strong ambition and a feeble intellect," as one "cold, inanimate, with a weak voice, and a mincing manner," &c. &c., besides a number of other defects, worthy alone of a child or petulant fool to name.

"A miniature Mokanna, you are now exhaling upon the constitution of your country, which you once eulogised, and its great fortunes, of which you once were proud, all that long-hoarded venom and all those distempered humours that have for years accumulated in your petty heart, and tainted the current of your mortified life. Your aim is to reduce every thing to your own mean level—to degrade every thing to your malignant standard. Partially you have succeeded. You have revenged yourself upon the House of Commons by becoming its leader. You have remodelled the assembly which would not listen to you; and the plebeian rout now hangs upon the imbecile accents that struggle for sound in the chamber echoing but a few years back with the glowing periods of Canning. You have revenged yourself upon the House of Lords, the only obstacle to your degenerating schemes, by denouncing with a frigid conceit, worthy of 'Don Carlos,' its solemn suffrage as 'the whisper of a faction,' and hallooing on, in a flimsy treble, your Scotch and Irish desperadoes to assail its august independence. You have revenged yourself upon the Sovereign, who recoiled from your touch, by kissing, in spite of his royal soul, his outraged hand. Notwithstanding your base power, and your father's fagot votes, the gentlemen of England inflicted upon you an indelible brand, and expelled you from your own county; and you have revenged yourself upon their indignant patriotism by depriving them of their noblest and most useful privileges, and making, for the first time since the reign of Charles II., the administration of justice the business of faction. In all your conduct it is not difficult to detect the workings of a mean and long-mortified spirit suddenly invested with power—the struggles of a strong ambition attempting, by a wanton exercise of authority, to revenge the disgrace of a feeble intellect.

"I can picture to myself an intelligent foreigner, attracted by the fame of our country, and visiting it for the first time. I can picture to myself his admiration when he beholds our great public works; our roads, our docks, our canals; our unrivalled manufactories, our matchless agriculture. That admiration would not be diminished when he learnt that we were free; when he became acquainted with our social comfort and our still equal laws. 'O! wonderful men,' he would exclaim, 'what must be your governors!' But conceive him now entered into our political temple; conceive his appalled astonishment as he gazes on the ox-like form of the

Lansdowne Apis. On one side he beholds an altar raised to an ape, on the other incense is burned before a cat-like colleague. Here, placed on the highest obelisks, he beholds in the shapes of Palmerston and Grant, the worship of two sleek and long-tailed rats; and then learns with amazement that the Lord Chancellor of this great land is an onion or a cheese. Towering above all, and resting on a lurid shrine bedewed with blood, and encircled with flame, with distended jaws and colossal tail, is the grim figure of the O'Connell crocodile. But, my Lord, how thunderstruck must be our visitor, when he is told to recognise a Secretary of State in an infinitely small scarabæus;—yes, my Lord, when he learns, that you are the leader of the English House of Commons, our traveller may begin to comprehend how the Egyptians worshipped—AN INSECT."—pp. 59—64.

Why, Runnymede, you must be paid by the Whigs to show them to the highest advantage, by inducing the people to contrast their plain parts with your scavenger dirt; at least, if you are a hearty calumniator, you are not a skilful one, nor will the people of England regard the sound of your voice. The day has gone past when either demagogue or conspirator can mislead them far from the right path, viz., that which they know to be the safest for them to choose for themselves. But who are the people of England? Let our modest author answer, who commences a Letter to them in these diffident words—"This is the first direct address that has ever been made to the real people of England." The real people! —then there must be some unreal people in the country, by which title we may reasonably understand those who have no stake in it as human creatures—none as citizens—none as tax-payers—and who these are, we cannot guess. It seems, however, that Runnymede uses the phrase in contradistinction to "a gang of scribblers, in the pay of a desperate faction," or to those whom he calls a section, and not the aggregate mass. He goes on to inform his readers of the shameful conduct of these same scribblers, without entertaining any surmises about his own honesty.

"Thus have they played, for their ulterior purposes, dissenting sects against the national church, manufacturing towns against agricultural districts, the House of Commons against the House of Lords, new burgesses against ancient freemen, and, finally, the Papists against the Protestants. With scarcely an exception, you may invariably observe, that in advocating the cause of 'the people,' these writers have ever stimulated the anti-national passions of the minority. But, in addressing you now, I address myself in very truth to the English people—to all orders and conditions of men that form that vast society, from the merchant to the mechanic, and from the peer to the peasant."—pp. 65, 66.

How much information, or how much sincerity and argument, there may be in these averments, we pretend not to say. To us they look extremely like the noisy periods of a paid scribbler, who is at a loss to find any thing better for his purpose. But he does more than show, in his address to the people of England, a redun-

dancy of words and vapid charges; for in his haste and his fury, he is not above contradicting himself. On many occasions he mentions, and blazons the present prosperous state of the country. Indeed, with the exception of a laboured and various scurrility, there is, after one or two of the first Letters, nothing from beginning to the ending of his volume but a repetition of ideas. As to the prosperity of England, at least, he often declares that it is at this moment unparalleled; and yet, were George Robins to make an auction of our rulers, he is of opinion, they might be thus described and recommended to purchasers:—

"A Prime Minister, in an easy chair, reading a French novel. What think you of that lot? Three Secretaries of State, one odious, another contemptible, the third both. They have their price, yet I would not be their purchaser. A new Lord Chancellor, like a new cheese, crude and flavourless; second-rate as a lawyer, as a statesman a nonentity; bought in by his own party from sheer necessity. A President of the India Board recovering from the silence of years imposed upon him by Canning, by the inspiration of that eloquent man's chair, which he now fills. As we are still a naval nation, our First Lord of the Admiralty should be worth something; but, unfortunately, nobody knows his name. The President of the Council has always indicated a tendency to join any government, and therefore should be a marketable article enough. In Egypt, where their favourite food are pumpkins that have run to seed, such a solid and mature intelligence might be worth exporting to the Divan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, being 'a man of business,' would doubtless fetch a 'long figure;' refer for character to the mercantile deputations who leave the Treasury, after an interview, bursting with laughter, from sheer admiration of his knowledge and capacity. Lord Howick, who is a minister on the same principle that the son of an old partner is retained in the firm to keep together the connexion, might command a price on this score, were it not notorious that his parent has withdrawn with his person, his capital, and confidence. The remainder may be thrown into one lot, and the auction concluded with the item on the Dutch system."—pp. 67—69.

How is it that the country has become so thriving since the accession to power of these ministers, who are so handsomely puffed off, and who are said to govern us by a power, "beneath whose sirocco breath the fame of England is fast withering?" The only way by which Runnymede reconciles these contradictory states of things is to draw upon predictions, and endeavour to scare his readers with the spectres of his own distorted and magnifying imagination. He conjures up the Spirit of the Papacy, as personified by Mr. O'Connell. And now for some more contradictions volunteered for the edification of the real people—that is to say, the admirers of Toryism, of old abuses, and antiquated, worn-out institutions.

"This man, O'Connell, is the hired instrument of the Papacy; as such, his mission is to destroy your Protestant Society, and as such, he is a more terrible enemy to England than Napoleon, with all his inspiration. Your

empire and your liberties are in more danger at this moment than when the army of invasion was encamped at Boulogne.

"If we have correctly fixed his political character, let us see whether we can as accurately estimate his intellectual capacity and his moral qualities. The hired writers would persuade you that he is a great man. He has not a single quality of a great man. In proportion as he was so gifted, he would be less fitted for the part which he has to perform. There is a sublime sentiment in genius, even when uncontrolled by principle, that would make it recoil with nausea from what this man has to undergo. He is shrewd, vigorous, versatile; with great knowledge of character, little of human nature; with that reckless dexterity which confounds weak minds, and that superficial readiness that masters vulgar passions; energetic from the certainty of his own desperate means, and from the strong stimulus of his provisional remuneration; inexhaustible in unprincipled expedients, and audacious in irresponsible power; a *Nisi Prius* lawyer, with the soul of a demagogue. That is the man. He is as little a great orator as a great man. He has not a single quality of a great orator except a good voice. I defy his creatures to produce a single passage from any speech he ever delivered illumined by a single flash of genius, or tinctured with the slightest evidence of taste, or thought, or study. Learning, he has none; little reading. His style in speaking, as in writing, is ragged, bald, halting, disjointed. He has no wit, though he may claim his fair portion of that Milesian humour which every one inherits who bears a hod. His pathos is the stage sentiment of a barn; his invective is slang. When he aspires to the higher style of rhetoric, he is even ludicrous. He snatches up a bit of tinsel, a tawdry riband, or an artificial flower, and mixes it with his sinewy common-place, and his habitual soot, like a chimney-sweeper on May-day.

"Of his moral character it might be enough to say, that he is a systematic liar and a beggarly cheat, a swindler, and a poltroon. But of O'Connell you can even say more. His public and his private life are equally profligate; he has committed every crime that does not require courage: the man who plunders the peasant can also starve his child. He has denounced your national character, and insulted your national honour. He has said that all your men are cowards, and all your women wantons. He has reviled your illustrious Princes—he has sneered at your pure religion—he has assailed your national Church. He has endeavoured to stir up rebellion against your august Senate, and has described your House of Commons, even when reformed, as an assembly of 'six hundred scoundrels.' Every thing which is established comes under his ban, because every thing which is established is an obstacle to the purpose for which he is paid—the destruction of every thing which is ENGLISH."—pp. 72—75.

O'Connell is "a more terrible enemy to England than Napoleon, with all his inspiration;" and yet he possesses "not a single quality of a great man." This is strange. He has "great knowledge of character, little of human nature;" which is something like a distinction without a difference. It is also said, in the same letter, that this man's "name is ever on your lips," that is, the lips of the real people of England. What dolts must such a multitude be, who cannot discern the truth? We should not wonder if they should

remain deaf even to the lucid arguments of Runnymede, notwithstanding his assurance that his is the first direct address that was ever made to them, not excepting Dan's, according to this universality of expression; and yet, O'Connell's name is ever on the real people's lips. In truth, it would thus appear that Dan is the Devil, who can charm a nation without ever directly addressing the real people of it; or rather, he has acquired an undue or extraordinary sway, in consequence not merely of his own talents and exertions, but of the vain efforts of an opposite party, who have too often resisted improvements and reforms which he has eloquently advocated.

It is a relief to get away from such frights as Irish Agitators, and to near the presence of one, who, according to our author, in some points outshines even Sir Robert himself.

"Never has a statesman yet been placed in a position so difficult and so trying as the present heir of the house of Derby: never has a statesman under similar circumstances yet conducted himself with more discretion and more courage. When the acerbities of faction have passed away, posterity will do justice to your disinterestedness and devotion, and the future historian of England will record, with sympathising admiration, the greatness of your sacrifice.

"If the gratification of your ambition had been your only object, your course was clear. Less than three years ago the Whigs, and loudest among them my Lord Melbourne, announced you as the future Prime Minister of England. Young, of high lineage, of illustrious station, and of immaculate character, and unquestionably their ablest orator—among your own party you had no rival. They looked upon you as the only man who could at the same time maintain their power and effectually resist the machinations of those who would equally destroy the constitution and dismember the empire. With what enthusiastic cheers did they not greet the winged words with which you assailed the anti-national enemy, when you rose in the House like a young eagle, and dashed back his treason in the baffled countenance of the priestly delegate! Who could believe that the same men who cheered you in the House, and chuckled over your triumphs in their coteries, should now be the truckling slaves of the sacerdotal power from whose dark influence they then shrank with disgust and terror? Who could believe that the projected treason of these very men should have driven you and your high-minded colleagues from the contagion of their councils? Who could believe that the famous 'Reform Ministry,' that packed a parliament by bellowing 'gratitude to Lord Grey' throughout the empire, should finally have expelled that same Lord Grey from his seat, under circumstances of revolting insult—that the very Lord Melbourne who had always indicated yourself as Lord Grey's successor, should himself have slid into that now sullied seat, where he maintains himself in indolent dependence, by a foul alliance with the very man whom he had previously denounced as a traitor? Can the records of public life, can the secret archives of private profligacy, afford a parallel instance of conduct so base, so completely degrading, so thoroughly demoralized?

"You, my Lord, preferred your honour to your interest, the prosperity of your native land to the gratification of your ambition. You sacrificed

without a pang the proudest station in your country, to prove to your countrymen that public principle was not yet a jest. You did well. The pulse of our national character was beating low. We required some great example to re-brace the energies of our honour. From the moment that you denounced the disgusting thraldom and the base expedients of your chicaning colleagues, a better feeling pervaded England, and animated Englishmen."—pp. 77—79.

Whether has Lord Melbourne or Lord Stanley preserved most firmly the confidence of the people? Runnymede wrote as above in February last. The people are called on to judge at the close of the Parliamentary Session, and we have no hesitation in declaring that the prophet for once has been deceived, or that he has, like the false ones of old, attempted to deceive. Nor is this the only instance in which his gift of prediction has shown itself to be at fault in the course of the pages before us. His talent, his temper, and tendency, however, are of such a one-sided character, that we need not wonder at these slips, nor trouble ourselves with tracing their rancorous course farther. Better can never be expected from violent partisanship, and worse, were it not that the people are too sedate and well-informed to relish extravagance.

ART. V.—*General Statistics of the British Empire.* By JAMES M'QUEEN, Esq. London: Fellowes. 1836.

IT is usual, when we have to speak of any vast subject, to employ certain lofty terms of general description or admiration, without having any distinct idea of its component parts, or of the precise grounds of our belief. For example, if the wealth and power of Britain have to be characterized, the English language seems to be deficient for our purpose, and the phrases *matchless magnificence*, or *inexhaustible resources*, are felt to halt, or be tame, when applied to the theme. It may be that such words do convey some proud and exulting notions to the mind of the speaker and listener; but this we are sure of, if the same persons were to take but one branch of British wealth or power, and examine it minutely, a far better and more glorious impression would be left, because more clearly defined and understood, than what any laboured eulogy or eloquent exclamations can ever communicate; if, for instance, any one section of the present volume were glanced at, the marvel and expanded nature of the inquirer's delight would be in some measure worthy of the rich and splendid object of his contemplation.

Mr. M'Queen has here, in a concise but comprehensive and lucid form, and no doubt at vast expense of labour, developed the immense property, capital, industry, produce, trade, and resources of the British empire. It is not to be supposed that he has in every case arrived at the exact state of facts; but we are satisfied that he has approximated near enough to the truth for all ordinary purposes

of inquiry, whether this inquiry be instituted by the statesman, the politician, or the man of business. At least, the work is sufficiently clear, and his calculations sufficiently well authenticated, for the establishment of what seems to have been a principal object of his undertaking, viz., to show that the prosperity of this country is based upon the prosperity of its agriculture, and that our rulers have but to foster and protect this interest in a proper manner, to render the other branches of industry and wealth flourishing. Even although there should be greater errors in our author's calculations and opinions, than we charge him with, it is manifest that the mode of his arrangement, and the principles of his details, are admirably well calculated to draw the attention of practical men to the departments which each one of them may best understand, and thereby serve to act as the ground-work of a less faulty production.

Mr. M'Queen treats first of the statistics of the United Kingdom, and next of those belonging to the British colonies. We shall confine ourselves to the former, both on account of its being the most important and interesting branch of the subject, and because Mr. Montgomery Martin's able and voluminous work, which immediately regards the latter branch, has obtained repeated and extended notices at our hands.

In the present volume, as is due, our author begins with the land, those having an interest in its produce, and the value of that produce. From parliamentary reports, and the best accessible sources, he infers that the rate of rent throughout Great Britain may be fixed at 25*s.* per acre; and in Ireland, at 23*s.* per acre, exclusive of tithes, mines, fisheries, &c. But including these, the grand total for the United Kingdoms, amounts to 77,230,768*l.* of rental, and to 2,316,922,940*l.* as the value of the capital. Now, though the interest which the proprietors of the land have in it be thus vast, we find that the sum which the tenantry have invested in the soil, in one shape or another, is not less extraordinary. The farmer's capital in horses is calculated at 44,452,395*l.* The following particulars are given regarding black cattle.

"The number of black cattle in the United Kingdom it is more difficult to ascertain from any positive authority; nevertheless, we cannot err far in stating the total number, of all kinds and ages, at 15,000,000. When we come to consider the produce of agriculture, of which this head forms so important a branch, we shall find sufficient concurrent data to establish the fact that this number is not overrating the number. According to the Agricultural Reports of 1833, pp. 443—445, and of 1821, the value of cows bought is from 13*l.* to 15*l.*, and of oxen, working, 14*l.* to 16*l.*, and of those sold, from 18*l.* to 20*l.* The number of cattle may be classed, and their value stated as after-mentioned, remarking that the tear and wear, or loss in cattle annually, is, as in horses, about *one-tenth*. The total number will cease to excite surprise when we consider the number slaughtered each year. According to "The Times" newspaper, November 20, 1835, the cattle and calves

slaughtered in London for the year preceding, was 177,000; and, according to the fourth part of the tables of revenue and population, the numbers for 1834 were 162,485 cattle, say 880lbs. each. According to the Agricultural Report, 1821, p. 267, the number slaughtered in Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, was, yearly, 47,859 cattle, 668lbs. each, and 52,448 calves, at 90lbs. each. Cleland's Annals of Glasgow, 1816, give, for the consumption of Glasgow in 1815, 10,859 cattle, 365lbs. each, and 7128 calves. The statistical account of Scotland, No. 1, gives the consumption of Dundee, in 1833, about 6000 cattle, and 5000 calves. The number killed in Ireland, to procure salt beef, must be great, when it is known, that reduced as that salt beef trade is, still the quantity exported to all foreign ports was, in 1825, 73,135 barsels, (Tab. Rev. and Pop. Part III. p. 321,) or 219,305 cwts., equal to at least 30,000 of the heaviest oxen alluded to. From the county of Aberdeen twenty years ago, 12,000 black cattle were sent to England yearly. From the county of Anglesea, forty years ago, 12,000 to 15,000 were sent to England. Several years ago, the live stock in Berwickshire was estimated to be worth 1,000,000*l.* In Caithnesshire, the stock of black cattle, several years ago, was 15,000*l.* From the county of Caernarvon great herds of cattle are sent to the English market. The stock of cattle in Dumbartonshire is 9120. In Dumfriesshire there are 30,000, of which 12,000 are cows. London has 8500 to 9500 cows. The county of Norfolk, so far back as 1793, exported cattle to the value of 125,000*l.* Anglesea exports 15,000 cattle, and the stock remaining is 30,000. Caithnesshire sends out 20,000 head of black cattle to the southward. Of Irish cattle, 800 each week, for sixteen weeks, are now exported from Warrenpoint, near Newry, to Liverpool, by steam, value each 5*l.* and passage money 15*s.*, to graze in England. The Kyloe breed of cattle, in the West Highlands, are very numerous; thousands of these cattle are fed and fattened and slaughtered yearly, in every part of Scotland and England; their price is very high: three years old, 13 to 14 guineas each, in 1816. They are still improving and disseminating the breed. Of the smaller sized Highland cattle, many thousands are sold yearly to fatten in pastures, both in England and Scotland, and sold rising three years old. Fat lots, fed on coarse pastures, have been sold at 16*l.* a head. (*Journal of Agriculture*, January or February, 1836). Let us take the total number, classes and value of black cattle thus:—

Bulls, young and old	500,000
Cows, do. do.	7,000,000
Oxen, &c., fattened to kill	2,000,000
Ditto, ditto, growing up for ditto . . .	4,000,000
Ditto, used to work	500,000
Ditto, to replace wastage	1,400,000
	15,400,000

Or thus :—

Permanent stock	14,000,000	at 14*l.*	£196,000,000
Replacing portion	1,400.000	„ „	19,600,000
	15,400,000		£215,600,000

The data regarding sheep are more certain than those connected with cattle. They are said to amount to 66,573,335 in number. Several years ago, Lincolnshire had 2,500,000, and several other English counties, not to speak of Ireland or Scotland, had hundreds of thousands. But the extent of capital invested in swine is still more extraordinary, especially because it is a species of stock that is not generally much thought of. According to the official tables of revenue and population, the number sold in Smithfield annually is, in round numbers, 60,000. Those exported from Waterford in 1832, amounted to 52,005, averaging 45*s.* each. Taking the United Kingdoms into account, 18,270,000 is the supposed number of this kind of stock.

Mr. M'Queen inquires into the amount of farmers' capital in poultry and rabbits, in dead stock on farms, in wages, supplies, &c.; and after adding all these items together, sets their value down at 654,833,730*l.*, which, when joined to the capital which proprietors are before said to have in the soil, makes 2,971,756,670*l.* But the subject is not exhausted; and probably the most surprising statements are those that concern the production of grain of all sorts. According to certain tables, this item is estimated at the value of 154,000,000*l.* Then there is the keep of horses, cattle, sheep, &c.; flax, vegetables, and manure—an important item; but when the produce of mines and fisheries are included, which the author considers to be strictly agricultural branches, the value of the grand total of the produce of the soil amounts to 478,162,500*l.* annually raised.

Immense as these numbers and this wealth appear, the calculation is derived not from visions but realities. Let us see, for example, how the matter stands with regard to milk, butter, and cheese.

"The evidence adduced before the Agricultural Committee of 1821, stated the produce from each cow annually, in England, to be from 10*l.* to 14*l.* The evidence given before the Committee of Agriculture, 1833, pp. 443—445, states the produce from each cow yearly to be 9*l.*, including the calf reared by the herdsman, about 30*s.* to 40*s.* sterling. In Clelland's folio Statistics of Glasgow, 1830 cows are stated to produce milk annually for the supply of the city, to the value of 67,342*l.* 10*s.*, being at the rate of 54*l.* 15*s.* for each cow, yielding 6 pints (Scotch) of milk daily!! The able writer who drew up the Statistical Account of the Parish of Hamilton for the new Statistical Account of Scotland, states that cows give 16 quarts of milk daily (some have even produced double); and in the summer months these same cows have been known to produce 1lb. butter per day. The average of dairy farms is, however, estimated at from 4*l.* to 8*l.*, or say 6*l.* 10*s.*, the medium yearly for each cow. We have thus seen what it is in England and in Scotland; we shall now consider what it is in Ireland. In the curious and circumstantial evidence given by Mr. Glendinning (pp. 357—363) and Mr. John Macmahon (pp. 380—385) before the Agricultural Committee of 1833, we have it stated that the agricultural farms in Ireland run from 80 to 100 acres, the grazing or feeding, 200 to 300 acres; that the former requires a capital of 300*l.*, the latter from

2000*l.* to 3000*l.* The feeding land in Galway is 40*s.* Irish, 25*s.* English, per acre; but worth, in fact, 2*l.*, as it will feed six sheep in summer; four sheep equal to one bullock. On the general farms for feeding, the rent is 3*l.* for the Irish acre, or 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* the English. The produce of each cow is calculated so great, that the landlord who provides her, gets as rent 1½ cwt. butter, and 40*s. horn money*, that is, for calves and pigs that the dairyman fattens, and carries to market. Other parts give only 1 cwt. butter, and 30*s.* horn money. The average of each cow in produce may thus be fairly taken at 6*l.*, as butter was then in Limerick 4*l.* per cwt. In 1810, butter rose to 6*l.* the cwt., and then the rent of land rose to 7*l.* per acre. A cow gives 6 pottles of milk daily, and it requires 2 acres of good land to feed her all the year round.

"Cheshire is stated to produce 11,500 tons of cheese, 4000 of which were exported; the calves are killed young that more milk might be had. Derbyshire sent 2000 tons cheese yearly to London. The Vale of Berkely, Gloucestershire, produces 1200 tons of cheese annually, 3 cwt. from each cow; and also 5000 lbs. of whey butter weekly, of good quality. Gloucestershire exports 8000 tons cheese. 5000 tons cheese are annually sent down the Trent, through Leicestershire, from adjacent counties, of which the town from its neighbourhood supplies 1500 tons, which required 9500 cows. London has about 9000 cows, producing from 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 gallons of milk yearly. Besides, there are 800 Holderness cows, kept in Surrey for the supply of London. In Framlingham, Suffolk, and the part of the county of Essex adjoining there, 11,000 firkins of butter were produced yearly. The cows yield from four to six gallons of milk per day. In Wiltshire the pasture land is 270,000 acres. Immense quantities of cheese are made; and the number of cows kept for that purpose, and also to supply the town of Bath, Shrewsbury, &c., with milk, is very great.

"From these different authentic and practical references, we shall find that the estimated amount of consumption of butter, milk, and cheese, as calculated by the scale of the consumption in London, viz. 36,549,900*l.* yearly, is not much overcharged. It is true that the price of milk, for instance, in London and Glasgow, is higher than it is in the country parts, but then we must bear in mind that a much greater quantity of all the articles alluded to is consumed in the country districts amongst the population in proportion than is consumed in great towns. Taking, however, the annual produce from each cow, in butter, milk, and cheese, at 6*l.* 10*s.* (the value of calves being already included with butcher meat), and allowing that there are 5,000,000 cows out of the total number, giving milk for the above purposes, beyond that taken from the other million for the feeding of calves for a certain period, and we have the gross annual produce in butter, milk, and cheese, at 32,500,000*l.* which may be proportioned thus:—

Milk	£12,000,000
Butter	13,500,000
Cheese	7,000,000
Total . . .	£32,500,000."—pp. 46—48."

The extent and magnitude of the power which produces the

riches of the soil enumerated and described in Mr. M'Queen's book, are examined by him with great care. He then arrives at the curious fact, that however manufactories and mechanical powers may concentrate themselves in particular districts of the country, still that the amount of the whole is small, when compared to that which is directly applied in the agricultural labours of the United Kingdom; and at the same time he takes occasion to find fault with certain calculations, which are to be found in the Population Returns of 1831, wherein a prodigious number of persons are taken away from the account of agriculture, who are directly connected with this paramount interest, and dependent upon it; and hence, the great preponderance of the land in the scale of real wealth, over everything else in the country, is attested.

We pass over some other kinds of British property, such as houses, horses not employed in agriculture, ships, and steam-boats. Under the head of houses, we observe the highest rates of some in London. The rental, for instance, of the Duke of Sutherland's mansion in St. James's Park, is set down at 3,900*l.*; several are between two and three thousand per annum; others between one and two thousand, the scale descending to hundreds, &c. &c. Then manufactures come to be considered and valued—that of cotton, as being the most important, taking the lead. Mr. Baines' able and minute work on this subject having not many months ago been reviewed by us at considerable length, precludes the necessity of our introducing here any account of this branch of British wealth. We might, however, select the article leather, or flax, or wool, for some most interesting facts; but hardware and cutlery, where the raw materials, as in the last-mentioned items, are comparatively speaking, British produce, will as amply serve our purpose. After naming the quantity and value of iron which is annually produced, and the quantity exported, of which 16,275 cwts. has sometimes been in hardware and cutlery, Mr. M'Queen proceeds to say:—

"When we reflect upon the quantity that remains of British production, probably about 1,000,000 tons, and the quantity that is to be imported to be worked up in this country (15,399 tons in 1834), and consider the various valuable, expensive, and even ornamental purposes to which iron, when manufactured, is applied—the immense consumption of hardware and cutlery alone, in this country, when compared to the export, the iron employed in all agricultural implements, in machinery, and in every article for building houses, carriages, ships, &c. &c., and in various domestic purposes, without thinking of the munitions of war, or the modern invention of rail-roads, &c., we shall have an enormous, I had almost said an incalculable sum. The evidence of Mr. S. Jackson, before the Committee of Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping, 1833, p. 175, gives us some insight into this important trade, as regards Sheffield alone. The population was estimated at 90,000, principally employed; the male population, and a considerable part of the female population, in the manufacture of hardware goods. The number of hands employed in making

table knives and forks, 3689; pen and pocket knives, 2680; razors, 754; scissors, 600; files, 1768; saws, 563; edged tools, 703; stove grate fenders, 1530; white metal, 643; silver plated manufactures, 500: making a total of 13,430. The wages—spring-knife cutlers, blade-forgers, 21*s.* to 81*s.* 6*d.* per week; what are called work-bound hands, or which put the knives together, 15*s.* to 25*s.* per week; grinders, 30*s.* to 40*s.* per week; table knife hafters, 18*s.* to 27*s.* per week; razor forgers, 26*s.* to 30*s.* per week; razor strikers, 24*s.* to 26*s.* per week; hafters, from 18*s.* to 40*s.* per week; grinders, 18*s.* to 50*s.* per week; ten hours' labour each day. Mr. William Matthews stated to the same Committee (p. 594) that there were from 50,000 to 60,000 nailers in his neighbourhood, near Dudley; and we have only to look around the kingdom, in almost every town and district thereof, to perceive the prodigious numbers of persons engaged in manufacturing articles from iron, of one description or the other, to form the opinion, that the amount is incalculably great. The consumption of hardware and cutlery alone is fifteen times the value of what is exported. The value of blacksmith work yearly, on a farm of 100 acres, is nearly 8*l.*, or upwards of 1,590,000*l.* in the farming department alone for repairs in iron and labour for it. The home consumption, at the rates just stated, will be 244,125 tons, value 24,278,495*l.*; but the iron being wrought iron, from which all this is made, may, as pig-iron, be estimated at one-third more, 321,000 tons: there will then remain, admitting our calculation of production to be correct, after all the exports and the home consumption mentioned, upwards of 550,000 tons, pig-iron to be employed for every other purpose in Great Britain; and admitting that it is only turned into the value of 20*l.* per ton on an average, the additional value would be 11,000,000*l.* The produce of the iron trade would then be as under:—

	Value.
Exported hardware and cutlery, &c. &c.	£ 2,892,105
Home consumption of hardware and cutlery . .	24,278,495
Other purposes	11,000,000
Grand Total	£38,170,600
Deduct cost of pig-iron, as estimated	7,098,000
Produce of manufactured iron trade . .	£31,072,600

It is calculated that there cannot be fewer than 400,000 persons employed in the hardware and cutlery trade. Brass and copper wares form another large branch; and the mere mention of china, glass, earthenware, beer, spirits, &c., is sufficient to set the mind upon a train of reflection—after having been enlightened regarding any other item of trade, such as that of hardware and cutlery—that must carry the contemplator to the highest pitch of wonder. Let us take an entirely different method of measuring the wealth and resources of the United Kingdoms. The distance of roads is now about 30,000 miles in Great Britain, and the expense of making them may be calculated at 1000*l.* per mile. The prosperity and traffic of a country cannot perhaps be tried by a truer gauge than

by its methods and opportunities of conveyance. Then, what are we to think of the capital vested in docks—those in London alone having cost more than 7,000,000*l.*—of canals, and of rail-roads, these fast-spreading and far extending arms of commerce, and travelling convenience? The property in bridges is also prodigious; or were we to name the churches and chapels of the United Kingdom, what an idea of wealth should we attain to; a wealth too that is exhaustless, because continually supported by a generative and increasing industry? After a general statement or summary of all his previous calculations, the author makes the amount of property in England, Ireland, and Scotland to be, as undoubtedly it is, enormous, and too much for the grasp of the human mind to comprehend, when run up into one row of figures. But instead of specifying what is the amount of these amazing sums—which those curious or concerned about such matters ought to examine at length, as detailed in the present work—it will be satisfactory to our countrymen to know, that as compared with France, Great Britain has greatly the preference.

A view of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom, great and valuable though it certainly be; carries the author to an important conclusion, which he is most anxious to impress upon the reader, viz. that this trade dwindles into insignificance when weighed against the traffic to which our internal and domestic consumption gives rise; and therefore that the latter ought to be guarded in preference to the former. Both, however, may be attended to, even though it be admitted that the one is our own entirely, and the other dependent upon the will and interests of other.

When we think of the prodigious sums which this country advanced to foreign powers, in loans and subsidies, from 1793 to 1815, and thence to 1821, we obtain perhaps the most amazing picture of our national resources. Certainly all the rest of Europe would have been swamped by these payments; and yet most of them were made when Britain was at war with the most skilful and powerful enemy that ever existed. We quote the various items thus expended, as collected by our author, which will make the eye-balls of those not previously acquainted with the whole, dilate, while their belief will be staggered.

"Loan to Austria . .	1795	£4,600,000	included afterwards.
Do. do. . .	1797	1,620,000	
Do. do. for interest paid,		10,601,955	
Do. do. . .	1800	2,000,000	
Do. to Portugal .	1809	600,000*	
		£19,421,955	

* "Of this, on account of interest and redemption there was paid, 343,020*l.* 18*s.*; remainder, cancelled Jan. 22nd, 1815."

"In subsidies, as loans:—

		£
To Sundries	1793	843,273
—	1794	1,550,244
—	1795	5,724,861
—	1796	32,870
—	1797	1,684,585
—	1798	127,013
—	1799	849,812
—	1800	1,612,177
—	1801	690,113
—	1802	285,450
—	1803	211,275
—	1804	103,423
—	1805	35,340
—	1806	395,847
—	1807	858,981
—	1808	2,897,873
—	1809	2,579,039
—	1810	2,110,542
—	1811	2,367,412
—	1812	3,908,520
—	1813	6,786,021
—	1814	8,442,597
—	1815	10,024,720
—	1816	1,850,525
—	1817	136,641
—	1818	663,182
—	1819	766,374
—	1820	479,517
—	1821	115,753
Total		£58,329,989
Add Loans		19,421,955
Grand Total		£77,751,944

"Only about two millions of the above sum was given after 1816, and arose out of agreements subsisting previous to that period. Exclusive of the preceding loans, there has, since the above period, been raised in this country for foreign states the amount already noticed, but more particularly as follows:—

Austria	1823	£2,500,000
Belgium	1832	2,000,000
Brazils	1824, 1829	6,000,000
Denmark	1825	5,500,000
Greece	1824, 1825	2,800,000
Naples	1824	2,500,000
Prussia	1818, 1822	8,500,000
Portuguese	1823	1,500,000
Spain	1821, 1823	3,000,000

Russia	1822		3,500,000
Buenos Ayres	1824	£1,000,000	
Chili	1822	1,000,000	
Colombia	1822, 1824	6,750,000	
Guatemala	1825	1,428,571	
Mexico	1824, 1825	6,400,000	
Peru	1822, 1825	1,836,000	
			17,514,571
Total			56,694,571
Loans previous to 1809			19,421,955
Loans and sums in subsidies			77,751,944
			£153,868,470

It would argue a vile obtuseness of heart, were a son of any one of the kingdoms which are bound together under the general designation of Britain, after examining these and similar proofs, not to become more enamoured of our national name, more proud of British prowess, and more determined to sacrifice every selfish interest for the good of the empire at large. It would also indicate that a pusillanimous spirit dwelt in him, who after such facts despairs of the nation's increasing renown and greatness. For our part, we believe, that this mighty country never was more able to maintain her honour and integrity than now, and that she is destined to head the army of all the nations of the world, for centuries to come, in their onward march in civilization, knowledge, and virtue. It is not difficult to perceive, however, that our author thinks the nation has fallen into bad hands, ever since the party who carried us triumphantly through the period of greatest sacrifice and exertion ceased to bear rule. Here we think his opinions require much qualification, and his prejudices castigation. At the same time, that he is a warm patriot and an able writer, is manifest from his former and his present works. In conclusion, we extract a paragraph which contains matter that is full of encouragement.

" The previous inquiries and researches show us, beyond the power of contradiction, that the prosperity of a country depends upon its industry, its consuming powers, and the inclination of its population to consume articles of luxury, convenience, and such as are absolutely necessary to preserve and to sustain a healthy and comfortable mode of life, rather than merely upon the numbers of its people. How greatly the consuming powers of Great Britain exceed those of the proudest empires in Europe, or in any other country in this world, when compared to the numbers of their people! What is the value, to the agriculturist and manufacturer of Great Britain, of the boasted hundreds of millions of people in Hindostan and China, compared with the value and importance of London alone? The consumption in it of agricultural and manufacturing produce *far* exceeds the whole amount of the foreign trade of Great

Britain and Ireland, and is nearly *forty* times the amount of all the exports to India and China put together; and nearly four times the extent and value of all the British exports to every foreign country under heaven! The production of Great Britain and Ireland, agricultural and manufacturing, together with imports, is, in round numbers, 796,000,000*l.*, and less exports, 746,000,000*l.* London and its immediate vicinity will show a population of 2,000,000, or, has as been stated, *one-twelfth* of the whole. This, on an equal ratio, would give 62,500,000*l.* as the consumption of every thing in London, taking every article at the prices of the manufacturer, the agriculturist, and the importer: but a considerable addition ought to be made to the general and also to the proportionate amount, on account of the higher price the articles bear when these come through the intermediate merchant and retailer into the hands of the consumer; and a considerable sum more should be added on account of the greater quantity of almost every article which is consumed in London, from the greater wealth of its inhabitants, and abundance of money which is amongst them. Taking these two things together, the consumption of London of manufactured, imported, and agricultural productions, cannot be less than 80,000,000*l.* a year, while its expenditure must be still greater. Thus we may fairly suppose that there are resident in London daily, from all quarters, 100,000 strangers, the expenditure of each, at 1*l.* per diem, would amount to 36,000,000 yearly!

"Such is the consumption, and the powers of consumption of London, the capital of the British Empire, the centre of civilization, and of the money transactions of the world. The greater portion of income from agriculture is expended in the capital. The transactions also in London are all, as regards the agriculturist, the importer, and the manufacturer, paid in ready money, or what is equal to, or convertible into it, and not on long credits and uncertain remittances, as too much of our foreign trade is now become."—pp. 221, 222.

ART. VI.—*Recollections of an Artillery Officer: including Scenes and Adventures in Ireland, America, Flanders, and France.* By BENSON EARLE HILL. 2 vols. London: Bentley. 1836.

THESE recollections embrace a period commencing in 1809, and extending to the time when peace was finally established between this country and France. But why they should be so late in making their public appearance, involves a question we cannot answer. It is not certainly because Mr. Hill is at a loss to spin out a long story about trifles, nor that he possesses a reflecting spirit, nor that he has matters to discourse about, which required a pause on the part of the writer, in order that their fuller development might enable him to solve some important problem. The work is, we think, the lightest—may not most trifling be added?—of all we ever read, which purported to detail realities, and record a soldier's career or every-day life; nor can we see why a man who has such a ready pen, such a superficial manner, and such a knack of intro-

ducing any, even the tritest or silliest observations, as well as of bringing in by the shoulders and of yoking together the most distant or most incongruous things, should not, in the course of any or of every three months in the year, be the parent of two as goodly volumes as these which are now before us. It cannot be said, however, trifling though the matter be generally, and light the manner always, that the sketches are destitute of spirit, much less of a sort of self-complacency and conceit, which seem so real and characteristic as to show to the reader the man in his integrity. The anecdotes given, and the scenes described, are also often in their nature amusing or interesting; while they never fail of possessing features and aspects suited to the author's genius, or which perhaps are made to yield to a power that is plastic like that of a skilful artist. Indeed, egotistic, trifling, and unlike what one should expect of every person who was not an opera-dancer or singer, or man-milliner, or fop, as these recollections may be, it must be admitted that they keep up the reader's attention, and entice him to follow them to the end, which is the most favourable thing that can in a few words be said of the work.

We must now take our readers through a few of the Chapters, beginning at the beginning of the first, and culling, here and there, a portion, as it happens to strike us, till we, in our haste, reach the end. "From my earliest childhood, I evinced a love for theatrical exhibitions," says the author, "which, as I grew older, strengthened to a propensity for exhibiting myself." Accordingly, at a tender age this passion was gratified, when he personated David, in Hannah Moore's Sacred Drama. We learn that he was highly flattered upon this occasion; nay, one old lady declared that he would bear away the palm from Master Betty, the young Roscius. This information, at the very outset of these Recollections, affords a perfectly correct estimate of the taste and talent of Mr. B. E. Hill, as evinced throughout the remainder of the volumes. If he was stage-struck in his boyhood, he is stage-mad to the last of the record; for though he may in *this* paragraph be flourishing away with pen in hand about battles, bloodshed, and death, with all the concomitant horrors and circumstance of war, we shall find him in *that* dilating, *con amore*, or rather in the most puerile style, about some amateur-theatrical performance, got up on the most paltry scale.

Whether it was by stealth or parental license that our young Roscius personated David, it is beyond our information to say, but it would appear, the art of war was to be his study, so that the harp of David was professedly laid aside. While, however, preparing for his examination at the Royal Military Academy, Shooter's Hill, where he had been placed, the charms of the Drama were ever present to his imagination, in spite of "Hutton's Course." A play was got up, we may presume chiefly through his ardour for such

pastimes, when he who had figured as a Harper of Israel, changed his sex and became the mournful Lady Randolph.

There are other announcements in these volumes, besides those that regard theatricals, and marks which serve to picture vividly to the mind's eye, the hero of them; and one of these is his constantly receiving favour in the estimation of the titled, and of the fair. We verily believe that our Artillery Officer would almost as soon be thought a coward as anything short of a gallant, or lady's man. We learn, that while at Shooter's Hill he received an invitation from his "most kind friend, Lady Hamilton," who at that time resided at a small house in Piccadilly, her table being daily supplied by the eccentric Duke of Queensbury; and the following particulars connected with the history of that lady are not unworthy of being recorded.

"Horatia, the late Lord Nelson's *adopted* daughter, was very anxious to visit Westminster Abbey; accordingly, Lady Hamilton and our two selves went thither. After going through the usual routine, the guide, little guessing whom he addressed, said, 'Perhaps, madam, the young folks would like to see the waxen himage of the late Hadmiral Nelson; it has only been put up these two days.'

"Her ladyship was much agitated, and bowed assent; the man led the way to a glass-case, in which stood the effigy of her idol and the nation's pride.

"Tears flowed down her lovely face: she stood gazing intently upon this very faithful portrait; and, when her emotion permitted her to speak, she told the man that the likeness would be perfect if a certain lock of hair was disposed in the way his lordship always wore it: this she offered to arrange. The guide refused to let any body touch the figure.

"'I am sure,' she said, with that bewitching grace with which she was pre-eminently gifted, 'when I tell you that I am Lady Hamilton, you will not refuse me.'

"The man fixed his gaze upon her. 'Lady Hamilton!' he repeated; 'what, Lord Nelson's Lady Hamilton! Oh, madam, who could refuse you?" He hastened to open the case, the lock of hair was adjusted; she would have kissed the lips, but, like the cautious Paulina, the guide assured her 'the colour was not dry.' I have not seen the figure since; but, as it is still extant, and remains, I understand, untouched, it may not be uninteresting to know whose hands completed its toilet."—vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

We have said that Mr. Hill entertains an excellent opinion of himself, which we may now add as another feature, or rather allow himself to do so, to his portrait. By his own showing he is ever lucky, his judgment and discretion are ever notable, he is constantly and entirely a hero. Take him, even when but a student of the art of war, and we discover that he amused himself in compiling a Manuscript newspaper, called the "Cadet's Weekly Messenger," which was continued for three months, under his editorship, to the terror of his enemies, if he had any, and even to the effect of commanding the marked attention of the Professors. At length he

was gazetted; this was in the spring of 1809; and in the summer of 1810 he was ordered to Ireland, to join the Royal Artillery, in the capacity of a second lieutenant. It is Sunday when he arrives in Dublin. He is without a penny in his pocket, (and such an occurrence, be it known, our Artillery-man seems proud to commemorate, as often, we presume, as it really happened—for it is not unsymptomatic of him to mince the poor boast of having been a wild lad,) so that he has to borrow. Monday comes, however; there are four months' pay due to him at the agent's; thither he repairs, but is refused the cash or any part of it, by the paymaster, until authorized by the General of the district. What is to be done?—or rather, what did the stripling officer do? We have his word for it, that the following account is correct.

"In a towering passion, I flew to General Trotter's, and explained to him, as well as my agitation would permit, the extraordinary conduct of C——.

"'My dear boy,' said he, 'if you knew him as well as I do, you would not be annoyed. C—— is a very honest person, but the greatest bear in Ireland. He is only a clerk to the regimental paymasters, but fancies himself of much more consequence than the Lord Lieutenant—take this, however,' giving me a note, 'and he will attend to your wishes and settle your business. But you *must favour* me with your company at six.'

"'A thousand thanks, *my dear general!* but—'

"'But what?—unless you are better engaged, I shall expect you.'

"'Better engaged, sir—no—only—Young is here.'

"'Is he? that's strange! for I received his half-yearly returns from Cork to-day.'

"The dear unconscious general supposed that I had alluded to the commandant of Artillery in that district.

"'I mean that the celebrated Mr. Young plays Sir Edward Mortimer to-night, and *I must* see him.'

"'Oh, if that's the case, dine with me, and you can go to the play afterwards.'

"To this I readily assented, sufficiently pleased with the prospect of a dinner with the general, so long as it did not interfere with a feast, which I presumed to consider of a *far higher relish.*

"I hastened back to the 'Paymaster's clerk.' 'There, sir, I hope your scruples will be satisfied.'

"C—— coolly examined the note. 'That's quite right,' he said.

"'I wish you had said it was quite wrong.'

"'Why, young gentleman?'

"'That I might have had the pleasure of *breaking your head.*'

"'You are very hasty,' he continued, in the same unmoved tone. 'Let me see, E. F. G. H. Four months you have been on the Irish establishment—how much would you like to draw?'

"'Every farthing out of your hands, so make out a receipt for the whole.' And I foolishly imagined that the withdrawal of so immense a sum as a second lieutenant's pay for four months would annoy the man through whose hands thousands past daily.

"I strolled about the principal streets till it was time to make my

toilet, and at six repaired to the general's. He was alone, and kindly addressed me.

"'I am sorry to lose you so soon; but, since your morning visit, I find your company is stationed at Athlone; and Colonel Hutton has written to me, requesting you may be ordered to join as soon as possible. I therefore request you will proceed to-morrow. During the winter, I shall be most happy to grant you leave to visit Dublin, for the purpose of our becoming better acquainted.'

"There was no appealing from orders so given. The moment I could with propriety rise from the dinner-table, I took leave of the good general, and made my way to the Crow Street theatre."—vol. i, pp. 27—29.

We have thrown into Italics a few terms and phrases that have made us stare. A subaltern, one that had not yet joined his regiment, and an entire stranger to General Trotter (so far as appears), thus to bear himself, argues, at least, very little in favour of that field officer's dignity and jealousy of the honour of the service—whatever it may do as regards the confidence and froward bearing of the narrator. But we must take the story as one somewhat theatrically dressed, and after enduring considerable mendings and borrowed ornaments. Still, it is strange that a man who entered the army in 1810, should, in 1836, present to the world such a tale, be it true or false. The fact undoubtedly is, that Mr. Hill looks upon himself, to this day, as a remarkably clever person, who can at any time make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and who would rather be doubted than dull. It is in this way alone, that his perfectly correct remembrance of long dialogues about trifles, occurring twenty-six years ago, can be accounted for.

Mr. Hill proceeded to Athlone to join his company. His exploits in this neighbourhood, and the estimation in which he was here held, we need not particularly observe. He narrates some circumstances, however, belonging to the life of a dignitary of the church, whom he heard preach at Athlone, not many months after his going thither, which we quote.

"Many years ago, in a remote district, the inhabitants of a Shebeen house, by the road-side, received, with warm and kindly hospitality, a young pedestrian traveller, who, on entering, pronounced the usual benediction of 'God save all here!' in a clear and musical voice. The people of the house were anxious to show their respect for him and for his habit.

"'Shure 'tis the clargy shall have the best bit and sup that we have,' said the landlord.

'"By dad!' added his spouse, 'tis mighty lucky that I put down the shoulder of mutton to the fire awhile agone; there'll be just anuff for the three of us, for 'tis off one of the cruel small breed that Lord —— sent over from England to this poor country.'

"The object of their kindness was on his way to Maynooth, in hopes of finding some employment in the establishment there; he was not in orders, but his garb and manner amply justified the supposition that he belonged to the 'Clargy.'

"The shoulder of mutton, gracefully twirling by the fire, now and then received fresh impetus from the fingers of our traveller, whose appetite was somewhat sharp-set. The *Vanathe* was making the onion-sauce, while Murphy was taking the jackets off his namesakes: all was in admired preparation, when suddenly a Gossoon rushed breathlessly into the cabin, calling on them, 'for the love of Christ, to run and help some travellers whose carriage had upset at the turn of the road, close to the big stone that had been put up to mark the bounds of the barony.'

"Both host and guest hurried to the spot, and the latter shortly returned with two English gentlemen, whom he had extricated from their perilous situation; the landlord remained to assist the smith in repairing the damage which the vehicle had sustained. The Englishmen, after felicitating each other on their escape, asked what they could have by way of refreshment—a sod of turf hanging at the door being sufficient intimation that they were in a house of entertainment. The good woman apologized to her newly-arrived customers, and honestly confessed that 'there was nothing at all to the fore, barrin' the shoulder of mutton roasting for the clargy.' Thus singled out as the sole proprietor of the good cheer, our young traveller, with much grace and modesty, begged that it might be appropriated to the English gentlemen, which, after the due preliminaries were settled that he should partake, was accordingly arranged.

"The strangers soon found their companion to be a well-educated young man, with a pleasing address and manner. The eldest inquired his present pursuits and future prospects, and learned that an ushership at Maynooth College was the height of his ambition. Some home-thrusts were put in by the querist, touching the difficulty attending the rise of one professing the Roman Catholic faith; hints were given that, if the 'errors of Popery' were renounced, something might be done to his great advantage; a promise, at length, was extorted, that he would for the present forego the idea of the ushership, and make his way to England, a bank-note for fifty pounds being graciously presented for the purpose.

"Nothing now remained for our poor scholar but to learn the name of his patron; a card was handed to him, 'The Duke of ——, —— House, Piccadilly.' They parted. In less than three years, the Rev. Mr. O'B—— was private secretary and chaplain to his grace; and he it was who, having arrived at the dignity of lord Bishop, had this day preached at Athlone. Need I add, that to the latest hour of his life his lordship professed a profound veneration for a shoulder of mutton!"—vol. i, pp. 34—36.

The author laments, in the beginning of his fifth chapter of the first volume, that two long chapters have past, and not a word about plays or players. He farther states, that the only approach to dramatic entertainments which he enjoyed during the winter of 1810-11, was at the seat of a Major Murray, where the party read Colman's "Jealous Wife"—"the principal characters being sustained by Lord and Lady Castlemain, Lady Ann Gregory," &c. "and myself," and where the theatrical names were retained after the reading was concluded; and any one of the party addressing his friends by their real title was subject to a fine. All this may be

very interesting to Lord Segrave, to whom these volumes are dedicated, "the drama's patron, and the actor's friend," and also very dear, at this day, to the recollections of Mr. Hill, who entered the army in 1810; but to us, and, we believe, to not a few of our readers, the disappointment will not be severe, nor likely to call for much sympathy. But as we are always anxious to please every palate, and because there may be some Segraves and Hills amongst our patrons, we offer a morsel after their own taste:—

"But now to change my subject, and 'talk of joy.'

"The long wished for day at length arrived; I was perfect to a letter, and my dresses had been selected with great care. I reached Nenagh too late for rehearsal: after dining at the inn alone, that I might ensure sobriety, I made my way to the theatre, was most kindly welcomed by my brother amateurs, and warmly greeted by the audience, on my *entrée* as 'Frank Rochdale' in 'John Bull;' a part I never should have selected, but I undertook it as introduction to better things. The after-piece was 'Raising the Wind,' in which I enacted the amorous old maid, 'Laura Durable.' Some kind friends had furnished me with a most appropriate and bewitching dress, and the audience treated me with all due gallantry. The officers were really clever actors, and every possible attention was paid to 'scenery, dresses, and decorations.' A very merry supper party concluded the evening, and I not only received most flattering congratulations upon my *début*, but was earnestly requested by the managers to lend my aid at their next representation. To this I cheerfully acceded." vol. i, p. 117.

About this period of time, our artillery officer states, he was almost domesticated at Lord Glentworth's, where the mother of Lady Glentworth, a Mrs. Beaumont, choosing one evening, a "feet-on-the-fenderish" style of conversation, told him the story we now extract, and which touches our feelings more tenderly and powerfully than all the remembered emotions which Kemble, Siddons, O'Neil, or Kean, now can muster.

"Her first husband, Mr. Edwards, was a gentleman of very high respectability, and well-known attachment to government. One day soon after the breaking out of the Rebellion, in 1798, he had invited a large party to dinner: just before his expected guests arrived, he was overwhelmed with consternation, by finding that two of his old associates, upon whose heads a price was set, had taken shelter under his roof. His butler, a trustworthy servant, was alone aware of their having entered the house—what was to be done? How attempt to conceal them from the lynx-eyed vigilance of the police? If found, he knew their lives were forfeit, and his character compromised. In this fearful dilemma, like a sensible man, he sought the advice of his wife. Mrs. Edwards knew the unhappy brothers well; they had been, some years before, constant visiters at the house, always beloved and respected. Political topics were never permitted; nor did her husband or herself know how deeply their friends were involved, until their names were blazoned forth to the world as rebels by one party, and hailed as patriots by their own. In these

critical times, servants were not often to be trusted; not a moment was to be lost. Leaving her husband below, to receive their visiters, or to answer any inquiries, Mrs. Edwards led the fugitives to her bed-room, and secreted them between the bed and mattrass.

"The guests arrived; dinner was served; the fearful topics of the day discussed. Scarcely had the company taken their seats, when the hostess fell back in her chair, apparently fainting; her husband rushed to her, and apologizing to his friends, led her at once to her bed-room. He returned, assuring his guests that it was a temporary attack, to which his wife was subject; a severe giddiness, that prevented her from all exertion, and for which there was no remedy but the seclusion of her chamber.

"Much regret was expressed at the supposed suffering of the lady; dinner was proceeding, when the tramp of armed men was heard approaching the house; a loud knock followed, on the instant; and, in a moment after, Major Sirr, attended by several officers, entered the dining-room. Mr. Edwards rose to receive them.

"'I lament extremely,' said the Major, that 'I am obliged to disturb your friends, sir; but these are no times for ceremony—read this!'

"And he handed a warrant to search for the bodies of John and Henry Shears, proclaimed rebels. Mr. Edwards had nothing left but to put a good face on the matter.

"'I can have no objection, major,' said he, 'even if that would avail. I have only to request, as a special favour, that you will fulfil your duty as quietly as possible; my wife has been suddenly obliged to leave the table, from severe indisposition, as my friends here can testify; and, when you see me surrounded by persons whose characters for loyalty are unimpeached, you will scarcely suppose it possible that I should give shelter to men of such opposite principles. I will attend you over the house; but, once more, let me beg you will tread softly, for the sake of my wife.'

"Major Sirr left the whole of his attendants in the hall, with the exception of the officer commanding the military; and preceded by the master of the house, narrowly examined every room, including the cupboards, chimneys, &c. On arriving at the door of Mrs. Edwards's apartment, he said to the military man,

"'I will not ask you to follow me here. I will look in, to satisfy myself and be able to report accordingly, and join you in an instant.'

"The door was gently opened. The curtains of the bed were closely drawn, the invalid groaning most piteously.

"'God knows,' said the narrator, 'it was from intense agony.'

"'Don't be alarmed, my love,' said the husband; 'we shall not disturb you.'

"The major took a hasty survey round the room, assured Mr. Edwards that he was satisfied, and descended.

"On his reaching the dining-room, he told the guests that scenes of violence were expected to occur that evening, and he begged leave to recommend their getting to their several homes as early as possible—a hint the visiters did not fail to take, to the great relief of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, who were now left to devise means of getting their unhappy friends out of the house, to some place of safety.

"The wretched brothers, who had tasted nothing all day, having been hotly pursued, were supplied with food and wine, smuggled into the room by Mrs. Edwards. They had listened most eagerly, but in vain, for the expected shouts of their friends, who, they fondly believed, would be masters of the capital; and, disappointed in their hopes, determined on leaving the house at all hazards, about an hour after midnight.

"Alas! their fate was but protracted; shortly after, they were discovered, secreted in a cave, in the wilds of Wicklow; were brought to trial, condemned, and died upon the gibbet!"—vol. i, pp. 118—122.

The last days of 1811 passed away in the midst of gaiety and hospitality, says our subaltern, and on the first day of the year, he heartily congratulated himself that he was to have "the supreme felicity of performing on the next evening." He attempted a higher flight now, than ever before, and chose Glenalvon's character, because it allowed opportunities "of displaying picturesque Highland costume, and spouting long soliloquies." He, on the same occasion, performed the part of My Lord Duke, in High Life Below Stairs. Lady Glentworth, having lent him various articles towards his stage finery, wished that he might visit her in costume, she not having been a witness of his public appearance; and the consequence was, that a masquerade at Lord Glentworth's was immediately contemplated. But what follows is too *important* to bear curtailment.

"I offered my services for the occasion, which were accepted; the subject was discussed, several important points settled, and it was finally determined that cards should be issued for receiving masks on the 27th. The good city of Limerick was thrown into a state of delirium on the announcement.

"The utmost anxiety prevailed as to who would be invited, and who excluded, since no one was to be admitted except in character, or mask and domino.

"My time was now occupied in giving my assistance to the preparations for the coming fête. Amongst the visiters at Lord Glentworth's was a young lady named Sweeney, possessed of an exquisite taste for the fine arts, and who designed most skilfully; to her direction the embellishments were confided, and numerous workmen and women employed.

"Amongst these, however, none were found capable of chalking the floor of the ball-room; and it was agreed on, betwixt this zealous and talented young lady and myself, that we would undertake it. Accordingly, for three days did we labour together on the floor, and a very splendid floor we made of it. If my kind reader will take the pains of perusing the note at the foot of the page, he will learn the full, true, and particular account of the gay scene. It is extracted from Watson and Mahony's paper of the day, and, although my own handiwork, it was considered a pretty specimen of reporting*.

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* Lord and Lady Glentworth's masked ball took place on Monday evening, the 27th ult., to which almost all the rank and fashion of Lime-

"As soon as Major Strode, of the Hertford militia, received his invitation for the masquerade, he determined on going in the dress worn by the gamekeepers of the Marquess of Salisbury. Accordingly, he sent to England for a brace of live birds, partridges being a great rarity in Ireland, and also commissioned a friend in Dublin to purchase for him a peculiarly bright green velveteen, of which his jacket was to be made, begging that it might be sent per mail.

"It was within two days of the fête, and no parcel had arrived; the drum-major of the regiment entered the major's apartment with the intelligence that there was a letter at the post-office directed to him, the charge for which amounted to four pounds ten! Major Strode was astonished, but applauded the sagacity of the drum-major for not bringing so expensive a missive without first consulting him, when in a moment the thought struck him that it must be the green velveteen, and nothing else. Instant orders were given to bring the letter to him, and sure enough, it proved to be what he had anticipated.

"It was ascertained that the friend who had undertaken to procure it had desired his servant to be very particular that it went by the mail, and the sapient domestic determined to obey orders; so, to ensure its conveyance by that vehicle, he had with considerable difficulty forced the parcel into the slit at the post-office. When the circumstance was reported to the officials in Dublin, great part of the sum charged was remitted.

"It had been very judiciously arranged, that, on the evening of which I have been speaking, no visiter could be admitted without a sealed ticket, a measure calculated to prevent the intrusion of improper or uninvited persons. As the master of the house intended to support various characters, Colonel Chichester, of the Cardigan, undertook to examine the tickets at the foot of the stairs, Lady Glentworth receiving her company on the landing-place."—vol. i, pp. 125—129.

One half of Mr. Hill's Recollections are not a farthing's worth more valuable than the paragraphs we have now taken into our pages. Surely he must estimate at an exceedingly low figure, the

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rick and its environs were invited. The staircase was decorated with flowers and evergreens, disposed in numerous arches, interspersed with a profusion of variegated lamps. The ball-room was brilliantly illuminated, and transparencies, emblematic of Hibernia and Britannia, ornamented each window. The floor was chalked, having the Prince's plume at the head of the room, his lordship's arms in the centre, and at the bottom a device of the harp hung with Shamrock, happily blended with the Rose and Thistle. The refreshment-room was fitted up as a superb tent, in which a smiling Bacchus tempted the masques to partake of the joys his sparking goblet afforded. Splendid and elegant ornaments, the ingenious productions of his lordship's family, graced the supper-table; several illuminated cottages, vases of marble, and gold pillars and trophies, were tastefully arranged; the large and elegant mirrors at each end of the room carried the brilliant scene to an endless perspective. * *

"The supper was announced at one, and the party did not break up till six o'clock.

sense of the reading public, and cherish a very inadequate idea of the value of time, not merely to persons of his own years, but to the youngest of those who subscribe to a circulating library. But why should we criticise, or waste words in blaming that which ha not the vigour or the worth to maintain itself?

In the course of time, we find our author doing duty in England, and figuring away at Portsmouth, at the time when the allied sovereigns visited that place. There is nothing new nor remarkable in his account of this gay period, and which now, indeed, is too old to interest the public. It is sufficient that the narrator did his duty admirably, and to the great satisfaction of his superiors. The thing most worthy of record, in this part of these volumes, regards Blücher, and runs thus :—

"The carriage, which was to convey him, arrived; the women now pressed on with Amazonion fury; the brave old man appeared; knowing what was expected, he commenced a series of salutes—fresh relays of relentless beauties awaited his regard. His duty to his master was, however, paramount; so, putting the candidates gently aside, he said, in as good English as he could muster,

"'I can kiss no more—no more kiss to-day.'

"Even those who were dissappointed could not help expressing their delight at the good-natured candour of this noble old soldier."—vol. i, p. 211.

Mr. Hill's first active service was in the disastrous affair to the British troops, which took place at New Orleans. We soon after find him on the field of Waterloo, but, to his regret, too late to have taken a part in the battle, which, we are sure, he would have done as heartily as ever he appeared at masquerade or theatre. But he was in time, and early enough, to be able to write thus :—

"The farm-house, or château, par complaisance, of Goumont, rechristened, by the victor, in his despatches, Hougomont, by which name it will be known as long as a stone of the building remains, had been contested, with deadly strife; the principal buildings were, in consequence, nearly destroyed by fire. Attached to the farm stood a small chapel; its gable decorated with a wooden figure of the Saviour on the cross, as large as life. The interior of this edifice had not escaped conflagration; but the flames had only scorched the feet of the image, whilst the smoke, leaving a dark black mark all around it, formed a dingy frame to the bright colouring bestowed on the flesh and drapery. Some centuries ago this miraculous preservation would have speedily enshrined the figure in a chapel built to commemorate its peculiar sanctity.

"On the left of the chaussée huge heaps of bodies had been collected, and were now burning, filling the air with noisome effluvia. The only relics I gathered were a book or two that had belonged to French soldiers, and a cuirass inlaid with brass, which I purchased of Da Costa himself.

"Returning to the village, I visited Major Napier, of my own corps, who had been most severely wounded. His charming wife was in constant attendance on the sufferer; and, at his request, showed me the sur-

tout coat he had worn. Never had I beheld a garment so tattered with shot. The most bloody-minded concoctor of melo-drama, nay, even Fitzball, who prides himself on his success 'in the sublime and terrible,' would have hesitated, ere he could have ventured to introduce the display of such a dress as the one now held up by the fair hands of Mrs. Napier; how her husband escaped with life is absolutely surprising; he had received more than a dozen bullet wounds on his left side, from the bursting of a Shrapnell shell, having, unfortunately, advanced too far in front of his own guns. His face and left side were perforated; his arm and thigh broken; and his left hand and foot crippled for ever. In spite, however, of the agony of his wounds, his spirits were unbroken, and he talked of recovery as certain."—vol. ii, pp. 123—125.

But think of him in the very next paragraph writing thus :—

"On the evening of the following day I went to the Opera, which boasted a very excellent company. His royal highness the hereditary prince of Orange, accompanied by a brilliant staff, entered the house soon after the performance had commenced, and nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of his welcome. The gallantry displayed by the Prince at Waterloo was then fresh in the minds of his father's Belgic subjects.

"Understanding that an English company of comedians were playing at the small theatre in the Park, I resolved to visit them also. The 'Iron Chest' was the play announced for representation; but, before the curtain rose, the manager solicited the indulgence of his audience, under the peculiar circumstances in which the performers were placed, by the vexatious interference of the douanier, who had detained the whole of his wardrobe. This, of course, obliged the actors to appear in their habits as they lived." —vol. ii, pp. 125, 126.

The play of the "Iron Chest" was soon succeeded by the news, announcing the entrée of Louis XVIII. into Paris; but, as many towns on the frontier still held out, in the name of the emperor, the reduction of these was undertaken by a corps d'armee commanded by Prince Augustus of Prussia, assisted by a battering train of British artillery, in which Mr. Hill served. Thus he came in at the conclusion of the drama. The nature of this service appears to have suited him to a hair. It was a sort of travelling warfare—an unceremonious visiting of a number of towns and places worth seeing; where although the reception at first was not the most kindly, a little show of fight brought the beleaguered parties to their senses, when all matters were settled as they ever ought to be among creatures of the same species, especially those taking to themselves the name of Christians; so that gentle war was interlarded with boisterous mirth or piquant fun. At Rocroy our subaltern—for such it appears he continued to the end of the chapter—lent the most important assistance. The heavy metal of the artillery had for part of two days played against the place, so effectually that

"A *parlementaire* was sounded, and his Royal Highness, accompanied by Colonels Dickson, Aster, and Roehl, advanced to settle terms; the other

members of the état major remaining at about two hundred yards from the scene of conference. Immediately on the French officer's joining the group in front, he lifted his hat, and appeared to ask the prince a short question. A negative shake of the head was observed as the reply, followed by some conversation with Sir Alexander, who immediately set off at a gallop towards the spot we occupied; and, as soon as he was within hailing distance, my name was loudly uttered. I rode towards him, wondering for what purpose I could possibly be required.

"'Give me your snuff-box,' said the colonel; 'the Frenchman says he has not had a pinch this fortnight.'

"I handed it to my chief, and took the liberty of remaining where I was, to see how its contents would be relished. Making a profound obeisance, the Frenchman seized the proffered box, and, judging from his pantomine, relished with immense gusto the first pinch, for it was quickly followed by a second and a third. He then entered on the business of his mission; and, as the terms were proposed to him, it was easy to see which were readily accepted, and those to which he yielded a forced and reluctant consent: in the first case, he bowed only; but, in the other, he consoled his wounded pride by resorting to my box. The conference extending much longer than on former occasions, I had serious apprehensions that not a pinch would be left; at length he retired. On re-appearing, he notified to the prince that the terms offered were accepted, restored my tabatière to Sir Alexander, and took leave. The usual orders were given, and a general movement of the troops ensued.

"Colonel Dickson had received an invitation to dine with his Royal Highness, in which Ord and myself were included. During dinner, Prince Augustus, addressing himself to me, said:

"'I have to thank you for the fall of Rocroy, my good friend. I am persuaded that it would have held out much longer but for the excellence of your snuff. I salute you, and drink to your good health.'

"This condescending pleasantry could not fail to be gratifying; most especially, as drinking healths is not customary among the Prussians, although we are told that we owe its introduction to our Saxon forefathers." —vol. ii, pp. 154—156.

The author appears to have confidently expected that he, as well as the superior officers named, who had the honour of dining with the Prince, as above stated, were to receive from the King of Prussia some military decoration, in testimony of their services; and no sooner was the hope suggested than the subaltern fancied a pendent cross at his lapelle, and heard himself addressed as Chevalier. His Majesty, however, was not so profuse with his honours, and we have the author, plain Mr. Benson Earle Hill still. So faded all his hopes, he tells us; but, like the *man*, he is incapable, we believe, of being long disheartened; he is one who could find sunshine in densest gloom, and pluck comfort out of misery, and therefore he very speedily consoles himself with the reflection, that had a tiny cross and an inch of black and white riband been affixed to him, he would have been bound to the service for ever, and probably have had the opportunity of wearing such baubles in the West

Indies, or Ceylon, together with the hope of at last commanding a company; whereas he is now happy in his own dear country, where he has duties to perform that are pleasure to him. Now, if this be not sound philosophy and practically valuable, we know not what is; nor must it be denied that in such observations as these, though the lightest of all Recollections, there is a moral which is the more attractive in that it is gently and softly borne in upon the reader.

While stationed at Mons, after the cessation of the war, but before the return of the British troops to their native country, our author, as was always his luck, was on the most favourable terms with the hostess of the Hotel Royal, where he frequently dined. The following dialogue will fully explain itself, and save us the trouble of farther introduction.

"'Mon Dieu!' she exclaimed; 'I'm glad you mean to dine with me to-day; because you will have an opportunity of seeing a very extraordinary person. He has just arrived, and asked at what hour the dinner was usually served; to say truth, I expected he would have ordered refreshments in his own room; but he is alone, and, I suppose, prefers dining in company.'

"'Who is this person, madame?'

"'Ah, ha! that is my secret. I shall not tell you who he is, till he is gone; but contrive to sit near him, for he is one of the greatest men of the day.'

"'Is it Count Du Val?'

"'Du Val! diable, non! *Girouette* and *bête* as he is, I would not sit down with him. The gentleman I mean is a man of honour and principle; not one who cries, Vive l'Empereur and Vive le Roi in the same breath: but say you will come; 'tis but half an hour to the time.'

"'If so, why need I go, madame?'

"'As you please; we shall find something to talk about, or amuse us till then, doubtless.'

"Time fled.

"*Madame, le diner est servi,*' announced the garçon.

"Offering my arm, I led the lady to the head of the table, and then looked about for the stranger: travellers by the Diligence filled almost every chair; one was vacant, opposite to a stout, middle-aged man, with ruddy complexion, coarse features, and the appearance of a farmer or carcase butcher. Madame, without calling this guest by name, paid him the most civil attentions; he ate rapidly, and drank his wine like a man accustomed to it. He presently asked me to assist him to something near me, and this led us into conversation; but, instead of 'What a fine day it has been!' or 'Do you think we shall have rain before night?' which is constantly the commencement of acquaintance in England, the stranger said:—

"'You belong to the English Artillery, I perceive—have you many of that force here?'

"'Not at present, sir; it is the head-quarters of a particular portion, but our men are much scattered.'

"'Have you served? What is your rank?'

"'I have served a little; I am a lieutenant.'

"'Were you in Spain?'

"'No; my first service was in America.'

"'In the Canadas?'

"'No: in Louisiana.'

"'Hah! you were defeated there,' and his eyes flashed as he spoke. I bowed in acknowledgment. 'Who commands your force here?'

"'Colonel Dickson.'

"'Dickson!—the same who was in the Peninsula?'

"'Yes.'

"'He is a good officer—an excellent officer; he knows his business well.'

"'May I beg to tell him of your commendation, and ask your name.' The unknown's brow lowered.

"'Excusez! I may praise him without any need of that.'

"'I request your pardon for my having committed such rudeness.'

"'Not at all; 'tis natural. Madame, let me have coffee in my own room.'

"Bowing to me, as much as to imply I had not driven him away, he retired. I became anxious to know who he was; there was certainly about him that peculiar air which showed he was in the habit of being treated with deference, although his manner and voice were as vulgar as his person was coarse and ungainly. Madame had resolved to keep her secret till his departure, and all my endeavours to satisfy my curiosity were fruitless, although I stuck to her skirts, and tried all the means of persuasion in my power.

"At length the travelling carriage of the incognito came to the hotel-door; he drove off, and now the mystery was to be explained.'

"'Well!' demanded madame; 'what do you think of my guest?'

"'Nothing particular, either good or bad.'

"'Who do you think he is?'

"'Oh, a sutler, a vivandier, who has grown fat by selling bad brandy to the troops.'

"'Fi, donc! he is no marchand, but a marshal.'

"'Provost-marshal, I suppose.'

"'Coquin, no! he is a peer of France.'

"'He must look well with a coronet on his bull head.'

"'He is a duke, and one of the first soldiers of the day.'

"'Well, I thought he was a soldier, I confess, by his honest praise of my colonel.'

"'Your colonel would have given his little finger to have had the opportunity of seeing so great a man; but you, you little wretch, have been ogling me all dinner-time, and spoiling my stockings with your dirty boots, instead of attending to——'

"'To whom, then? Out with it at once.'

"'To Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia; he it was, you graceless monster, that you dined with: are you not overwhelmed with the honour?'

"'Au contraire; I would rather sup with you, tête-a-tête, than dine with all the marshals of France.'"—vol. ii, pp. 208—211.

The manner in which this dialogue is given, shows how spiritedly the author can represent the various speakers; and whether the

dialect be Irish, American, Cockney, French, or Scotch, we find him equally clever. We should suppose that he is a good mimic; at any rate, he takes off the better sort of broad or lowland people north of the Tweed to a hair, in the sketch which we are about to extract. He has been, along with other officers, invited to dine with a Mr. Commissary Moore and his wife, both Scotch people; and the latter, desirous of making an addition to the standard fare of the period and place, resolves on concocting a haggis, "great chieftain of the pudding race."

"'Beef and pudden, ye ken, Moore, are things the Englishers like well eneuch, but there's Sir Alic, and that gude cretur, Trotter, and may be Annis, puir lad, they are a frae Scotland, and it would glad my heart to give them a naytional dish; and there's na a man in aw Flanders can offer them sic a bottle of whaskay as you can, so they may tak their fill of claret wine, and finish with toddy just.'

"This programme of our entertainment was rehearsed to us by her husband, on our arrival; the excellent hostess was, I suppose, like Lady Dunder, 'in a hell of a pucker,' for she did not appear until a few minutes before the dinner was served. After the usual greetings, the attention of the lady was occupied in giving the necessary directions to her Portuguese servant for the due arrangement of the dishes.

"'Marina, my man, the beef to the lower end, the fowls to me at the top; that's well! now bring in the rest.'

"'*Si Senora.*'

"And away scampered Marina—returning in a minute, bending beneath the weight of an animal's head, that might have been mistaken for that of a sucking elephant.

"'In the centre wi it—not there, you stupid Portegee—d'ye no ken where the centre of a table is?'

"'*Si Senora,*' answered the bewildered valet, and put the dish down as quickly as possible on the part of the table nearest to him.

"'Those *vosmasays* are the most awkward devils in the world, and wilful with it.—Sir Alexander, will you take your seat, sir, if you please—come lads, find your places—but where's the haggis?—Ech, dear, was ever hus'ife sae vexed with a servant?'

"Before the wished-for dish appeared, we could 'nose it in the lobby;' the fumes from it seemed to gladden the hearts of many present, whilst the eyes of Ord and myself ran over with tears, extracted by the overwhelming savour of garlic, onions, and other atrocities committed in its formation. It was placed before Ord, who patiently endured the infliction, in spite of the forcible appeal to his olfactories.

"'Ye see your dinner, my friends,' said Mrs. Moore.

"'Yes,' added Ord, turning to me, 'and smell it too.'

"'Soup's but a whishey whashey mess in this country, Sir Alexander; so I would na venture on it, and not a morsel of fish was to be had; ye must just content yoursells with pot-luck, and make up for bad eating by good drinking. Major, ye'll try a little boar's head with yer fowl; ye'll find it accellent, it was sent me aw the way fra Vienney by a cousin of Moore's, as a good stand by for Yule.—Annis, cut a few slices off yon to begin wi.'

"The gentleman addressed, a man of very quiet and amiable manners, prepared to do her bidding. His attempts were vain ones; the skin of this ferocious-looking *tête* defied French cutlery, and Annis was forced to own his utter incapacity to make an incision.

"'Try it on the cheek, man; the nose of a pig is always tough, or they could na bear to be ringed.'

"Again he essayed, and was again repulsed. He might as well have attempted to cut brawn out of the bas-relief in Eastcheap, that served to point out the rendezvous of mad Hal and his companions.

"'Major, I'll be troublesome to you for a sma portion of haggis,' said the good Mrs. Moore.

"Ord, who had never before faced such a dish, hastened to obey: and, quite unconscious of the results, stuck a carving-fork into the top of this bag of abomination, which instantly sent out a stream of scalding gravy, that not only covered the front of his richly laced jacket, but spirted over those within its reach. The whole table was thrown into confusion by the explosion of this infernal machine. It required some minutes to efface the evidences of its projectile power; but, this accomplished, it was a fearful sight to witness the way in which the Northerns relished the ingredients pent up within so narrow a compass.

"The plum-pudding, which concluded the feast, was as large as one of Addison's eighteen-inch globes. The wines were excellent; but Mrs. Moore had prophesied, with much more chance of fulfilment than her namesake Francis, that toddy would be the favourite drink; and how many bottles of her husband's famed Isla and Glenlivet whiskey were made into that seductive beverage, I should blush even now to mention." —vol. ii, pp. 261—234.

We have now presented to our readers fair examples of Mr. Hill's Recollections; and being in rather better humour than when we began these observations upon them, it is not without having our feelings farther gratified that we read in the conclusion, of his purpose of making another venture, in which the fates of many persons mentioned in the present publication may be traced to a later period, or to their termination. We have only to add, that if this be done with discretion and delicacy, the work shall have as favourable a notice at our hands, as our duty to the public will permit, at the same time that the kindly temper which the volumes before us have begotten, will soften any severity which stern justice may call for.

ART. VII.—*The Book of the New Moral World, containing the Rational System of Society, founded on Demonstrable Facts, developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature and of Society.* By ROBERT OWEN. London: Effingham Wilson. 1836.

No one doubts the sincerity of Mr. Owen. We believe he would waste all his substance, and spend, nay, lose his life, were these sacrifices to create a world of happiness. But still, we are equally

confident, that no man who is not an enthusiastic theorist—that no man who takes for his guides common observation, and common sense—much more, that no person who has studied and who confides in the doctrines of the Bible, can ever become a convert to his views, or consider him other than an eccentric and strong-headed theorist, who deals far more in strenuous assertions and unsupported dicta, than in calm, plain, and convincing argument. We remember many years ago, before the author's opinions were so well matured as it is reasonable to suppose they are now, that he put forth a pamphlet, (the title of it we do not recollect,) which contained many of his favourite fancies. It commenced, however, with certain resolutions, and their import we remember amounted to the following doctrines:—that vice and misery existed in this world—that vice and misery might be driven out of it—that this would be accomplished by one whose soul like a mirror was to receive and reflect the whole truth and light which concerned the happiness of this world—and that I, Robert Owen, am that mirror. We think we are not in error as to the general meaning of the resolutions, and the arguments in support of them which the pamphlet in question set forth. Now, however bold, unauthorised, unsupported, or ridiculous they may have been, or however incredible our report of them may appear to those totally unacquainted with the author's system, yet, our recollections will not be called strongly to account, when the reader peruses the title of the present publication, which modestly declares the work to be "The Book of the New Moral World, containing the Rational System of Society, founded on Demonstrable Facts, Developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature and of Society." We might quarrel with the phraseology of this announcement, and object to the words "demonstrable facts," inasmuch as it would have been more philosophically correct and clear, had the writer used the term *truths* instead of *facts;* truth being the result of an induction of facts, while facts stand as individual and separate propositions, which all can judge of justly in their isolated capacity, the moment they are perceived. We do not need new facts, nor a demonstration of any of those that happen to be before us; but we require a manipulator who can compare and adjust them, and when they are thus properly arranged, can draw the truth from them. However, this amendment would not be material with such a metaphysician as Mr. Owen, who is well known to indulge in a curious jumble of philosophy, popular truths, and unauthorised conclusions. If he is technically correct in one place, or a disciple of the schools, he flies off in the next to pounce upon some current aphorism, strange guess, or ridiculous assertion; but when you have him, or when you have him not, is quite uncertain. To be able to argue with him, it would be necessary to have some well defined and common ground to start from; and even then, every inch of the way would have to be clear-

ed, on account of his preconceived notions, unauthorized habits of thinking, and peculiar phraseology, before any good could result from the labour of love.

As already stated, no one who takes the Holy Scriptures for the rule of his faith, will ever treat Mr. Owen's opinions as better than the dreams of an enthusiast or the speculations of a sceptic. A Christian will at once exclaim, on hearing the words "this volume professes to be the Book of the New Moral World," "I thought that the New Testament was that book; I thought that he whom I believe to be the Redeemer of the world was its hero." We admit that it is the right and the duty of every man to inquire after truth for himself; and that, so long as he is honest in his search, whatever conclusions he arrives at, these ought to be candidly considered and not ridiculed till refuted, however much they may stand in the way of preconceived notions and opinions. To this respectful dealing we consider Mr. Owen to be entitled. Let us for a moment try him by this rule. We are not going to attempt a metaphysical or regular argument with him; for, as already said, this would require, ere he or we were convinced of error, a common starting point and a labour greater than was likely to be rewarded in full. But let us take a plainer and shorter method with him. It is this:—he is fond of facts—demonstrable truths. Now, is there any truth better founded and more generally known in this country, concerning a merely philosophical question, than that Robert Owen's doctrines and creed have never found acceptance with the mass of sober intelligent thinkers; nay, that few or none, whose opinions in the ordinary affairs of life are worth consulting, have ever become and remained his disciples? We deny not, that at the first, novelty lent a transient attraction to his fancies; but that charm has passed away, and the Owenites, with the exception of their leader, are a paltry, insignificant, uninfluential, and ridiculed class of people. Whence is this?—Can it be that his system is founded on demonstration, that is, on self-evident truths, and yet that the great body of respectable, intelligent, and inquiring people remain unconvinced, or unmoved if convinced, when their happiness is at stake? Impossible! The truth must therefore be, that Mr. Owen's system is incapable of furnishing materials or doctrines which can ever renovate the world—ever create it anew in all its moral phenomena; because it is not demonstrably true.

After this general method of speaking of the New Moral System according to Owen, we shall do little more with the present exposition of it, than select a few passages from its details.

The volume is dedicated to His Majesty William the Fourth, and from this dedication we thus quote:—

"At the termination of the late war of, what are called, the civilized nations, an alliance was formed by the leading governments to protect each other from individual national revolutions; and it was a wise measure

to prevent premature changes in each state—changes desired by the people before they had acquired wisdom to give such changes a right direction.

"The world has undergone a revolution of principle since that alliance was formed; the folly and wickedness of all wars, civil or national, have become too glaring not to be opposed by the cultivated mind of Europe and America. The empire, Sire, over which you preside can no longer be governed by party proceedings, and, in consequence, your present Administration, as well as any other that can now be formed, must be one of mere necessity; because in the present state of society individuals cannot be found to constitute one that shall be efficient. Difficulties of a similar character are arising in all countries; the old prejudices, or errors of the world, have been shaken to their foundation, and are tottering previous to their fall and final destruction.

"The British Nation is in the most advantageous position to propose and negotiate this alliance, now called for by an irresistible necessity, arising from the progress of knowledge. This alliance is imperative, to protect, alike, both the governments and people from the effects of ignorant violence, and to ensure their progressive improvement and happiness.

"Two conditions, only, are required to found this alliance upon a basis that will ensure its permanence and success; conditions, too, that will be highly advantageous to all governments and people.

"The first, That the contracting parties shall abandon, by the most public declaration, the fundamental error on which society has been hitherto based: and second, That they shall adopt the opposite truth for the base of all their future measures.

"The ERROR is unsupported by a single fact, and opposed by all facts bearing upon it; the TRUTH is supported by every fact, and opposed by no one fact having reference to it. The necessary consequence of acting upon the error is misery; the necessary consequence of acting upon the truth will be happiness. The change may now be effected from the one to the other without injury to the mind, body, or estate of a single individual of any age, class, or rank in any country; and every material to effect the change now, is at the controul of society, almost without effort, but certainly, with only agreeable and beneficial exercise. Neither will it be necessary to disturb private property, as now existing, or to require any labour from those who have not been trained to employment."—pp. v, vi, vii, viii.

We need not inform the youngest or dullest of our readers, that this is a mere string of assumptions and assertions. But be not too hasty; Mr. Owen offers to make all these matters plain in principle and easy in practice, to the King, to his government, to all civilized governments, and to all civilized men. This he does in the last paragraph of the dedication; and if William the Fourth, or any of his subjects remain ignorant or unmoved after all this, whose fault is it? Their own, to be sure.

Next comes "An Address from the Association of all Classes of all Nations, to the Governments and People of all Nations, but

especially to the Five Leading Powers of Europe, and to the United States of North America"—Robert Owen, of course, dubbing himself the delegate or apostle of this universal Association. From this Address we quote the concluding portion.

"We undertake to explain the principles of nature, and to unfold the practical measures consequent upon them, by which this great revolution in human affairs, may be now effected, without disorder, or evil of any kind, not even disturbing existing private properties.

"We proceed one step further; and confidently state, that the progress of knowledge now renders this revolution, in the general condition and character of mankind, so irresistible, that no earthly power can prevent, or much retard its course; and it will be effected either by reason, or by violence forced upon society by the mental degradation of all, and the extreme misery of the many. We, therefore, as the disinterested friends of all Classes of all Nations, recommend to all Governments and People, that the old prejudices of the world, for or against class, sect, party, country, sex, and colour, derived solely from ignorance, should be now allowed, by the common consent of all, to die their natural death; that standing armies of all nations should be disbanded, in order that the men be employed in producing instead of destroying wealth; that the rising generation should be educated from birth to become superior, in character and conduct, to all past generations; that all should be trained to have as much enjoyment, in producing as in using or consuming wealth, which, through the progress of science, can be easily effected; that all should freely partake of it; and that, thus, the reign of peace, intelligence, and universal sympathy, or affection, may, for ever, supersede the reign of ignorance and oppression."—pp. xi, xii.

All very fair offers, and promises, and requests; but there are two parties at the making of every bargain, and the *how* and the *when* check our hopes.

Now follows another Dedication "to those who prefer a System of Society which will ensure the Happiness of the Human Race throughout all future Ages, to a System which, so long as it shall be maintained, must produce Misery to all." Show us this ensured happiness, and then see who will turn his back upon it.

In the Preface which succeeds this tempting flourish, we begin to see that the system which is said by the author to ensure such entire happiness, is felt by himself not to be self-evident, or founded upon easily demonstrated truths; for he says—

"The perusal, however, of this work, will be unavailing to those who are incapable of viewing the subject as comprehending an entirely new system to re-form man, and to re-constitute society. For a more limited conception of this all-important subject will only perplex the intellect, between old prejudices and new truths, and, therefore, make it less competent to understand arrangements designed to constitute a new state of human existence, one founded on the laws of nature, in direct opposition to the erroneous notions on which the arrangements of the world have been, hitherto, conceived, based and constructed.

"New and strange as this statement will appear, even to the most learned and experienced of the present day, let no one rashly pronounce it to be visionary; for, it is a system the result of much reading, observation and reflection, combined with extended practical experience, and confidential communication with official public characters, in various countries, and with leading minds among all classes; a system founded on the eternal laws of nature, and derived from facts and experience only; and it will be found, on full examination, by competent minds, to be the least visionary, and the most easy of practice, of all the systems which have been proposed, in ancient or modern times, to improve the character, and to ensure the happiness of the human race."—pp. xvii, xviii.

In due order comes an Introduction, which thus opens;—

"The religious, moral, political and commercial arrangements of society, throughout the world, have been based, from the commencement of history, upon an error respecting the nature of man; an error so grievous in its consequences, that it has deranged all the proceedings of society, made man irrational in his thoughts, feelings and actions, and, consequently, more inconsistent, and perhaps more miserable, than any other animal.

"This work is written to explain, first—the cause of this universal error, which has produced the derangement, degradation, and misery of the human race: and, secondly—to open to the present generation, a NEW MORAL WORLD founded on principles opposed to this error; and in which, the causes producing it will cease. In this NEW WORLD, the inhabitants will attain a state of existence, in which a spirit of charity and affection will pervade the whole human race; man will become spiritualized, and happy amidst a race of superior beings.

"The knowledge which he will thus acquire, of himself and of nature, will induce and enable him, through his self-interest, or desire for happiness, to form such superior external arrangements as will place him within a terrestrial paradise.

"As in this New World, all will know, that far more happiness can be obtained by union, than by disunion, all opposition and contention between man and man, and nation and nation, for individual or national advantages, of any kind, will cease." —pp. xix, xx.

Can any of our readers say, how such statements and averments are to be answered or treated by us? What!—is man no longer to be endowed with passions? It would, from such nonsense as we have now cited, appear so. Nay, from the succeeding paragraphs of this same Introduction, man is to be put beyond the influence of motives. Ignorance and poverty, the author says, and the fear of poverty, "will no longer disunite man, and be the bane of his happiness." Again, "money, which has hitherto been the root, if not of *all evil*, of great injustice &c., will be no longer required to carry on the business of life." But this is to be demonstrated; and how? Chiefly by taking Mr. Owen's word for it, and for all he says, merely because his system is the result of extraordinary reading, intercourse, observation, and reflection. We question not his labours and ardour; but we think it far more likely that these exertions and this enthusiasm have rendered him an incompetent and partial theorist,

an erring zealot rather than a true apostle of truth, wisdom, and moral amelioration.

We shall consult, no doubt, the benefit and the taste of our readers most effectually, by avoiding a formal or lengthened analysis of this New System. Perhaps Mr. Owen's outline of it will be sufficient, as given in the Table of Contents.

"The Five Fundamental Facts; and Twenty Facts and Laws of Human Nature on which the Rational System is founded. Explanation of the First Fundamental Fact—'That man is a *compound* being, whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances acting upon that organization, which effects continue to operate upon, and to influence him from birth to death.' Explanation of the Second Fundamental Fact—'That man is compelled by his original constitution, to receive his *feelings* and *convictions* independently of his *will*.' Explanation of the Third Fundamental Fact—'That man's *feelings* or *convictions*, or *both united*, form the motive to action called the *will*, which stimulates him to act and decides his actions.' Explanation of the Fourth Fundamental Fact—'That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely the same at birth, nor can art subsequently form any two individuals, from infancy to maturity, to be the same.' Explanation of the Fifth Fundamental Fact—'That nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed or matured, either into a very inferior, or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth."—p. xxix.

The *twenty facts and laws*, would take up too much of our space, but we can assure our readers, that they are as intangible and more obscure than any of the *five facts* now quoted, while the elucidation of the whole is in perfect harmony as to style and argument, with the assumptions and the assertions extracted from the preliminary portions of the volume. But a specimen or two may be taken from the chapter which contains the deductions from all these facts and laws.

"These facts and laws of nature, whenever they shall be fully understood and generally adopted in practice, will become the means of forming a new character for the human race. Instead of being made irrational, as they have hitherto been, they will be made rational, they will be formed to become, of necessity, CHARITABLE to their fellow-men of every clime, colour, language, sentiment, and feeling, and KIND to all that has life. When a knowledge of these facts and laws shall be taught to all from infancy, they will know that the clime, colour, language, opinions and feelings are the necessary effects of causes over which the individuals, subject to their influence, have no control; they will not, therefore, be angry with their fellow-men for experiencing influences which are unavoidable. These different effects will be considered varieties of nature, useful for observation and reflection, for instruction and amusement. Such varieties in the character of man, as now produce opposing feelings and interests, and thence anger, vio-

lence, wars and disunion, and all manner of oppression and injustice, crimes and misery, will, on the contrary, elicit knowledge, friendship, and pleasure. Hence characters the most opposite by nature will seek each other, unite and form intimate associations, in order that the most extended knowledge of human nature, and of nature generally, may be acquired, one interest formed, and affection made every-where to abound.

"The necessary result of unions of opposite varieties of character, will be, speedily to remove prejudices of every description, to dispel ignorance, root out all evil passions, destroy the very germs of disunion, and make men wise to their own happiness. Thus there will be no opposing interests or feelings among men in any part of the globe: the spirit of the world will be changed, and the selfishness of ignorance will be superseded by the self-interest, or, which is the same, the benevolence of intelligence."—pp. 89, 90.

How insipid must such a state of society be! It will be all sugar, without any such admixtures as in our present world are necessary to render life exquisite. We wonder if all natural evil will cease under this new system of moral good. If not, surely the first thunder-storm that destroys human life, will cause unhappiness, unless, with man's motives for activity and emulation, he be bereft of his sensibilities; and what a happy condition will that be! It will be that of sloths and of sleepers.

There is, however, a second Part to appear of this Book, and which is to contain the "Conditions of Human Happiness." We hope, it will afford the world more light than the present has done. In this forthcoming portion, we may expect to have fuller details of the religion of the new system than has yet been vouchsafed. In the meanwhile, it may not be unadvisable to let out a little of Mr. Owen's divinity, which we extract, and with which we terminate our notice of this fanciful, impracticable, and irreligious series of crude dogmas.

"Contrasts of feelings and opinions which have been, hitherto, causes of anger, hatred and repulsion, will become sources of attraction, as being the most easy and direct mode to aequire an extended knowledge of our nature and of the laws which govern it. The causes which produce these differences well be examined with affection by the parties, and solely with a view to discover the truth; for all will be lovers of truth, and no one will feel, or think of being ashamed of truth. They will know assuredly, and without a shadow of doubt, that truth is nature, and nature God; that 'God is truth, and truth is God,' as so generally expressed by the Mahommedans.

"The Religions founded under the name of Jewish, Budh, Jehovah, God or Christ, Mahommet or any other, are all composed of human laws in opposition to Nature's eternal laws; and when these laws are analysed, they amount only to three absurdities—three gross impositions upon the ignorance or inexperience of mankind;—three errors, now, easily to be detected by the most simple experiment of each individual upon himself. The fundamental doctrines or laws of all these religions are, first—*Believe in my doctrines, as expounded by my Priests, from my sacred books*; second, *Feel as these doctrines, thus expounded,*

direct you to feel; and third, *Support my Ministers for thus instructing you.* 'If you faithfully perform these three things in my name'—say the Priests of all these religions—'you will have the greatest merit in this world, and an everlasting reward in the next.'"—pp. 91—94.

ART. VIII.—*An Address delivered by S. F. Austin, at Louisville, March*, 1836.

IN a preceding article will be found a few general observations relative to Mexico and its professedly popular government, as compared with that of the United States of America. The July number of the North American Review, which has just come to hand, contains a paper, headed, among other publications, by the Address we have named above; and in that paper are furnished some very recent information on the same subject. It also suggests most important considerations to those who desire to keep an enlightened eye upon the political movements of the present day, or who search for the soundest principles of government, applicable to particular countries and conditions of mankind, as deduced from facts. We think a glance at this information and these suggestions will not be altogether unprofitable to our readers, and therefore it is that we take them for the theme of remark.

In our review of the work by the Rambler in Mexico, we alluded to some points in the history of the people of that country, which incapacitated them for the enjoyment of the democratic constitution that has hitherto worked most prosperously in the United States. The points of difference in the condition of the two countries might be advantageously traced, even to many minute ramifications; and the longer pursued, the divergence would become the more remarkable. The simple enumeration of changes which have taken place in New Spain within the last twenty-five years, would of itself guide the inquirer to striking conclusions between the contrasted countries. This we shall only do by the most rapid outline.

It was in 1810, that the spirit of independence first broke out in Mexico, under the Curate Hidalgo. His enterprize failed, as did the attempts of others, who agitated the country with various success to 1814, when the nation once more settled down in spiritless dependence upon the mother country. At length Mina broke in upon this slumber; then Iguala introduced his "plan," which entirely severed the bonds that had so long bound Old and New Spain together. Iterbide was next raised to the imperial throne. His career, which was short, and his end, which was disastrous, paved the way for the establishment of a federal republican constitution. This was declared in 1824, and the first congress under it assembled in the beginning of 1825.

Since this last period, down to the present moment, every thing

has been unstable and repeatedly altered or modified. Measures and men in New Spain are alike uncertain. Bloodshed, rapine, and conspiracies; individual baseness and treachery, and public turpitude for personal aggrandizement, have rendered the names of most of those who have taken an active share in the government offensive to the ears of all good men. Whence comes this? The general answer is, that a constitution which is wholesome in one country may be mischievous in another, in consequence of its inaptitude for all; that the federal democracy of the Anglo-Americans, under which that great nation flourish so gloriously, may open the floodgates of the worst political evils to the descendants of the Spaniards, especially to those who have endured the oppression, and exhibited the degradation and demoralization of the Mexicans.

Let us—to follow the able statement of the trans-atlantic periodical before us—see how, in certain particulars, the habits and condition of the people in the British colonies of North America, ere they threw off the yoke of the mother country, differed from the equivalents in Mexico previous to 1824. And here we cannot do better than quote from the Review.

"In each of the British colonies before the revolution there existed a separate local legislature; each had its chartered privileges and rights; the laws which regulated hereditary succession and other important matters, differed in the several colonies. When the connexion which bound them to the mother country was severed, they were distinct communities, except so far as they had united by common consent to repel a common danger. The federal form of government was therefore the natural result; any other form would have been incongruous in the extreme.

"In Mexico it was far otherwise. The whole population was governed by the same laws, emanating from the same source, whether in the Vice-royalty, or the Captain-generalship of the Internal provinces. The division of provinces was for the greater facility of governing the subject multitude. The people had no voice in the making of their laws, and even the Cabildos and Ayuntamientos were mere machines for the better regulating the local police. The viceroy was the supreme head of the kingdom, as it was always called. There was therefore an apparent incongruity in cutting up the whole territory into States, in order to re-unite them under a federal head, and in assigning to the separate States the power to legislate on certain matters of local concern, to which they had been previously strangers. It was a blind imitation of the United States, under circumstances totally different. After more than three centuries of the most debasing servitude and misrule, it could not be expected that sufficient materials would be found among the people, to form, in the first place, a State legislature, with two branches for each State, executive magistrates, and a judiciary, and then representatives to both branches of a federal congress. The enjoyment of regulated freedom and the distinct exercise of political powers require a kind of apprenticeship. The great mass of the population of Mexico were absolutely ignorant of the simplest elements of popular self-government. It was difficult to make them comprehend what an election meant. The very best form of government for

us, might be a very bad one for Mexico; and, although centralism is now, in unreflecting minds, confounded with despotism, we are by no means satisfied that the Federal, as contradistinguished from the Central, or simple Republic, was adapted to the condition of the Mexican people. In mechanism, that machinery is not necessarily the best which is the most complicated, and most difficult to understand, or most difficult to repair, when deranged, but that which is best calculated to attain the end for which it is designed. We are sensible that there is in politics, as well as religion, a species of bigotry and spirit of exclusiveness, if we may so express ourselves; and yet we should question the wisdom of any constitution of government, which should pay no regard to the actual condition and habits of the governed. It is at all events certain, that the same system, in its general features, which has for nearly half a century secured the greatest tranquillity and prosperity to the United States, has failed to produce the same results in Mexico."—pp. 228, 229.

It is almost as foolish to suppose that the federal union of North America should be a proper model for the Spanish colonists to copy, as it would be to say that the genius of the English could be by the fiat of a usurper quenched or changed in a single day, or that the institutions of a thousand years' growth and operation, which have created and fostered that peculiar genius, could be overturned by the sudden out-burst of a mob.

The title we have prefixed to this article, it is probable, never could have existed as a head to any particular or public subject, but for the incongruities subsisting between the principles, the habits, and the condition of the Mexicans and the Anglo-Americans. It has, however, of late received an unforeseen significance; it will be well for mankind, if hereafter that significance have not more crimsoned trophies for its memorial. This brings us to the consideration of the misunderstanding which has already arisen between the emigrants from the United States, who have formed extensive colonies in Texas, under the authority of the Mexican republic, and the government of that republic itself; and also to the contemplation of a possible rupture to a much wider extent between the neighbouring republics.

The convulsions which have been shaking the Mexican territories in the course of the last twenty-five years, have frequently vibrated even to the south-western borders of the Northern Union. But what is still more alarming and direct, the emigrants from the north, who have settled in Texas, have taken up arms against the Mexican government, and the Mexican commander at the commencement of the late extraordinary campaign, denounced the insurgents as a parcel of ungrateful adventurers, whose object was to sever from the republic one of its most fertile regions.

During the Mexican war for independence, it would appear that many of the citizens of the United States volunteered their services in support of the patriots or revolutionists who made Texas the theatre of their struggle. We need not pursue the progress of this

interference, but come at once to the period when Colonel S. F. Austin established, according to contract, certain colonies in this beautiful province. The first settlement of the North American citizens in Texas was made in 1821, and the original grant was confirmed by the new government of Mexico in 1824. Since that period, Colonel Austin has entered into several new contracts for establishing colonies in the same province. Most of the other grants have been modelled upon those of the Colonel; and are of the following nature:—

"The nominal grantee is called the *empresario*. He is considered, by the terms of the contract, merely as a trustee of the government, having no title himself to the land within the limits of his future colony, except upon condition of settling a certain number of families. The settlers themselves receive a title for each family, for a league square, upon the express condition of settlement and cultivation, and the payment of certain very moderate charges, within a limited period. It is believed that these conditions were, by the colonization laws of Mexico, the basis of all the land titles in Texas, together with the future condition that all right and title should be forfeited, if the grantee should abandon the country, or sell his land, before having cultivated it. An inspection of the various maps of Texas will show how numerous have been these privileges conceded to various *empresarios*. The face of the province from the Nueces to Red River, and from the Gulf to the mountains, is nearly covered by them. It became at last a matter of greedy speculation; and it is a notorious fact, that many of the *empresarios*, forgetting the contingent character of their own rights to the soil, and the conditions upon which their future colonists were to receive allotments of land, proceeded at once to make out scrip, which has been sold in the United States to an incalculable amount. In addition to this we are informed, on the best authority, that the manufacture of land titles, having no foundation whatever, has been carried on as a regular business. That frauds of these different kinds have been practised on the cupidity and credulity of the people of the United States, is beyond doubt. Had the close of the present campaign been what its opening seemed to portend, and the colonies been broken up, it would be impossible to calculate the losses which would be sustained, by those who have never seen the land which they have bought. It is not hazarding too much to say, that millions have been expended in the southern and south-western States."—pp. 244, 245.

The colonists began to meditate a separation from Coahuila—which, according to the constitution of the Mexican federal republic, constituted, along with Texas, a state—and to think themselves capable of managing their own public affairs, although they had previously, it is confessed, been treated with great liberality and indulgence by the central government. This scheme, however, was defeated. The authority before us also mentions, that although the property of the state cannot be granted without the sanction of the general government, a company of land-speculators in 1834, induced

the legislature of Coahuila and Texas to grant them, in consideration of twenty thousand dollars, the extent of four hundred square leagues of public land. The Mexican government disavowed and annulled this bargain. They even dispersed the legislature that had acceded to it. Yet this irregular grant formed the basis of new speculations and frauds, and it is presumed that the four hundred leagues grew up to as many thousands. "This interest in the soil of Texas," says the reviewer, "whether real or fictitious, extending its influence from Boston to New Orleans, could not but create a sympathy and a bias, which, in the event of a rupture between the colonists and the central government, might compromise the neutrality of the United States. Such a rupture was at hand; an attempt to establish custom-houses, on the expiration of the privilege of exemption from the payment of duties for two years, granted to the colonists, being the immediate cause of it. The colonists flew to arms, and the struggle, which lately took a curious turn, in consequence of their extraordinary victory over the troops of the Republic, obtained 21st April last, is likely to be renewed with redoubled fury.

A certain number of the colonists of Texas, who seem, with scarcely an exception, to have been Americans from the United States, adopted in December last a public declaration of independence. They professed only to act for themselves, but recommended a similar course to their fellow citizens. It is understood, however, that the ancient inhabitants of the province were at that time favourable to the central government. A more formal declaration was issued in March, which was signed by forty-four delegates, some of whom were Mexicans. The following extract contains the preface to the detail of their grievances, and some just as well as liberal remarks by the reviewer.

"'The Mexican government,' says the declaration, 'by its colonization laws, invited and induced the Anglo-American population of Texas to colonize the wilderness, under the pledged faith of a written constitution, that they should continue to enjoy that constitutional liberty and republican government, to which they had been habituated in the land of their birth, the United States of America. In this expectation they have been cruelly disappointed, as the Mexican nation has acquiesced in the late changes made in the government, by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna; who, having overturned the constitution of this country, now offers the cruel alternative, either to abandon our homes, acquired by so many privations, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny, the despotism of the sword and the priesthood.'

"With every sympathy for suffering countrymen who have become citizens of a foreign state, we cannot forbear saying, that there is in this sentence something which requires to be analyzed. They admit, that the people of Mexico have acquiesced in the late changes, and

that they are citizens of Mexico. They will probably not contest the principle, that the people have a right to change their form of government; and we see nothing in the colonization laws, which promises to the colonists the perpetuity of the Constitution of 1824, which they themselves had aided in prostrating, as we have already remarked.

"If a majority of the people of Mexico has preferred a different form of government, we always supposed that in a republican government the majority must govern. By those same colonization laws, it was distinctly provided that the Catholic religion alone should be tolerated. The colonists subscribed, either expressly or tacitly, to that condition; and their complaints on this head appear to us further unreasonable, inasmuch as it is well known that no persecution has ever taken place, on account of the profession, on the part of the colonists, of a different creed.

"Another subject of complaint was the failure, and refusal, 'to secure on a firm basis, the right of trial by jury; that palladium of civil liberty, and only safe guarantee for life, liberty, and property, to the citizen.' If the Mexican government had promised to the colonists the introduction by law of the trial by jury, a thing utterly unknown to their jurisprudence, the complaint would be just. But we are not aware of any such assurance, and we do know that the colonists, in the administration of justice among themselves, have been tolerated in that mode of trial."—pp. 251, 252.

We have already alluded to the signal victory gained by the colonists, when Santa Anna fell into their hands as a prisoner; but the serious question now is, will the many complaints that they prefer—a few of which alone have been referred to by us, or stated in the passages we have extracted—be redressed, or if not redressed, will they lay down their arms? It is not to be expected, that after their cause has been so successfully entered upon, that they will be disheartened, or in a worse condition than when they proclaimed their resolutions at first. Quite the contrary. Besides, nothing is more probable and natural than that volunteers from the United States will now pour in in vast numbers to the succour of their brethren. If the attraction to that field, because a field of beauty and of gain, was great before, now that glory is added, and national sympathy and honour at stake, is it to be supposed that the motives will be less arousing to the minds of the freeborn and energetic citizens of the Union? Santa Anna, during his short-lived victories in Texas, committed many atrocities, which, whatever were the merits of the dispute at first, created an extraordinary sensation in behalf of the sufferers, and put the war upon a much more inveterate footing. In the words of the reviewer, volunteers will go from the United States, because they have gone, under circumstances less favourable than what now exist.

"Nothing, then, is more likely, in our view, than that Texas will be overrun by a volunteer American force. It may be, after all, that Mexico will make exertions which are not generally anticpated. It

would be mere folly to suppose, that her resources have been exhausted in her late disastrous campaign; the feeling of religious rancour is as strong as ever; the national pride is quite as likely to be stung, as to be humbled, by such a defeat as has been sustained; and if accounts are to be credited, which come in no particularly questionable shape, the course, in which Santa Anna has just been arrested, was not so much his own, as one that was demanded of him by the popular voice. But we cannot but think, that, as things stand, the most she can be expected to do is to prolong the struggle. The late occurrences cannot have failed to give strength to the settlers in Texas, by putting to rest the lately existing causes of dissension. Many of the leading men were of opinion, that the contest was engaged in prematurely; that, however just were the complaints which had been urged, however severely the colonists might have been made to feel the weight of power, and the caprices of a revolutionary government and bigoted people, they were now putting every thing at hazard on too small chances of success; and that, if they had contented themselves for the present with demanding the re-establishment of a constitutional Republic, other States would have made common cause with them, and created such a diversion as to paralyze all the efforts of the Dictator. An end being put to these questions—the war being entered on, and already successfully waged—that vigour which comes with unanimity may be looked for in the council of Texas. It is true, that its population, not exceeding, according to the highest estimate, twenty thousand persons of all ages and both sexes, of American origin, would still seem to have a desperate enterprise in hand, if they were left to fight their own battles. But that they will be so left, there is, for reasons which we just now glanced at, extremely little reason to suppose."—pp. 254, 255.

An important query now presents itself—What will the government of the United States do in the contemplated emergency? Will it, or rather can it, prevent its citizens from volunteering their services in behalf of their brethren, the colonists in Texas? We say, no! because they have formerly gone on similar enterprises when their danger was greater, and their prospects darker. Will the government of the United States treat with Mexico for the purchase of Texas? To this it is first of all answered, that the congress and president of Mexico have no more right to dismember her territory than the president and the senate of the United States have to cede to Mexico the state of Louisiana; secondly, that Texas, if added to the Union, would be no gain beyond what the province must be when attached to the Mexican republic. Other objections to the purchase are stated, so that altogether no escape from the existing or threatened evils connected with Texas seems probable in this way.

The last question is, Will the government of the United States acknowledge the independence of Texas? The reviewer's answer is this:—

"Yes, when that independence is established, if it pursues its ancient policy; soon after it is established; and not an hour before. When it is

to be rightfully held to be established, may possibly become a delicate question of fact; but the principle, we presume, may be taken to be as distinctly recognised by our government, as it is unquestionably sound. And then, when Texas is an independent power, and shall ask for admission into our Union as a State or States, if so it should, grave questions will be raised, touching the balance of power between the different portions of our confederacy, as obvious as they are likely to be exciting; and the bearings of the measure upon our relations to foreign powers, may prove to be of the most complicated character."—pp. 256, 257.

It thus, at least on the first blush of the case, appears, that a contention, the origin of which was insignificant, is brewing, that may compromise the peaceful relations of two republics whose professed principles of government are alike; those of the one being, in fact, modelled on the framework of the other. One might be excused for exclaiming about the unnatural character of the contention, or for ridiculing the pretensions of free governments, when contemplating the matters at issue between Mexico and Texas. But a wiser inference, we think it would be, to say, that whatever be the theoretic resemblance between the Spanish republics and the Union of the north of America, at least, in so far as Mexico is concerned, there is no near relationship; that she had not at the first, the materials to work upon which the other possessed, to ensure the establishment of free institutions; and that in fact she is at this moment essentially a military instead of a representative government. The great general lesson to be derived from all the foregoing considerations and statements is, that it is folly and mockery to talk of assimilating exactly the government and institutions of any one country upon any foreign model, however perfect that model may in the abstract be, if nice regard be not had to the aptitude of the people for its application and introduction.

ART. IX.—*Book of Table-Talk, illustrated with Wood-cuts.* 2 vols. London: Knight. 1836.

TABLE-TALK is in one respect like epistolatory correspondence; it admits of every kind of subject being discussed, and of every style. Light, amusing, and sparkling matter forms, however, the chief treasury for the natural and off-hand colloquies which those who are marshalled around the domestic board are charitably presumed to deal in. Sententious, quaint, and humorous passages constitute the framework of such discourse, into which every sort of sentiment and adornment may be interwoven. Variety and excursiveness prove the table-talker's talent; neatness, confiding tenderness, and familiarity of manner, his taste. The continuous flow of the gossiping eloquence most suitable for this homely interchange of ideas and feelings, derives much of its unction from the manner and the cadences of the speaker; and if he be a first-rate colloquist, what-

ever he utters will seem natural to the man, owing to the congeniality of all his anecdotes to his well-known character; or rather, a good table-talker invests whatever he produces with a part of himself; it comes shaped according to his peculiar mental mould. Thus, though one idea or anecdote suggests another of a kindred complexion, yet the different holders-forth produce a delightful melange, owing to the varying casts of mind, which, whatever they express, is presented to the listeners; so that when the social party breaks up, some of the most perfect conceptions of human character may have been obtained, that one person is capable of acquiring respecting another, independent of the lessons taught, and the spirit of kindliness created and fostered by this most innocent of all pastimes. How much of English worth and moral vigour has been derived from the circling wisdom of the parlour fireside! How melting and animating does the warmth of unrestrained eloquence become, when disporting in such a family temple! The predominating effect of this chastened teaching is smiles, though sometimes they be amid tears, and a closer binding of friends in all the relations of life. But we might generalize and expatiate from morn to eve in relation to the pastime in question, without pleasing ourselves or any one else with the treatise; for, while every person in this home-loving country understands perfectly well the amount and sort of sentiments suggested by the phrase "table-talk," no one, when he comes to define it, will be satisfied with any array or extent of words that falls short of compassing or expressing all that he ever experienced in his innocent youth or riper years, when a listener or performer in the domestic sanctuary.

Of the merits of the volumes before us, we are disposed to speak most favourably. True, there is much in them that is not new; but what of this? What is really good can never become old; nay, the sentiments excited by the recognition of what has often delighted the mind in bye-gone times, often possess a peculiar charm which novelty could never bring along with it. There has also, in going over these pages, not unfrequently been felt, a want; but this is not necessarily more than saying that it is impossible to come to the warmth and variety of our recollections, or to equal the ardour and richness of our anticipations regarding the stores which we hope often to find spread out before us, in the banquetings of two or three family circles within the range of our intercourse. Let us now come to some examples. Our talkers have been upon the subject of dress—a never-failing introductory theme to graver matters. Dress requires technical terms, and it is worthy of social philosophy to search for the root and origin of such terms. There is *milliner*, for example; whence comes it? "Milan. Hence our word *Milaner*, which has dropped into *milliner*. Milan is still famous for its dressmakers and *conturieres*, who are second only to those of Paris."

We now leave dress and dress-terms; for the above statement has by the most easy process introduced the subject of etymology, which is always an amusing one, and especially because it necessarily treats of the manner in which the mind associates and invents. Let us take the words *antimony* and *festin*.

"The monk Valentine, who wrote the *Currus Triumphalis Antimonii* is supposed to have invented the name, and there is a tradition that he came by it out of the failure of an inductive experimental process, as follows:—He had given some antimony to the pigs who *acted as* food for the monks of his convent: the pigs eat it, as pigs will, and became fat in consequence, having previously been lean. Whereupon Valentine, reasoning like a Bacon, bethought himself that what was so good for a pig might not be very bad for a monk, and accordingly treated his brethren, who were worn with fasting, to an antimonial dinner. Never was the distinction between a pig and a monk so clearly shewn before. The monks all died, and left behind them no memorial except the pig-meat, which they did not live to consume, and the name antimony (*antimoine*,) which Valentine gave to the metal.

"One day Ligniere was asked why he ran so eagerly after good dinners and festivals; 'Because they will not run after me,' he replied, and then added this ingenious piece of etymology; 'Our ancestors called their feasts *festins*, from the Latin verb *festinare*, to hurry or make haste, in order to show that people ought always to make haste in going to them.'"

But many fanciful derivations have been given of technical terms; nor are any persons more likely to be in error on this subject than theorists, such as many of our most celebrated authors have been. Among authors, however, none are more frequently in error than those who profess to interpret other men's ideas and language; we mean translators. Take the following specimens from a chapter on the mistakes of this army of writers.

"The ingenious writer (Mons. Grosley) called our pugilistic combats 'Le Boxk.' Everybody, he says, knows the passion of all classes and conditions of the English for the Boxk, and he adds, 'The Boxk is an indispensable part of a gentleman's education—fathers and mothers make their children fight in their presence; the *professors* do the same in all schools and colleges, and the *Boxkeurs* begin by *butting with their heads, like rams*.' The extravagant amateurs (*les amateurs outrés*) of horse-racing, we are informed, are called 'Black-legs,' from the colour of their boots, *which they never take off*. (Query, did Monsieur wear white boots?) The 'Bond-street loungers,' are said to derive the name from a light repast in the middle of the day, which they take in the eating-houses, and which is called a *lounge* (qy. lunch?) The patriots of England, according to another accomplished French tourist, are called *Wigghes*, from the Isle of Wighh, where all run-away matches are made. But this is less amusing than the felicitous accuracy of a Parisian journalist, who translates the title of our newspaper, 'The Independent Whig,' by '*La Perruque Indépendante*.'

"In the new 'Dictionnaire de la Conversation et de la Lecture,' a work

of great pretension—wherein peers of France write, and every man signs his own name, and mostly at length, and which is now in course of publication in *livraisons*, or parts, at Paris—we have just been shewn the following very laughable mistranslation.

"Monsieur H. Bouchitté, in writing the life of the German theosophist and mystic visionary, Jacob Boehm, gives a list of his numerous works, among which he sets down as one, 'Reflections on Isaiah's boots.' Now these said reflections were applied by Boehm to a theological and controversial treatise, written by a learned divine called Isaiah Stiefel; but Stiefel, as well as being a family name, is the German word for the English *boot*, French *botte*, and hence, with the help of a little blundering, came M. Bouchitté's '*Reflexions sur les bottes d'Isaie.*'

"The English translator of Beckman's 'History of Inventions' calls Barnabò Visconti, one of the signors, or lords of Milan, the *Viscount Barnabbo;* but this is nothing, compared with Hoole, the translator of Tasso and Ariosto, who renders, '*I colubri Viscontei,*' or viscontian snakes, (meaning the arms, or crest of that family,) by 'the Calabrian Viscounts!'

"The French translator of one of Walter Scott's novels, knowing nothing of that familiar name for toasted-cheese, 'a Welsh-rabbit,' rendered it literally by '*un lapin du pays de Galles,*' or, a rabbit of Wales, and then told his readers in a note, that the *lapins*, or rabbits of Wales, have a very superior flavour, which makes them be in great request in England.

"The writer of the Neapolitan government paper, 'Il Giornale delle due Sicile,' was more ingenuous. He was translating from some English newspaper the account of a man who had killed his wife by striking her with a poker, and at the end of his story the honest journalist, with a modesty unusual in his craft, said, 'We are not quite certain whether this English poker (*pokero*) be a domestic or surgical instrument.'

"In several instances the bishops, when signing their names, use the old Latin appellations, or abbreviations of them, for their sees instead of the English ones. Thus Ebor. stands for York, Cantuar. for Canterbury, Vigorn. for Worcester, and Exon. for Exeter. Some well-meaning people are occasionally much perplexed by these subtleties. Thus, an eminent bookseller having received a letter announcing the writer's intention to publish the life of Pitt, paid no attention to it, till mentioning to a friend that he had received proposals to that effect from a person he knew nothing about, one Mr. George Winton, he was not a little astounded to be told that George Winton was no other than George, Bishop of Winchester. When the Princess Charlotte was labouring under an indisposition, the Bishop of Salisbury sent frequent written inquiries to her Scotch physician, signing himself J. Sarum. The doctor, unversed in these niceties, observed to a friend that he had been much pestered with notes from 'ane Jean Saroom, that he ken'd nothing aboot. I tak nae notice o' the fellow,' said he."

Translators are not the greatest transgressors among literary men. Critics themselves—that class of irritable gentry, who know or pretend to know every thing—betray at one time as much ignorance, and at another as faulty taste as any creatures on the face of

the earth. We give as a specimen the following extraordinary doctrine of precision.

"A novel-writer should have universal knowledge, thought I; but surely there never was one who had all kinds of necessary erudition, except Sir Walter. I had lent his works, verse and prose, to an old mathematician and astronomer of my acquaintance; a man who loved logarithms, was partial to partial differences, feasted on functions, and constant to the calculus of variations. I hope you will do me the justice to believe that I have not the slightest notion what all these things can be; I am sure, if they mean anything wicked, I am sorry for having written them; but really my friend talks so much of them, that it is impossible to be in his company a quarter of an hour without hearing something about them. He returned me my books, however, with some remarks, of which I send you the substance. He says that he found Sir Walter generally accurate enough, at least for ordinary readers; but that in one instance he had come to a false conclusion, which, says he, is not excusable even in poetry. On looking at the point in question, I certainly found by an almanac that my friend was right. The case is as follows;

"In the Lay of the Last Minstrel, the Lady of Branksome says to William of Deloraine,

> 'For this will be St. Michael's night,
> And though stars be dim, the moon is bright;
> And the Cross, of bloody red
> Will point to the grave of the mighty dead.'

"My friend has always expressed his wonder that people should put short lines, ending with the same letters, in pairs under each other! and when I have told him that was poetry, has always answered that a mere definition does not give properties unless they existed before, and has inquired what is the fundamental axiom from which the method is deduced. Really, sir, I have not been able to answer him, because I do not know what an axiom is. However, to proceed, he says that the preceding proposition, as he calls it, together with the following, make out his case. 'The moon on the east oriel shone through slender shafts,' &c. &c. is immaterial to the purpose: 'the silver light, so pale and faint, showed many a prophet and many a saint, whose image on the glass was dyed; full in the midst his cross of red, triumphant Michael brandished,' &c. &c. And again; 'Still spoke the monk when the bell tolled one;' and afterwards, 'Lo, warrior! now the cross of red, points to the grave of the mighty dead.' All this put together, he says, proves that Sir Walter imagined that the moon always shines on St. Michael's night; and not only shines, but always throws a shadow in one direction at one o'clock. He says that the reasoning of the Lady of Branksome consists in inferring that from the simple fact of its being St. Michael's night—that is, the twenty-ninth of September—the moon will shine as above, which he says is not true, except at the end of a certain cycle; and he explains something about Saros and Chaldeans, which made me no wiser."

When on the subject of table-talk, nothing can be more natural than to discourse about table-fare and table caterers. The Scotch are often ridiculed for the poverty of their meals, and their want of

skill in cookery; oat-meal and green kail being supposed the most that they can boast of. But there has been at least one Scottish Heliogabalus who, like his countrymen, contrived to turn his talent to the best account.

"The most distinguished dinner-giver of these realms, in the olden time, was John Hay, the famous Earl of Carlisle, who flourished in the reigns of James the First and Charles the First.

"We have said he was born to no fortune. He was the younger brother of a poor but noble Scotch family, and went at an early age to seek his fortune in France, where, his genius following its proper bent, he picked up correct notions in gastronomy and the difficult art of managing banquets and collations. On the accession of James the First, he hurried over from Paris to London: became one of the numerous Scottish candidates for place and pensions and the royal favour, and was one of the few who were not disappointed. His success arose immediately out of his knowledge of the human palate, and the intimate connexion that exists between the stomach and the heart and affection of princes. While other supplicants wasted their time in exposing past services rendered to the royal cause, or puzzled their brains in devising schemes that might merit the royal patronage, Master Jemmy Hay gave the King a dinner, and that did his business at once. This fact is well authenticated by contemporary historians, and Weldon, amongst others, says, that his first favour arose from a 'a most strange and costly feast' which he gave the King. But Hay's choice cookery and magnificent expenditure did more than this—they conciliated the esteem and affection of the English nobility and courtiers, who were most rancorously jealous of all Scotch favourites and courtiers; nor, though his rise was astonishingly rapid, and the enormous sums he received from the sovereign notorious, did they ever show any hatred or malice against him. Never, surely, was the value of the gastronomic science more triumphantly displayed. Even national prejudices and court jealousies disappeared before Hay's *savoir-vivre*, which was a *savoir-manger;* and, in eating his dinners, the English could forget he was a Scotchman, his rivals that he was a favourite who had outstripped them in the race after wealth, titles, and honours. First of all, he was created Lord Hay; then a gentleman of the bed-chamber; then through the mediation of King James, who as Clarendon says, 'was in this office a most *prevalent prince,*' (meaning thereby that he married his favourites to whomsoever he chose,) he obtained the hand of the sole child and heiress of Lord Denny. To all these were added many court favours and preferments; he had a grant of the island of Barbadoes, he was made knight of the garter, and was successively created an English Baron, Viscount Doncaster, and finally Earl of Carlisle. After the death of his first wife, he married a beautiful young lady, daughter to the Earl of Northumberland. With every fresh rise his magnificence increased, and the sumptuousness of his repasts, seemed, in the eyes of the world, to prove him a man made for the highest fortunes, and fit for any rank.

Atticus, eximie si cœnat, lautus habetur.

"Abundant as were Lord Carlisle's means, they were not adequate to his expenditure; but he eked them out as men of his genius are wont to do, having, as Clarendon says, 'no bowels in the point of running in debt

and borrowing all he could.' Such peccadilloes as breaking a few paltry tradesmen, and ruining a few admiring friends, are not to be judged of severely, particularly when we bear in mind facts of a sublime extravagance like the following.

"It was not enough for his ambition that his suppers should please the taste alone, the eye also must be gratified; and this was his device. The company was ushered in to a table covered with the most elegant art and the greatest profusion; all that the silver-smith, the shewer, the confectioner, or the cook could produce. While the company was examining and admiring this delicate display, the viands of course grew cold, and unfit for such choice palates. The whole, therefore—called the ANTE-SUPPER—was suddenly removed, and another supper, quite hot, and containing the exact duplicate of the former, was served in its place."

The politics of the day is a most befitting and natural topic of fireside discourse; the merits of parliamentary speakers, and the scenes which occur in both Houses being especial favourites. According to a very usual and praiseworthy practice, it is the fact that the more trifling the subject be, the talkers find the greater scope for reflection; and that but give them a peg, they will tie a mountain of delightful matter to it. Thus, the mace becomes as important as the Speaker of the House of Commons; or rather, the one is useless without the other.

"There are certain odd forms of proceeding connected with our legislative assemblies, which it may be presumed that very few but those acquainted with the details of parliamentary business have any notion of. Many persons, for instance, may have seen, while standing in the lobby of the House of Commons, Mr. Speaker in his robes enter, preceded by a tall gentleman with a bag-wig and a sword by his side, carrying on his shoulder a heavy gilt club, surmounted by a crown—in short, a *Mace:* but few people are cognizant how important this toy is to the legislative duties of their representatives. Be it known then, that without it the House of Commons does not exist—and that it is as essential that the mace should be present at the deliberations of our senate, as that Mr. Speaker should be there himself: without a Speaker the House never proceeds to business, and without his mace Mr. Speaker cannot take the chair. At the commencement of a session, and before the election of a Speaker, this valuable emblem of his dignity is hidden under the table of the House while the clerk of the table presides during the election; but no sooner is the Speaker elected, than it is drawn from its hiding-place, and deposited on the table, where it ever after remains during the sitting of the House: at its rising, Mr. Speaker carries it away with him, and never trusts it out of his keeping. This important question, of the Speaker's duty in retaining constant possession of this, which may be called his gilt walking-stick, was most gravely decided in the year 1763, as appears by the Journals of the House of Commons. On that occasion, Sir John Cust, the Speaker, being taken ill, sent to tell the House, by the clerk at the table, that he could not take the chair. It appears that there was considerable discussion, whether the mace ought not to have been in the House when this important communication was made. No one,

however, presumed to say that it ought to have been *on* the table: but many maintained that it ought, for the dignity of the House, to have been underneath it. It was decided, however, that Mr. Speaker had done quite right not to part with his bauble; and the House accordingly, as the Journals inform us, 'adjourned themselves without the mace.'

"For a member to cross between the chair and the mace when it is taken from the table by the sergeant-at-arms, is an offence, which it is the Speaker's duty to reprimand.

"If, however, a prisoner is brought to the bar to give evidence or receive judgment, he is attended by the sergeant-at-arms with the mace on his shoulder, and however desirous any member may be to ask the prisoner a question, he cannot do so because the mace is not *on* the table: he must therefore write down his questions before the prisoner appears, and propose them through the Speaker, who is the only person allowed to speak when his bauble is away.

"If the House resolve itself into a Committee, the mace is thrust *under* the table; and Mr. Speaker leaves his chair. In short, much of the deliberative proceedings of this branch of the legislature are regulated by the position in which this important piece of furniture is placed: to use the words of the learned Hatsell, 'When the mace lies *upon* the table, it is a *House*; when *under*, it is a *Committee*. When the mace is *out* of the House, no business can be done: when *from* the table and *upon* the sergeant's shoulder, the Speaker alone manages.' The mace then may be called the household god of the House of Commons; without the presence of which, good fortune could hardly attend its deliberations: all honour to it!"

We might quote a lengthened account of the manner in which the two Houses hold communications with each other. In our review of the Random Recollections of both, some time ago, there will be found a few extracts on this subject, and therefore we pass over the present details. We may, however, introduce an anecdote concerning one who was no respecter of baubles or any thing else, when his interest or will were thereby impeded.

"An English merchant-ship was captured, during a period of profound peace with France, by a vessel of that nation, and carried into St. Malo, where she was condemned, and sold for the benefit of the captors, upon some frivolous and groundless pretence.

"The master of this merchantman, who happened to be an honest quaker, immediately on his return to England presented a petition, complaining of this grievance, and praying for redress, to the Protector in council. On hearing the case, Cromwell informed the council he would take the affair into his own hands, and ordered the master to attend him the next morning.

"After a strict examination into the particulars of the case, finding the master to be a plain honest man, who had been embarked in no illegal traffic, he asked him if he would be the bearer of a letter to Paris. The man assenting, he desired him to prepare for the journey without delay, and wait on him again the following morning.

"On the next morning he gave the master a letter to Cardinal Maza-

rine, with directions not to wait longer than three days for an answer. This answer, he informed him, was to be nothing less than the full value of what he might have made of his ship and cargo; desiring him to tell the Cardinal that if it was not paid in three days, he had strict orders from him to return home.

"The honest quaker appears to have followed the injunctions of the Protector to the very letter, and meeting with the usual shuffling evasions, so common among diplomatists, took his leave on the third day, and returned, without accomplishing the object of his mission. 'Well friend,' demanded the Protector, on seeing him, 'have you obtained your money?' Being answered in the negative, he told the quaker to leave his address with his secretary, promising to let him hear from him shortly.

"Without involving himself in the delays, trickeries, and evasions of diplomatic negotiations—without the empty parade of protocols and conferences, which too often waste time, without leading to any satisfactory results—without even deigning to repeat his demand, or explain the ground of his proceeding, this distinguished statesman issued orders to seize every French ship which his cruisers fell in with, and bring them into port. In pursuance of these orders, several captures were made, and their cargoes ordered by the Protector to be immediately sold. Out of the produce of these sales he paid the quaker the full value of his ship and cargo; and sending for the French ambassador, then resident in London, he acquainted him with the steps he had taken, and the reason of his doing so, informing him at the same time that there was a balance out of the produce of the sales, which should be paid to him if he pleased, for the purpose of returning it to the French owners."

We began with some specimens of etymology, and we shall close our notice of the Book of Table-Talk with an instance where the carelessness of authors is as much to blame as their ingenuity is worthy of praise.

"Sandraat, who was a contemporary of Claude, wrote his life in Latin, and from this source all subsequent writers have supplied themselves. Sandraat says that Claude, being found dull at learning, was taken from school, and put under a painter of eatables—'à parentibus suis in disciplinam tradebatur, *pictori* cuidam artocreatum.' This latter part has always been translated, 'put him apprentice to a *pastry-cook*.' Every modern life of Claude has it so, and many of the great masters in the art and mystery of pastry have no doubt glorified greatly in having had so illustrious a brother. How 'cuidam *pictori* artocreatum' came to be translated into a pastry-cook, it is useless now to consider. The fact is, both in Germany and Italy, the painting of signs for shops and other places where eatables are sold was an extensive trade, and is even now practised by many, as the signs on the shutters and doors throughout Germany and in parts of Italy prove; the representation of rolls, pies, cakes, sausages, &c. being often 'done to the life.'"

ART. X.—*A History of the Life of Edward the Black Prince, and of the various Events connected therewith, which occurred during the Reign of Edward III., King of England.* By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1836.

EDWARD the Black Prince, and Cressy! What English heart does not throb and swell at the sound of these words? And where is there a living writer more likely than Mr. James to do justice to the chivalrous period in which that youthful royal warrior shed such glory upon the arms of England? Indeed, as regards the important reign of Edward the Third, and the accounts of the field of Cressy in particular, the recent publication of certain records in France as well as in England has brought to light a considerable number of corrections of formerly current history—rendering the period worthy of our author's labour and abilities.

We hesitate not to say, that Mr. James has in this work established a stronger claim to popularity than he possessed previous to its publication. It not only displays all the gorgeous power of description to be found in his fictions, and an equal enthusiasm for chivalrous exploits with his graver productions, but the antiquarian research is deep and sound; the care bestowed in disposing of his materials is exemplary, while the manner in which he has clothed them, presents, we think, a model in point of composition that deserves to be studied and cultivated on account of its truly English character. In short, this history, though the fruit of great labour, and highly adorned, is correct and purely beautiful in style throughout; at the same time that the views of the author and his deductions must, with few exceptions, be held as sagacious and valuable.

We may generally remark, that Mr. James has been so much habituated to the examination and admiration of chivalrous deeds, and semi-barbaric pageantry, that he sometimes overlooks the dark side of his subject, as if valour in war neutralized its horrors, and as if the generous sacrifices of the great and renowned blotted out the crimes which never fail to tarnish the brightest arms. Nevertheless, it ought to be borne in mind that England, during the reign of Edward the Third, acquired such a glorious name for valour and knightly honour, that great numbers of the most gallant and celebrated foreigners repaired to his court, to figure in its pageants and to share in its amusements. Hence England acquired an undying name, the power and tendency of which have elevated the nation both in the estimation of its sons and of all foreign people, to a pitch of independency which at this day is paramount—the guarantee of peace and protection, the herald of civilization, over the whole world.

Were it for nothing else than the chivalrous renown of Edward's reign, we might justly consider it as one of the most important to be found in the annals of this country. The period in question is

also, on other accounts, worthy of the historian's profoundest study, and full of instruction to all future kings and statesmen. It was now that the nation had acquired some of the most characteristic features that ever distinguished a people—features as brilliant as they were broad—when their pastimes were romantic, their business that of arms. But what advancement in sterling knowledge, or what benefits to mankind, have resulted from the desolating wars, and magnanimous deeds referred to? Chiefly, a lesson which mankind are slow to learn, and which, during our late unexampled war with France, was seemingly as much misunderstood as the subject proved itself to be in the reign of the Edwards. Bloodshed, and the waste of a nation's wealth—its fruits of industry—in a cruel and unchristian cause, we may be sure are disastrous employments, and a direful curse; truths, however, which the most civilized of mankind are now only beginning to behold in all their bearings. Another valuable fact may be gathered from the unjust invasion of France by several of the most renowned princes of England, and from Napoleon's aggressions upon this country; viz., that so long as a people are true to themselves, no foreign foe, unless by a war of extermination, can ever produce a permanent impression upon the invaded or assailed people. But without tarrying longer on the threshold, let Mr. James take us by the hand, and guide us to some of the most arresting pictures or accounts contained in his valuable volumes.

Mr. James observes, that "the struggle between France and England, which began with the unjust pretensions of Edward III. to the crown of the former country, naturally divides into four great acts. The first comprises the Gallic conquests of Edward and his son; the second, the cunning and gradual, but bold and masterly, recovery of his alienated territory, by Charles V. of France; the third, the re-conquest of nearly the whole of the disputed country by Henry V. of England; and the fourth, the expulsion of the invaders by Charles VII." It is the first of these acts or eras which he has in these volumes chosen—and the most dazzling and valorous.

The Black Prince was born in 1330, and when seven years of age was created Duke of Cornwall, the first English duke. He immediately dubbed twenty knights from amongst the most distinguished aspirants to chivalry attached to his father's court; a pretty early and fair beginning in the walks of valour, for him who afterwards became the conqueror of kings, and the victor of innumerable fields. It was about the same period that Edward III. led his first armament to the Low Countries; and although this and others of his campaigns were unsuccessful, and without any brilliant battles, yet the individual prowess of his captains was frequently worthy of the most valiant people, and the most chivalrous age. Take as an example:—

"Before the week was at an end which saw the declaration of war delivered in Paris, Sir Walter de Mauny chose forty lances from amongst his best companions, and, praying them to accompany him upon an adventure, set out from Brabant. Such was the wild and enterprising spirit of the time, that the greater part of those who followed him were ignorant whither he intended to lead them, and what was the purpose of his movements. At length, in the wood of Blaton, on the very frontier of France, Mauny informed his friends that, in accordance with a vow which he had made in England in the presence of knights and ladies, to be the first to take some town or castle in France, and to do some deed of arms in the war, he had conducted them thither for the purpose of endeavouring to surprise the small city of Mortagne, almost under the walls of Tournay. This news was communicated while the party halted in the wood: but such a proposal instantly gave new spirit to the knights, and again mounting their horses, they paused not till they came within sight of Mortagne, which was descried a little before sunrise the next morning. Advancing as quietly as possible, they reached the gate unperceived; and, to their surprise, found the wicket open. Dismounting first himself, Sir Walter de Mauny entered the gate; and, finding the street clear, he left some of his companions to secure his retreat, while with the rest he rode on towards the large tower, which served as a citadel to the place, hoping to find it as negligently guarded as the city. In this expectation, however, he was deceived. The gate was firmly closed; and, the approach of enemies being instantly perceived by the warder, the garrison was soon roused by the sound of his horn, and the shout of 'Trahis! Trahis!' by which he announced the presence of a foe.

"With but forty lances De Mauny could not hope to force the tower to surrender; and the inhabitants of Mortagne, as well as the garrison, being by this time alarmed, he applied himself to make good his retreat before he was overwhelmed by numbers. To leave indelible traces of his attempt, however, as well as to occupy those who might have impeded him in his progress through the narrow streets, he set fire to the houses in the neighbourhood of the tower; and, under cover of the conflagration, drew his men off with ease and safety."

A few years afterwards, Edward gained his greatest naval victory over the French, when it is said that 30,000 of them perished. Philip, however, remained some time in ignorance of the event—no one daring to tell that intemperate monarch of the defeat which his fleet had sustained, till his jester one day ran into his presence, exclaiming, "Oh the English cowards! the dastards of England! the faint-hearted Englishmen!" "Why call you them cowards, Sir Fool?" demanded the King. "Because they dared not leap out of their ships into the sea so gallantly as our valiant men of France have done at Sluys," replied the jester. But, excepting the destruction of life, there seems to have been no other acquisition of any importance gained by this campaign; the most interesting details belonging to it being confined to personal achievements, and episodical descriptions of them. Let us return to Sir Walter Mauny, and again view him in this respect. He was one of Edward's most

illustrious and honourable captains, as his deeds show. The occasion we now refer to, was when two of the English leaders had been made prisoners and condemned to death, in violation of the rules of chivalry. The French army, where these unfortunate men were kept, was very large, and under the command of Charles of Blois. Nevertheless, Sir Walter, with a small besieged force in Hennebon, resolved to save his friends, and having assembled his followers in arms, thus addressed them:—

"'Lords, companions,' he said, 'it would be great honour to us if we could save these two knights; and if we put ourselves in risk and peril, and succumb, still will our Lord, King Edward, hold us high, as well as every gallant gentleman who hears our deeds in time to come; because we have done to the utmost of our power.'

"He then went on to detail his plan, which was instantly adopted; and without loss of time Almeric de Clisson, on whom the execution of one part of the design rested, issued forth from the great gate of Hennebon, accompanied by 300 men at arms, and 1000 archers. The latter were instantly ranged along the ditches; and the men at arms rode direct towards the enemies' camp, which was undefended, the whole army being within their tents at dinner. Plunging into the midst, the Englishmen and the Bretons began to overturn the pavilions, and run down with their lances every one they met, till the whole army were alarmed. Not knowing the extent of the danger, or the smallness of the attacking force, the French knights sprang up from table; and, mounting their horses, hurried to encounter the assailants. They on their part for some time maintained their ground, till finding that the whole camp was on foot, Almeric de Clisson began to retreat towards the town, fighting step by step; and, notwithstanding the inferiority of his numbers, occupying a great part of the French army by the tremendous exertions he made to defend each hillock on his return. As they approached the town, the archers began to draw their bows; and it seemed so evidently the design of De Clisson to risk a general battle under the walls, that the whole French force crowded to the spot.

"In the meanwhile Sir Walter de Mauny, with 100 men at arms and 500 horse archers, issued from a distant sally port, and with all speed directed his course to the rear of the French camp. There he found none to oppose him but valets and camp followers; and making his way straight to the tent of Charles of Blois, where the two knights were confined, he soon freed them from their bonds. The joy of men so suddenly delivered from the near apprehension of an ignominious death needs no description. Without wasting the precious moments of which so few remained for escape, Sir Walter de Mauny mounted his two comrades upon fleet horses, which had been brought for the purpose; and turning again towards Hennebon, he was out of danger, and had nearly reached the postern before the fugitives from the camp announced to the French commanders his bold enterprise, and its complete success."

Mr. James remarks, that during the reign in question, the commercial relations of this country were much farther extended and much more important than has generally been supposed, as appears from the national records of the period. In tracing the modes in

which traffic was conducted in those days, he finds that the greatest part took place at public markets, called fairs, although those of the reign of Edward III. are not to be confounded with the markets so named of our times. The nearest approximation to what they then were is still to be found at some places in Germany, though these afford but faint shadows of the great and splendid commercial assemblies of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. "The great fair of St. Giles's Hill, near Winchester," says our author, who has been at great pains to obtain the most authentic information regarding every fact or opinion detailed in his pages, "may be given as an example of the immense extent to which the commercial transactions were carried on these occasions. During the sixteen days to which it was limited," continues he, "all trade was prohibited in the neighbouring towns; the fair itself took the appearance of a large city, containing a multitude of streets and lanes, thronged with merchants from every land in Europe, and presenting, in different places, every species of merchandize, from a jewel to a slave." We may be sure that dress, which, perhaps, at no period of the world's annals has ever been carried to a greater pitch of extravagance than in the reign of Edward III., formed a most important department of traffic, at such vast and migratory marts. Mr. James, in support of this assertion, enters into a minute enumeration of the male and female costume of the period described, declaring that Europe, at the time, in this respect, appeared like a savage set down with unlimited means in the midst of an immense bazaar, and left to adorn himself according to his own taste. The following information, regarding some other observations maintained by English society at the period mentioned, tend to throw considerable light upon many details in these volumes :—

"Since the Norman conquest, three languages had hitherto been commonly used in England by different classes. These languages were, French, Saxon, and Latin, each more or less corrupt. Latin was employed in the courts of law, and also amongst learned men, as a general means of communicating their ideas to their brethren of all nations. French was the tongue of the court and the gentry; and a species of adulterated Saxon was the language of the people. But a change was now taking place, which Edward III. was wise enough to favour; the tongue of the many was gradually becoming the tongue of all; and the Saxon, daily enriching itself by the incorporation of many Norman and Latin words, was gaining great advantages over the other two languages. The justice of letting the people comprehend what was urged on either side in the pleadings of causes, introduced the vulgar tongue into the courts of law. Latin was confined to the writings of learned men, upon abstruse and uninviting subjects; and, as English became popular in the writings of Gower, Chaucer, and Wickliff, French was forgotten even by the court, or learned alone as an accomplishment. In regard to diet, the English of this period, as well as their neighbours of France, seem to have been very profuse in expenses of the

table; but, without entering into discussions, which might prove tedious, concerning the particulars of their banquets, it will be sufficient to say, that, in general, they seem never to have made more than two meals in the day: the first, called dinner, a few hours after sunrise: the second, named supper, not long before bed-time. To persons of high rank, however, and to their guests, spiced wines were served, together with cakes and comfits, as they were about to lie down to rest. Bull-baiting, cock-fighting, wrestling for a ram, pitching the bar, the use of the foot and hand-ball, and archery, were the diversions of the lower classes; while their superiors in station practised the games of chivalry, or sought entertainment in dancing, mummeries, or disguisings, pageants, and mysteries, as well as in the tricks of jugglers, and the songs of minstrels. Such a sketch of the state of society at the period when Edward the Black Prince first issued forth into the great scenes in which he was now about to act, seemed necessary, in order to give the reader some idea, however faint, of the customs and manners to which he may find reference hereafter."

By the year 1343, the Black Prince had been admitted to take a share in the important deliberations of the Cabinet, and was advancing rapidly in all the accomplishments of the period, which consisted chiefly in knightly exercises and court ceremonies.

"He was now in the thirteenth year of his age, a time of life at which the young men of noble familes generally began that chivalrous education which, by inuring the body to fatigue, and the limbs to the continual use of arms, gave them that skill and those powers of endurance, which were necessary in the labourious and hazardous life for which they were almost always destined. We have every reason to believe that his previous education under Dr. Burleigh had been by no means neglected; and though we find no proof of his having acquired stores of knowledge more extensive than those usually possessed by the princes of his age, we cannot doubt, from a variety of after occurrences, that his acquaintance with the learning of the day was such as befitted his station. Active and robust in person, he gave promise already of all those corporeal powers which fitted him so well for the career before him; and he brought to his military studies all that generous ardour, those high-toned feelings, and noble sentiments, which were required by the original institutions of chivalry, and which rendered it one of the most beautiful means of softening and ameliorating a barbarous state of society that the mind of man, or a concurrence of extraordinary events, ever produced. His initiation into active life may be dated from the time at which he was created by his father Prince of Wales, which took place on the 12th of May, 1343."

This ceremony took place in presence of the parliament, the Prince being invested with the symbols of a coronet of gold, a ring, and a silver wand. There was also bestowed upon him great revenues, for the suitable maintenance of his dignity and splendour—the support and extension of the national renown for feats of chivalry, going hand in hand with the king's purposes in regard of his son. The Prince appears to have learned to joust from the period that he could wield a lance. The institutions of chivalry were renewed with greater parade than ever. An annual tournament was

appointed to be held at Windsor. The following account conveys a lively idea of these displays, of the spirit that regulated them, and of the state of society at the period of their celebration; the ceremony in question being one, in which the English monarch joined a thousand adjuncts of extraordinary magnificence and display to the attractions which a royal tournament always held out to the youth of Europe.

"He announced it to the world as a feast of the Round Table, to perpetuate the memory of King Arthur and his knights; and the heralds which he sent to proclaim it in all parts of Europe, gave out that the feats of arms there to be performed, would have for witnesses and judges, the Queen of England, and three hundred of the noblest and most beautiful ladies of the land. The rumour of such a meeting, and the announcement that honour and safe conduct would be accorded to every knight or squire, during the festival, and for fifteen days after, from whatever country he might come, spread far and wide amongst the chivalry of Christendom. At this period the romances of Arthur and his knights, and the lays which were sung of great deeds and splendid passages of arms, formed all the lighter literature of Europe; and, while a few of the sceptics of that day might be bold enough to doubt the authenticity of the British king's history, and disbelieve the wonderful adventures of his companions, the great bulk of the people looked upon such suspicions as a heresy in chivalry, and believed as firmly in the tales of the Round Table, and the pursuit of the Sangrael, as in the power of absolution and the infallibility of the pope. The renewal, then, of that famous institution in the very castle wherein Arthur was supposed to have held his court, woke up all those bright enthusiasms which lie beneath the wings of fancy; and for many weeks Europe became a thoroughfare towards England. Every land sent forth her knights; and for the reception of so many guests an amphitheatre of two hundred feet in diameter was erected, by the king's command, in the immediate proximity of Windsor castle, the birth-place and favourite residence of Edward III. The festival surpassed in splendour all that had been anticipated; and, though many of the most promising of the English youth lost their lives in the course of the military games—though many a heart was taught to ache, and many an eye to weep, for the loss of the husband, or the lover, or the son—the ideas of honour which were entertained in those days enjoined the concealment of such grief; and individual accidents were not suffered to trouble the joy of the assembly. One death, however, is said to have occurred at this first feast of the Round Table, which, if it really took place, must have seriously affected the king, by depriving him of one his most gallant and skilful leaders—William Montague, earl of Salisbury, who, after signalising himself in the exercises of the first and second day, is reported to have died eight days afterwards, of the injuries he received. This event is very doubtful; but not so the death of Thomas, earl of Norfolk, a gallant and successful soldier, who had accompanied the monarch in almost all his wars, and escaped the dangers of many a hostile encounter to die in the midst of rejoicings, and in a time of peace. Such occurrences, as I have before said, cast no damp upon the gaieties of the meeting; nor did they at all serve to diminish the

youthful ardour of the aspirants to chivalry, to instruct and encourage whom was one great object of these games."

The greatest hopes were now entertained regarding the Prince, who had already given many proofs of the nobility of his nature. Perhaps there never, in similar circumstances, appeared a youth of greater promise. But, instead of the tourney, he began to long for other fields, on which tó signalise himself; and, at length, an armament was fitted out, which, headed by the king and the Prince, landed in Normandy. Many indecisive skirmishes took place, though the warfare was of a most sanguinary description. The English committed great excesses in their desperation; for their numbers were fast diminishing. Philip was in no haste to attack them, knowing that while he allowed them to waste their strength, he daily increased his own. At last a battle became inevitable; but now the French army was six times the amount in numbers of the English. Edward was in the neighbourhood of Cressy, and though he might have retreated, both he and his followers preferred a trial of strength, unequal though it manifestly was. The English, however, had the advantage in point of position.

The principal duty and post was assigned to the Black Prince; the King, who was stationed higher up the hill with a reserve of 12,000, resolving that the honour of the day should belong to his son. The onset was determined upon; the English fresh and vigorous—the French weary and hungry—15,000 of the latter army being Genoese, who had just reached the field, and who craved for repose. These, however, were commanded to break the line of the English archers, and now the battle commenced.

"The Genoese now advanced with shrill cries, intended to terrify their enemies; but the English archers paid no heed to noise, and waited calmly for the attack, while the clouds cleared quickly away, and the sun approaching the west shone out bright and clear, pouring his rays obliquely from behind the English position, in the faces of the French. Having arrived within a certain distance, the Genoese drew their cross-bows, and began to discharge the quarrels with which they were loaded at their impassable enemies; but at that moment the English bows were drawn forth from the cases which had protected them from the rain: each archer stepped forward a single pace, and a flight of arrows fell at once amongst the Genoese, which, piercing their heads, and arms, and faces, threw them instantly into confusion; and some cutting their bow-strings, some casting down their cross-bows, they recoiled in disarray, amongst the horsemen behind them.

"Philip, with that passionate and savage haste, which so constantly inflicted its punishment on himself, beholding the confusion of the Genoese, instead of endeavouring to rally them by gentle means, at once ordered the men at arms in their rear to fall upon them. The Italians rushed back amongst the cavalry; the men at arms plunged in amongst the masses of the cross-bow-men; and a scene of horror, confusion, and

disarray ensued, impossible to be described; whilst still amidst the wild and reeling crowd of their mad enemies the English archers poured the incessant flight of their unerring arrows, and not a bow-string was drawn in vain.

"In the meanwhile, the Count of Alençon separated his division into two bodies: and, avoiding the scene of confusion in the front, swept round on one side himself, while the Count of Flanders did the same on the other, and prepared to attack the troops under the Prince of Wales in a somewhat more regular array. From the narrowness of the field, and the circuitous path he had been obliged to take, the Count of Alençon appeared upon a rising ground towards the flank of the archers of the Black Prince, and avoiding the arrows of the English, charged at once the men at arms immediately around the heir of the British throne. The chivalry of England, however, headed by the gallant boy on whose young efforts the whole weight of the day's strife was cast, met the impetuous charge of the French knight with equal valour, and with greater success. Each man fought where he stood; and still the ranks were formed anew as every headlong effort of the French deranged them for a moment. No one quitted his place to make a prisoner or pursue a foe; but every man at arms who hurled himself against the English line was met by a strong arm and a resolute heart, and growing piles of dead told the effects of discipline united to courage and to vigour. The Count of Alençon and the Duke of Loraine fell early in the battle. The young Count of Blois, dismounting with his household knights, fought his way forward on foot to the very standard of the Prince of Wales, and it would appear, fell by the hand of the young commander himself. The Count of Flanders was also slain: and confusion and terror began to spread amongst the troops, whose leaders were now lost, and whose companions were every moment falling under the blows of the enemy. Philip had by this time reached a position from which he could behold the efforts of his followers, and he would gladly have led on his own division to support the large body which was already engaged with the English; but the Genoese cross-bow-men, still struggling with the men at arms, lay obstructing the way, and the very multitude of his troops embarrassed the monarch's movements in the narrow and difficult field on which his foes had taken up their position."

It is supposed that about this time the charge of a large body of cavalry took place upon the archers of the Prince of Wales, when the fight was renewed with more energy than ever. Nearly 40,000 men must at this period have pressed round the youthful hero. What did his father in these circumstances do?

"The Earl of Warwick, seeing fresh bodies of the enemy pouring down upon them every moment, despatched a knight, called Thomas of Norwich, to the King, who still remained with his very powerful reserve, viewing the progress of the battle from the windmill above.

"On reaching the presence of the monarch, the knight delivered the message with which he was charged, displaying in strong terms the overpowering force by which the Prince was assailed, and praying the immediate aid of the King's division.

" ' Sir Thomas,' demanded Edward, ' is my son killed, or overthrown, or wounded beyond help ?'

" ' Not so, Sire,' replied the knight. ' But he is in a rude shock of arms, and much does he need your aid.'

" ' Go back, Sir Thomas, to those who sent you,' replied Edward, ' and tell them, from me that whatever happens, to require no aid from me, so long as my son is in life. Tell them, also, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for, God willing, the day will be his, and the honour shall rest with him, and those into whose charge I have given him.' "

From these specimens our readers will derive a lively idea of the manners and heroism which were in vogue at the era when the Black Prince flourished; and also a fair opinion of our author's merits as a painter of the age. We, indeed, are persuaded that his present work will attain a permanent and prominent rank in the literature of the country, whose archives he can dispose of in the masterly style here done. These volumes assuredly deserve a place in every private and public library in the British dominions.

ART. XI.—*A Temperance Lecture based on the Tee-Total Principle; including an Exposure of the Great Delusion as to the Properties of Malt Liquor; the substance of which has been delivered in the principal Towns of England.* By J. LIVESEY. Preston: Livesey. 1836.

UNREMITTED labour and unceasing vigilance, are the lowest price at which man, in this world, can obtain happiness and safety. The primeval curse, " In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," includes within its scope not only the bodily, but the mental and moral powers of man. And reason and philosophy, not less than revelation, clearly demonstrate, that all nature, both within us and without us, is so formed and constituted as to enforce this destiny.

Not only does the uncultivated earth bring forth thorns and thistles rather than fruit, but its tempting fruits, unless discriminated, may poison us. And the air we breathe, the fire that warms us, and the innumerable other objects which are essential to our existence or enjoyment, must be, for the most part, laboriously sought, and must all be cautiously distinguished, appropriated, and used, if we would secure the benefits and escape the mischiefs, which in some form each has the power to occasion.

And if we seek for happiness in the exercise of the mental and moral powers, the same toil and dangers await us. The temple of science stands at the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain. " Truth lies at the bottom of a well." Moral rectitude is a critical medium, the two extremes from which are vices. And even the path to heaven, as we are instructed from the sacred desk, is narrow and difficult, with a broad road leading from it to perdition; so

that earth and heaven are legibly inscribed by the finger of the Creator with the sublunary doom of man—toil and watchfulness.

And yet, such is the intrinsic constitution of human nature, that this apparently severe destiny is the efficient cause of its highest dignity and happiness. Perils and impediments in our path, prompt us to vigilant and energetic action. Our chief happiness consists in successful effort—in acquiring the desirable objects around us, not in their supine enjoyment—in eluding, or grappling with and overcoming danger, not in a quiet, lifeless exemption from it. And every human faculty put forth and exerted for these purposes, is expanded, invigorated, and improved by the exercise.

The inebriating fluid, destructive as it has proved, differs in only one or two particulars from a thousand other dangers which beset humanity, and which are easily and usually avoided or overcome. One particular is, that its first entrance into the human system communicates a plausible falsehood; for by its temporary stimulation it would persuade us, that our physical and mental strength and the flow of our social feelings are each improved by the draught; when in truth they are only anticipated, squandered, and finally depressed farther below, than they were at first elevated above, a healthy standard. This is one peculiarity, and that which opens and smooths the broad way to temperate drinking. Another is, that as the victim arrives at and passes the verge of intoxication, and reason and conscience are required to utter their monitory voice, both reason and conscience are deranged and prostrated by its influence; and the subject of intoxication alone, among all around him, is utterly ignorant of his condition and his danger. Thus the inebriating cup first seduces his reason, then steals away his heart and his brains, and finally destroys all that remains of him at its leisure. Were its inevitable effects but reversed in their order, the danger would be obviated. For if wo, and sorrow, and contentions, and babbling, and wounds without a cause, and redness of the eyes, and disgrace, and loathsomeness, and delirium tremens, were the immediate, as some or all of them are certain to be the ultimate, consequences of the habitual drinking of ardent spirit, man would sooner herd with tigers, or couch with the rattlesnake, or season his food with arsenic, than swallow this concentration of curses.

It is chiefly for the reasons which have been alluded to, that the vice of intemperance is no respecter of persons; and that throughout all past time the pious and the profane, the wise and the foolish, the valiant and the weak, individuals and nations, have alike been drawn into the vortex of this undiscriminating destruction.

The records of history afford proofs that the mixed wine and strong drink of the ancients, were quite sufficiently destructive. But in an evil hour in the dark ages, an Arabian alchymist, by the

discovery of the art of distillation, fearfully aggravated the mischief. It was the art of rejecting everything useful, by separating everything pernicious, from the fermented juice of the grape and other vegetable substances, and presenting the result in the form of an unqualified poison. He was seeking for the philosopher's stone—the art of transmuting the baser metals into gold, and discovered the more wonderful art of transmuting millions of men yet to be born, into brutes and wretches, with their own voluntary consent!

It would be interesting, and not uninstructive, did space allow us, to trace the successful warfare which alcohol, aided by diseased appetite and misguided public opinion, has, since that period, waged against law, religion, and human happiness. But it is sufficient for our present purpose to review, for a moment, the fearful condition in which it has, through a long period of increasing intemperance, involved our country.

The evil has become one of appalling magnitude. Everything honourable, and lovely, and pure, and of good report, is threatened by the giant vice of national intemperance. The fire-tortured products of the vineyards and cane plantations of other lands, are sending their deadly exhalations condensed, into our devoted country, in a broad, swift, and increasing current. Here are ten thousand still worms, condensing the pestilent vapours of the still-house, and oozing them out in ten thousand streams, to augment the tide of ruin which is fast deluging our land. Intemperance, not that merely which paralyzes the limbs and the utterance, but that earlier stage which subverts the heart and the conscience, has become, like gout or rheumatism, the chronic disorder of the body politic; in which there is scarcely a member or limb which does not suffer, either by direct disease or inevitable sympathy. The loathsome symptoms of the malady, are among the first objects that meet the eye of the passing stranger in the cities and villages of our country.

How often may be seen the young man of respectable connexions, outrage the solemn decency of the funeral ceremony, and insult the departed spirit of a pious parent, by staggering, and breathing the pestiferous breath of a drunkard around her.

The drunkard, in his most sober moments, will remorselessly convert his last day's earnings into the means of intoxication, with the full consciousness upon him, that he has, at his poverty-stricken home, a meek and suffering wife, who—

> ———' dealt her scanty store
> To friendless babes, and wept to give no more.'

We have seen a lovely young female, who had been reared in the arms of parental tenderness, her heart swelling with the delusive hopes of inexperience, led forward into connubial life, with prospects as bright and promising as the unclouded morning sun. Again we

have marked the fitful melancholy, the fading cheek, and the anxious look, which told that agonizing suspicions as to him in whom centered all her hopes and affections, were busy at her heart; until the fatal truth burst upon her, as she found herself fettered to pollution, and clasped in the arms of living death, embodied in a drunken husband. And she struggled against cruel disappointment, and degradation, and anguish, until a kindly consumption gently led her from earthly suffering into a premature grave. And her encircling kindred and friends poured forth the copious tears of mitigated grief, as they beheld this innocent victim of another's guilt, released at length from the pangs of tortured affection, and consigned to that narrow resting-place, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

We have seen the young man, born under the smiles of fortune and patronage, endowed with genius, and education, and moral sensibility, and lively self-respect, with the crowning virtue of piety superadded, rise up by our side, and brace himself for the career of emulation, with prospects the most enviable: and parted with him as he went away to lead to the altar a lovely bride; and heard that that union had been blessed with interesting children. Again we saw him, when he had been cast out of his domestic paradise, for partaking of the forbidden cup—fallen, sunk, degraded to the low level of the drunkard's abasement! And there he lay upon the earth, a blasted thing—the living sepulchre of a thousand hopes!

All England has observed a mighty genius rise up in a profession styled learned; with a grasp of intellect which seized, as by intuition, those stores of knowledge which others could acquire only by painful application; and with a full, rich flow of social feeling, which rendered him the fascinating centre of an extended circle of friendship. We have seen him in his early life, with the precocious powers of a Hercules, grapple in successful and triumphant competition with the veterans of the bar. We have listened to his manly voice, his invincible reasoning powers, and commanding eloquence; and have seen him move forward into official station, as he was in abilities, at the head of his profession. And there he stood—the pride of a proud profession—the strength of a strong political party, and one of his country's highest hopes. And where is he now? Like some towering column undermined and prostrated by the subtle stream, whose massive fragments are still sublime and splendid in their desolation, he fell—an object of universal grief and wonder!

And shall we be required to keep terms with, and to speak in measured epithets and courteous phrases of this great parent curse, which has engendered all this desolation? All this, did we say? that wide-spread, incalculable ruin, of which these, and a thousand fold more, are but isolated specimens!

Such is the character and such the alarming prevalence of this vice, anterior to the temperance reformation. The law denounces

penalties against drunkenness, but unsupported by public opinion it is a dead letter. The sacred desk raises its warning voice, but it is unheeded: for although the clergy preach much upon this subject, do they not also sometimes drink? The judge on the bench, as he is called to pronounce sentence on some wretched criminal, who, under the moral blindness or phrenzy of intemperance, had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own wife, or his child, or his father, or his mother! seized the impressive occasion to warn the horror-struck audience of the danger and guilt of intoxication. And that audience, and even that judge, saw nothing in all this which should prevent them, as they returned home and rehearsed the dreadful story, from circulating the social glass, as formerly! The temperate drinker, perhaps with the odour of brandy upon his lips, went to expostulate with his next door neighbour, the intemperate man; and wondered that his admonitions against drinking, contradicted as it was by his own example, proved unavailing.

Patriotism and philanthropy cries out, "Can nothing be done to arrest this tremendous evil?" and a thousand honest voices answered, "Nothing. The government licenses the vending of the poison. Intemperance is a vice which has cleaved to humanity throughout all time. And what can you do against the innumerable array of importers, manufacturers, and traffickers in ardent spirit, who are leagued together by interest to perpetuate the evil?"

But a remedy now is discovered, by the wisdom and benevolence of individuals, so simple that a child may comprehend, teach, and practise its principles; and yet so efficient and wonderful in its results. It was directed to the prevention of the great first cause of drunkenness, temperate drinking. It was founded upon the manifest fact, that if none drank temperately, none would become drunkards. It was comprised in the simple, social resolution, "I will wholly avoid ardent spirit, and exert my influence to induce all others to do so too." And the written pledge to total abstinence, and the voluntary associations to concentrate and give effect to public opinion, and the whole mass of means, which, for the last few years, have wrought such miracles for the cause of temperance throughout the world, have been merely adapted to carry out this simple principle. Such is the temperance reformation: feeble, local, and unpretending in its inception; now expanding into universal action, and bursting the rivets of venerable vice, to deliver mankind from this fatal bondage.

And where, among the multiplied discoveries of this or of any age, is there one which has wrought and which promises such benefits to the human family? Where has the church-militant discovered an instrumentality capable of removing such judicial blindness as that of the drunkard?

Where, in the administration of the municipal law, has there

been found a corrective for so much crime and misery? Where, in the science of medicine, has there been discovered so perfect a remedy for a disease so extensive, loathsome, and deadly? And where has the political economist devised a means of preserving so much of the wealth of nations, from an appropriation so much worse than utter waste? Where, also, has philanthropy found a richer harvest of remediable wretchedness?

Of the immense *direct* benefits resulting from the temperance reformation, none who have perused the statistics of intemperance and of temperance, can be ignorant; and thanks to the almost super-human efforts of some of the advocates of temperance, none can now be destitute of the means of this information. Its *incidental* advantages have been less considered. Peruse the tracts, circulars, and periodicals of temperance, and observe what an amount of intellect and talent has been called into action, and in some degree into existence, by these great efforts.

The benevolent affections, to even a greater degree than the powers of the body or the intellect, are strengthened by exercise and debilitated by inaction. Every generous feeling cherished in the heart, leaves its visible footprints upon the character. And therefore each one of the disciples of temperance in this nation, if he have but done his duty, will have found himself the better man, in other respects, for the exercise.

It promises immense benefits to the *manufacturing interests* of our country. It has been a thousand times remarked, and as often deplored, that mechanics every where were peculiarly liable to the besetments of intemperance. Let all our manufacturers become sober men, and give us only the benefit of the duty which intemperance levies upon the manufactures of other nations, and no greater protection for English industry need be asked for.

It tends to wear off the asperities of national prejudice, and promotes national sympathy, by the intercourse of great and good men of different countries, engaged in the same benevolent enterprise. If diversity of political character and institutions, and a supposed conflict of interests, have, in times past, estranged the nations of the civilized world; who does not perceive, and rejoice in the consideration, that all such feelings of unkindness are hastening to oblivion? And is it not manifest that efforts for the advancement of temperance, have contributed largely to this benign result? It was the fortune of America to become the pioneer in this great movement; and the temperance reformation in herself, like a noble and virtuous deed by an individual, has aided to extend her acquaintance and exalt her character among the nations. And when the friends of temperence in England look abroad, they are cheered by the indications of that cordial co-operation in a benevolent cause, which, among nations as well as individuals, always eventuates in reciprocal friendship.

And all these advantages, and many others, are and will be secured by the temperance reform, without any countervailing loss. Will it be replied, that to suppress the drinking of ardent spirit, *does* involve a loss, by subverting at least one subject of *profitable industry?* It were as rational to talk of profitable industry in heaping up vegetable putrefaction and collecting its pestilent miasm to regale the sense of smelling, provided mankind were mad enough to purchase and use it—of profitable industry, in grafting the shoots of the Bohon Upas upon the branches of the Tree of Life! However guiltless, example, habit, and the absence of information and reflection may *once* have rendered this species of industry, it is one which, in this day of light and knowledge, is utterly indefensible, and devolves upon all who are concerned in it, fearful responsibilities. The manufacturer of ardent spirit, not unfrequently becomes one of its most signal victims. He is engaged in a branch of productive labour, which exposes consumers and producers to the perils both of the *first* and *second death!* Charity herself cannot for a moment defend or palliate such an employment. No eventual *profit* can result from such *pernicious industry*. Our merchants are rapidly becoming convinced, that even their *gains* are not increased, by dealing out the great pregnant parent of poverty and insolvency to their customers. They perceive more clearly that the various interests of a community are like the limbs of the natural body—that one cannot be wounded by another without morbid reaction and sympathetic disease. Alcohol may indeed be useful to man, as a menstruum for varnish, to fill a lamp, or to construct a thermometer, but it has been proved by experiments the most satisfactory, that its effect as a drink upon the human body, is unmixed evil. Our moral, intellectual, and corporeal powers are composed of a multitude of separate but co-operating functions, depending for their proper action in the human system, upon being nicely and accurately balanced. What then but disease and derangement *can* result, from habitually pouring in amongst them this *essence of distraction?* And what are the well known practical effects of this habit? First, and perhaps prior to a single instance of actual intoxication, the temper becomes irritable and unequal; the mind, subject alternately to feverish excitement and deadly depression, is wholly incapable of systematic or useful application. Then supervenes the inflamed eyes, the blistered lips, and the cutaneous eruptions—external signals that the bodily functions are desperately warring against a foreign invader. Finally, the elements of the whole man, body and spirit, are involved in conflict and commotion; some weak point in the constitution yields; and, sooner or later, the self-destroyer passes off, through some one of the many appropriate avenues, from a wretched sublunary existence into a hopeless *hereafter!* Many, it is true, have been blessed with constitutions which have endured to an advanced age, not in consequence, but in

spite of tippling; but how many *more*, of those even, who have resorted to the stimulating bowl, as a fancied means of improving their physical health, have found themselves suddenly grasped by an irresistible appetite, and hurried through the long catalogue of a drunkard's diseases, and through a drunkard's infamy, into an early grave! Vitality—wonderful vitality may be impaired, but cannot be patched out and enlarged with such miserable materials. In a temperate and healthful individual, ardent spirit excites a delusive stimulation, ever followed by a sensible decay of vital energy: and as for the drunkard, to call its maddening effects on him *life—animation*—were to slander one of the most mysterious works of Heaven. The term would be as applicable to the spasms of a dead body under the action of the galvanic battery; leaving the subject, when its influence subsides, more dead, if possible, than before.

There are, it is true, those amongst us, who still urge objections to the temperance reformation, which have been an hundred times refuted, with undiminished zeal. And where such objections are sincere, they are entitled to all kindness and consideration. But we shall not stop here, again to reply to them. Some there are, who eloquently insist upon the propriety of total abstinence from ardent spirit, but who merely object, strenuously, to the only possible means by which it can be promoted. And shall we incur much hazard of uncharitableness by asserting, that when you hear such an objecter talk of "not parting with the right to do what he pleases with his own," and of "the pernicious designs and influence of the clergy," and of "the danger of a union of church and state;" if you watch that man one whole day, you will find the true ground of his objections; you will arrive at *his* difficulty on this subject, not by citing facts or applying a syllogism, but by *drawing a cork*.

Leave that individual to himself; for he understands the controversy, has deliberately enlisted to the enemy, and is in the *temperate* fruition of the bounty: leave him to his wages—his breath to be perfumed by those delicious exhalations which arise from a brandy-tortured digestion; his visage, in due time, to be ornamented with carbuncles; and his fancy to be occupied with the bright visions of *delirium tremens!*

Although even now, in the very infancy of the temperance reformation, the signs of the times clearly indicate, that it must and will ultimately prevail. Look throughout the world at the *millions* of individuals enrolled and pledged to *total abstinence*. This is the GRAND ARMY of TEMPERANCE. Example, alarming truth, and powerful persuasion are its *weapons*. Millions of tracts and periodicals, flying to every nation, and kindred, and family, are its *expresses*. Countless treasures, wrested from the pernicious purposes of the enemy, multitudes of his captives re-captured, and

greater multitudes preserved, from worse than Egyptian bondage, are its *trophies of victory*. "DELIVERANCE TO MANKIND," is inscribed upon its banner. Its *commission* is in the great name of Public Opinion, the absolute, executive sovereign of the moral empire of the universe. The most powerful, but now cowering Auxiliary of the Spirit of Evil, is *its enemy*. And *the whole world is its field of action*—and who can doubt that it will finally and universally triumph!

How impressive is the moral sublimity of the *great combined movement of nations* in the cause of temperance, which we now behold! And where, in the history of man, is there a parallel for such a scene? Multitudes, ere now, have conspired to do evil. Nations have leagued together for the purposes of violence and oppression, and, in solemn mockery, have termed that league a "Holy Alliance." But when before has there been such a concert of action to accomplish a great *moral* purpose, by the exclusive agency of *moral influence*. This is indeed a *Holy Alliance*, which belies not its appellation. It is hallowed of Heaven, which has enjoined and blesses the virtue it seeks to promote;—hallowed by the prayers and aspirations of the good on earth; hallowed by the tears of affliction, which it has caused to be wiped away; and by the tears of joy and the smiles of hope and comfort, which its visitations of mercy have excited. May *this* Alliance be perpetual, and extend to and embrace the uttermost parts of the earth!

We conceive that sufficient has been advanced, to show the importance we attach to this moral reformation that has been so happily begun; and we shall now let our author give his own reasons for advocating the cause of temperance, which he very ably commences in the following energetic manner:—

"The greatness of a country consists, not so much in its population, its wealth, or even in its general intelligence, as in its virtue. Thus, while England is rapidly increasing in everything else, it is painful to reflect that there is not a proportionate advance in the morals of the people. Without virtue, on which the real prosperity of society depends, our rapid progress in arts, sciences, and population may be maturing, against some future day, the elements of national commotion—perhaps national overthrow. Whence, it may be asked, is it, that the advancement of morals has not kept pace with wealth and mechanical improvements? Not to mention the new and favourable arrangements of society in consequence of the introduction of steam power; not to mention that for want of a system of teaching suited to the altered circumstances of the people, they seem to be left like sheep without a shepherd; the *prevailing, universal, and corrupting fashion of drinking intoxicating liquors is fully sufficient to account for the prevalency of vice* in this country. Intemperance is the moral scourge of England; and whilst every day we see it producing ignorance, sloth, brutality, cruelty, disease, insolvency, crime, and death,

no man need be ignorant of the lamentable fact, that our moral degradation is owing principally to the sin of drunkenness.

"Were I disposed to exhibit to you the common symptoms of this evil, I would lead you to the public house, the gin and the jerry shop, and point you to the conduct and character of those who are found there. Cursing, swearing, lewdness, disorder, exhibitions of filthiness and vice, are here seen without disguise. Thence I would take you to the cottages of the same individuals, where you would behold houses without furniture, rooms without bedding, and cupboards without food; the family without clothing, and the husband, the wife, and the children, pictures of misery. I would lead you to the workhouse; and the overseers would tell you that the great source of pauperism is intoxicating drink. I would lead you to the prison, where you would learn that nine-tenths of the crimes of England are the result of intemperance. Next, we would examine the history of thousands of unfortunate young men, transported to New South Wales; and you would find that the chief cause of their misfortunes had been their love of strong drink. I might also mention that we annually spend upwards of fifty millions sterling in intoxicating liquor; that the labour, ingenuity, and capital of above a million of persons are employed in producing and diffusing this stimulating poison; and that the quantity of this liquor consumed every year in England, Ireland, and Scotland, would make a river three feet deep, thirty-feet wide, and a hundred and sixty-eight miles long! Indeed, in making a calculation of the *cost of intemperance*, if we consider the value of time lost over drinking; the detraction from the profitable ingenuity of our countrymen; the losses and damages by sea and by land; the cost of law suits and doctors' bills occasioned by drunkenness; the amount expended upon asylums, workhouses, and prisons; and the great amount of the county and the poor's rates, consequent upon the drunken habits of the people; we shall not exceed the truth if we double the amount paid for liquor, and state the cost of intemperance, for Great Britain and Ireland, at A HUNDRED MILLIONS OF POUNDS ANNUALLY!!

"But it is needless to attempt to prove the *existence* of the evil; upon that point we are all agreed; my object being more particularly to draw your attention to the principal *causes*. To some this may appear a needless inquiry, for we may be told, as Lord Althorp told the Committee of the House of Commons, that *the cause of drunkenness is drinking intoxicating liquor*. Though this is true, the inquiry still recurs, *how* does it happen that in this country, where all kinds of liquors are expensive, men should be so much addicted to their use, whilst in other countries, where they are cheap, drunkenness is comparatively unknown? How is it that all classes, from the highest to the lowest, should have fallen into the habit of using that liquor which has produced more poverty, misery, crime, insolvency, disease, and premature death than everything besides?

"Before I give an answer to these inquiries, I beg you will not deceive yourselves, as some have done, by supposing that *spirit* drinking is the principal, if not the exclusive *cause* of drunkenness. In some districts dram drinking is certainly the chief cause; but there are few places where wine and malt liquor do not also contribute materially to the same. Drunkenness generally *begins* with these, till the disguised poison begets an appetite for a stronger stimulant, which ardent spirit supplies. Al-

cohol, in all our fashionable drinks, is the ingredient which produces intoxication; and hence it may be useful to know the quantity consumed, and the combinations of this deleterious substance. The following calculation will show two things; first, the great quantity of this liquid fire which is annually consumed; and, secondly, that the greatest part of this is swallowed under the disguise of Malt Liquor.

	Gallons.
Allowing the average quantity of alcohol in the different sorts of Malt Liquor to be 6 per cent., the quantity of pure spirit annually drunk in this country, in ALE and PORTER, is about	25,380,000
In SPIRITS, allowing the average to be 50 per cent.	12,963,080
In WINE, allowing the average to be 20 per cent.	1,193,108
The quantity of alcohol in Cider, Perry, and home-made Wines, may be considered to be	2,000,000
	41,536,188

"When it is recollected that alcohol is nearly *double* the strength of what is called *proof* spirit, do we need to be surprised at the amount of poverty, crime, disease, and death, annually produced by this *forty-one millions of gallons of rank poison?*"—pp. 5, 6.

It is a singular error that many have fallen into, to conceive that the lasting interests of one class of our mercantile community can be promoted, by abridging the industry, and thus contracting the means for acquiring property amongst every other class, whose constant and continued trade must be so necessary to them. To render a good customer houseless and pennyless, by filching from him a paltry sum for a daily allowance of rum, and thereby jeopardize a more profitable trade in useful commodities, would seem to be any thing but good calculation. With what truth it might be said, such a traffic "n'er enriches you, but makes him poor indeed." The spirit of our free institutions encourages industry, by conferring equality of rights and privileges; and every branch of business is, or ought to be, supported by a reciprocity of interest founded upon those great and leading principles. Any trade or business, therefore, so conducted as to derange this harmony of mutual interest and safety, becomes directly or indirectly a despoiler of public peace, and will sooner or later react with fatal effect upon the cause producing it. Hence it is most clearly a mistake, that the interest of trade is promoted by the sale of an article which paralyzes every industrious effort, weakens moral obligation, and tends to the dissolution of every social ligament which unites men together in the bonds of peace; cherishing in its stead the vilest passions, with the loss of every thing which to rational beings could render life desirable or society a blessing. In such a state of society brought about by such means, what has the merchant left more than others for his consolation? He might count upon the nominal value of his mort-

gages, but who has he left for tenants? A class of men, whom he can no longer trust or regard, though by his own policy they have been divested both of property and character. It may be said by the objector, that this presents an extreme case. Granted; but still it must be acknowleded in return, that every additional instance of pauperism, from such causes, becomes another step towards it, and the more multiplied the cases, the greater the approximation to that condition of society already described.

"It is an unfortunate circumstance for society, when the interests of perhaps a majority are in a state of conflict with the happiness of the rest. I will not ask who *are*, but who are *not* interested in the *manufacture*, *sale*, or *use* of intoxicating liquors? We begin, *first*, with *the trade*, including all who make, sell, or *assist* in this nefarious traffic. This includes a vast number of foreigners, who make or supply all our wines, Hollands, rum, and brandy; the merchants who import the same; the first and second class of wholesale dealers in this country; the brewers and the distillers at home; the owners of public house property; the maltsters and the hop merchants; the barley and the hop growers; the licensed victuallers, beer shop and dram shop keepers; with almost an innumerable host of servants, travellers, and clerks attached to every branch of the trade. Whilst we have all these *directly* benefiting by intemperance; whilst every street is disgraced with these 'vaults' of death; and whilst interest throws open the door of temptation in the middle and at the end of every street—is it any wonder that we are this day a nation of drunkards?

"The *second* class of *interested* persons is also numerous. This includes all those, who, although not in the trade, derive a direct *profit* from it. Every person engaged in the outfit of the gin palaces and public houses, in the outfit of breweries, distilleries, &c., is likely to be on the side of drinking. The coopers, glass, pot, chair, and pipe makers, and many others, will incline to support the public house system. Landlords being so numerous, and being among the best of customers for butchers' meat, drapery, newspapers, &c., it is easy to conceive that many who are not friends to drunkenness, are likely at least to connive at the habits of drinking, from which their profits, to some extent, seem to proceed. Sickness and crime are the common results of intemperance. Those who profit by either of these (and they are not a few) are almost certain to connive, to some extent, at this prevailing vice. In estimating the number of those who are likely to countenance it *from interest*, it would be unfair to omit even the government itself; for were it not for the revenue derived from intoxicating liquors, it is impossible to believe that government could have approved of some late legislative measures, or that it would encourage the legal demoralization of the people. Indeed, it requires an extensive knowledge of society to form any adequate idea of the *interest* which is allied with the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor.

"But there is a *third* class, amongst whom the influence of interest contributes partly to the spread of intemperance, and extensively to the *prevention* of any counteracting effort. This includes *all who calculate the profit of treating their friends and customers*. Where is the grocer, the draper, the farmer, the factor, the merchant, the traveller, that has not

again and again calculated the probable benefit of a glass of spirit and water, or a bottle of wine? When the bill is paid, in order to secure the connection, the customer must be asked to take a glass. If an order be wanted, when nothing else will answer, a few glasses will perhaps fetch it. If I have been under obligations to a friend, I must acknowledge it by a treat. Get the dealer to the inn in the evening, and orders are secured, and at high prices, by the social bottle. Hence, it is evident, that tradesmen of every grade, not excluding professors of religion, calculate the *profit* of *keeping* and *giving* the drunkard's drink. And if am not mistaken, this will explain why, almost to a man, these persons are, at best, passive spectators of the progress of Temperance, and content themselves with saying, 'It is a good thing.' *Those who are not with us are against us;* and these persons, by encouraging social drinking on the one hand, are teaching the *first lessons* of drunkenness; and on the other hand, by keeping their barrels, and bottles, and glasses, filled with alcoholic liquors, they stand in a position which renders it impossible for them to assist in the Temperance Reformation."—pp. 7, 8.

These are the classes of men whose baneful influence and vile attacks upon society are more to be dreaded than those of the highway robber. They strip their fellow citizens of their property; they destroy industry and morality, and even Christian virtue; and promote idleness, poverty, and disease. They are the root, the chief source of more than half the crimes committed in the land. They destroy the comforts and hopes of their victims, and send them to an untimely grave. They promote the commission of every kind of crime, robbery, and murder not excepted. The separation of husbands and wives, the abandoning of parents and children, and their mutual hatred and discord, can generally be traced to the same origin.

But how can that man who connives at this baneful manufacture and traffic, pretend to call himself a minister of that gospel which teaches love and good will to men? or how can he, who vends poison and liquid fire, say that he believes in a future retribution, or that he has faith in Him who has said, "All things which ye would that men should do unto you, do ye the same to them?" Could any one in his right mind wish his neighbour to give or sell him a poisonous draught which would deprive him of his reason, and cause him to commit crimes that would subject him to the loss of life or liberty, and entail everlasting disgrace upon himself and his posterity? No person who has for any length of time manufactured or vended ardent spirit, can speak the truth and say that his occupation has not been attended with pernicious consequences to his fellow creatures. And no doubt many a one is now living, who recollects with horror the vending of that draught which caused either the premature death, or murder, of one or more of his fellow creatures.

Manufacturers and venders of ardent spirit are almost the only ac-

cessaries to crime that the ingenuity of man has not invented laws to punish. He who only advises or assists in the destruction of his neighbour's property, or in the elopement of his child or ward, subjects himself to the penalties of the law; and he is adjudged a murderer, who only advises or assists in the destruction of a human being. And yet he whose daily employ is dealing out poisonous draughts to the destruction of mankind, and the promotion of every kind of vice, is called a Christian, and often hailed as one of the pillars of the church. But the members of that church, who boast of such pillars for its support, may blush to think of the price of blood, that could not gain admission into the Jewish treasury.

It is in vain that manufacturers and venders of ardent spirit deny the charge of being accessary to the crimes attending the use of this poisonous liquid. As well may the poisonous adder declare that he has no agency in communicating the poison that destroys the life of his victim. Drunkenness, with all its attendant evils, is daily increasing, and will continue to increase, so long as the employment of making and selling ardent spirit is considered honourable. It is indeed surprising that any Christian society should admit into, or retain within its body, any person whose occupation proves so destructive to mankind.

No person can be admitted into, or remain a member of the Society of Friends, who is known to be engaged in the manufacture or sale of ardent spirit. Much good might be done by forming Societies, whose members should engage to trade with no person interested in the manufacture or sale of spirituous liquors. It is the duty of every individual to look upon that person as a bad member of the community, who gains a livelihood at the expense of the characters and lives, the present, and the future well-being of his fellow creatures. Whatever some may think, still the assertion is true, that no person can be engaged in the manufacture or sale of ardent spirit, to be used as a beverage, and be a *virtuous* Christian, or an *honest* man. For that person cannot be virtuous, who will follow an occupation that promotes vice; neither can he be honest, who will rob his friends and neighbours, by selling for a price that which is worse than nought. And that person or Society, that lets any tenement or privilege to any person or persons, to establish any trade or occupation that promotes vice, and he that encourages any such trade or occupation, by any trade or traffic with him or them who are engaged in it, become accessaries to all the crimes and miseries attendant on such trade or occupation, as much as *he* who secretes stolen goods becomes accessary to theft. And no person needs pretend to the appellation of *Philanthropist* or *Christian*, who in any shape or manner willingly gives aid and comfort to one portion of the community, to rob, poison, and destroy the other.

Appetite and fashion unite with interest in upholding the baneful practice of drinking spirit; but let us hope that fashion—which

leads half mankind—will lend her aid to the promotion of temperance. Mr. Livesey has addressed some searching remarks upon this point, which we shall extract :—

"When we look at the inveterate habit acquired by many in the use of snuff and tobacco, I scarcely need to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that what at first is unpalatable and nauseous, becomes by repetition agreeable and tempting; and this applies with great force to all kinds of alcoholic stimulants. They are capable of producing almost immediate excitation; and being always followed by a corresponding depression, the drunkard longs for another glass, to regain his spirits, and thus becomes a slave of appetite. Many become drunkards against their better judgment, and go on, labouring under remorse of conscience, and the apprehension of death, drinking the liquor, which they know will prove their ruin. Thus our national intemperance is perpetuated, for old topers become leaders of bands, and serve as decoy ducks to others, who soon become like themselves, the slaves of appetite. Thousands and tens of thousands, who began with a social glass to please a friend, or to relieve some ailment, have gone on, increasing the quantity, till you see them sacrificing both themselves and their families to their insatiate thirst for drink. How painful to see fathers or mothers, whose love of ale or spirits will even lead them to rob their children both of food and clothing, in order to procure for themselves intoxicating liquor! How painful to stand at the front of the dram shop, and observe the wreck of health, fortune, intelligence, and virtue, floating through these infernal doors! When a man begins to *like* the liquor, he is half undone, and he is fortunate indeed, if he do not finish his course in the drunkard's grave. Some drink for interest, some for fashion, and some through ignorance; but, if the truth were known, a vast number drink *because they like it.*

"*Fashion.*—To this I beg your serious attention. Because our mammas and papas drank a certain sort of drink, we adopt the same practice, without entering into any inquiry whether it be good or bad. The fashion of drinking begins with us at our birth, and follows us till we are laid in the grave. So soon as a child is born into the world, the event must be celebrated by the use of some kind of intoxicating drink. The largest table and the best china are procured, and in the centre stands the cream jug with the cork in, well supplied with Jamaica cream. Here the parties enjoy themselves, and drink to the health of the new born babe, the doctor being president of the feast. The mother being put to bed, every visitor who enters the room is treated with a glass out of the stock provided for the occasion; and then, after all the tittle-tattle common on such occasions, she is handed another glass before she goes, to keep the cold out.

"The *christening* is the next season for drinking, and Sunday is usually selected for the ceremony, because it affords a greater opportunity for drinking. The parties meet, each taking his portion before going to church; and after professing to dedicate the child to Almighty God in baptism, they return and commence drinking till midnight, and sometimes till an early hour in the morning.

"Both *weddings* and *funerals* are conducted on the same principle; and on the latter occasion we find, where the parties are assembled to pay their respects to the departed, that the tables are covered with hot ale and

cold ale, pipes and tobacco; nay, such is the absurdity of the drinking fashions at funerals, that so soon as you touch the latch of the door, you are presented by a female, suitably attired, with a smoking hot tankard of poison and water. Here, my Christian friends, the season of all others best calculated to admonish us of our latter end, and to lead us to prepare to meet our God, is cursed with the presence and demoralizing influence of intoxicating drink; and I appeal to you all, as friends of religion, whether you can continue to countenance so diabolical a custom.

"Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter, Whitsuntide, every memorable day in the history of our religion; every national holiday; races, fairs, and especially *elections*, are all seasons for destroying reason, impairing health, and demoralizing character, by the use of strong drink.

"In respectable life, it is the fashion on all social occasions to drink stimulating liquors. At dinner, it is supposed that the food would not digest unless accompanied with wine or brandy; and the afternoons are so tediously long, that each gentleman has to take his pint of wine in order to kill time! When one friend calls to see another, the common invitation is, 'What will you have to drink?' It rarely happens that persons are asked what they will have to eat; but always, 'What will you have to drink?' Calling lately on a friend in Everton, near Liverpool, I was shown into the parlour, and waited till the gentleman came in. With scarcely any preliminary conversation he instantly fetched out the decanters, and said, 'What sort will you take?' He did not say will you take a beef steak, or will you take anything to eat, but what sort of drink will you take! None of these sorts, was my reply; but if your good lady will favour me with a cup of tea, I have no objections to join her; which was immediately supplied, with plenty of good bread and butter.

"But cannot these fashions be changed? And what is the change for which we ask? We do not ask you to part with any of the necessaries or of the harmless pleasures of life. We do not say, give over eating, or give over drinking. The simple change we ask is, that all your drinks shall be free from poison. You may have them of any colour, of almost any flavour, and at any cost; you may ransack the French language, if you please, for names; all, I repeat, that we ask is, that your drinks be free from that ingredient which the laws of our physical nature have forbidden to be taken by any person in a state of health. We do not complain that you indulge yourselves with the gifts of nature; you may spread your tables with any of the fruits of the earth; you may eat the barley, sugar, or the grapes, of which your ale, and rum, and wine are made: we simply say, abstain from the poison which is produced by fermenting the saccharine matter contained in these articles. In Preston, the attempt to change the fashions has been made, and most successfully. There is now much less drinking in respectable society, and even those who like it, are almost afraid of being known to drink. Some clubs and societies are now held in school-rooms or at the Temperance Hotel, and some which are held at public houses have made great reduction in the allowance of drink. We have now a tea-total band of musicians. Temperance christenings, temperance weddings, and especially temperance funerals, are occurring almost every week. On these occasions, instead of ale and wine, or spirits, the guests are supplied with tea and coffee, and sometimes with

ginger beer and lemonade. The conduct of the people, in consequence, it is unnecessary to say, is much more befitting the solemnity of the occasion. Why should there be any difficulty in changing fashions in drinking? If in reference to our clothing—a mere external matter—we can submit to a change of fashion, why not in reference to that, which, entering our stomach, has a general influence upon our health and happiness? In this respect, the ladies afford us a fine example. There was a time when a lady's dress was longer than herself; but now, such has been the change of fashion, that, in my opinion, they are indelicately short. Formerly, ladies wore large huge, ugly bonnets, which bade defiance at any attempt to get a glance at their countenances; but these have been supplanted by the little pretty cottage bonnets, which now grace the ladies' heads. The upper part of the arm for a ladies' dress, according to the rule of reason, was at one time measured by the arm; but now it is an axiom with milliners to measure that part of the arm by the body! If such changes as these can be made, why then continue the abominable old fashion of drinking intoxicating drinks? Why persist in swallowing maddle-brain in preference to every other sort of liquor? On this change depends the progress of the Temperance Reformation; and those who are not willing to submit to it, have yet to learn the true principle of patriotism, and are even strangers to real self-love."—pp. 8—11.

Now let us hope that a brighter day is opening upon us. The extent and consequences of the evil are fully appreciated, and the conviction has spread far and wide, that the best interests of society require a vigorous and united effort for its suppression. A few years only have elapsed, since public attention was drawn to the subject. Some zealous individuals proposed the formation of societies for the prevention of intemperance, and laboured long and successfully for their establishment. They had prejudices to encounter, interests to contend with, and inveterate habits to subdue. But they have seen the triumph of their principles and plans. Associations have been formed both in America and Europe, for the accomplishment of this great object. And they are earnestly striving to arrest the march of those who are on the road to destruction, and to fortify those who are exposed to temptation. Destitute of all legal authority, their efforts are limited to persuasion, to conviction, to example. The most beneficial results have already followed their labours. The manufacture and consumption of ardent spirit have been reduced. Many have been recalled to a better life and better prospects. And what is far more important, experience has set its seal upon the value and practicability of the plan. Ebriety we hope will soon cease to be the standard of hospitality, and fashion no longer require its votaries to convert scenes of rational conviviality into scenes of vice, and sometimes crime. We were forcibly impressed with the extent to which the temperance reformation had advanced, when looking along a well-filled table, during the past season, in one of our most splendid steam-boats—those floating palaces, which we

owe to the genius and enterprize of our mechanics—we perceived that not a drop of ardent spirit was placed upon the table, nor demanded by a single traveller.

The author, among the numerous arguments he brings forward to establish the beneficial tendency of his endeavours, and to reduce to silence the opponents of his views, adduces the reasonableness of the cause he advocates, and its ability to increase the rational pleasures of existence, with its known influence upon the general sum of human happiness; and lastly, concludes his lecture by bringing forward the religious sanction which all must acknowledge to be attached to it.

"Some will object and say, your system may appear to be good, but it wants the authority of Scripture. This is an objection which I am anxious to meet, for I assure you, if I were not convinced that it is sanctioned by the word of God, I would abandon it immediately. But let us examine the matter, both as it respects general principles and specific cases. Reason and Scripture unite in saying, 'Do thyself no harm.' Tee-totalism enforces this precept, and teaches all men to preserve their reason, to take care of both body and soul. The Scripture commands us to love all men. Tee-totalism teaches the husband to love his wife, the wife her husband; the parent the child, and the child the parent; unites masters and men, destroys disunion, and is a promoter of general harmony and good will. The Scriptures teach us to be merciful as our Father in heaven is merciful. And who are they that exhibit more of this heavenly character than the tee-totallers, who are constantly going about seeking out the wretched and the miserable, the abandoned and the profligate, endeavouring to bring them back to the paths of duty and of peace? Christianity teaches us to deny ourselves, in order to promote the happiness of others, and gives us a splendid example in the conduct of its founder. And how many tee-totallers are there who abstain from strong drinks, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of setting a good example to others! and, how many are there, who, instead of indulging the lusts of the flesh, spend their money and their time in trying to save their fellow-men! The Scriptures not only promulgate the truth itself, but approve of every measure which is requisite in *preparing the way* for its success. The preparation most needed in this country, and at this time, is the removal of all intoxication and intoxicating drinks; and this the Temperance Society is trying to effect. The word of God universally reprobates drunkenness, and states distinctly, that no drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven. Situated as we are in this country, with our present fashionable drinks, it is found that no system but the tee-total one can save the drunkards, or prevent the rising generation from becoming such; and where, then, I ask, are the principles of our Society at variance with the Scriptures?

"But it will be replied, did not Christ himself make wine, and is it not also frequently spoken of in terms of approbation? but you forbid wine altogether. In reply to this, I beg to ask, what kind of wine did Christ make, and what kind of wine do we find sanctioned in Scripture? Was it Port, or Sherry, or Hock, or Claret? Was it fermented, or unfermented? Was it intoxicating, or not intoxicating? For it ought to be distinctly understood, that

we are not warring against the term '*wine*,' nor against the good qualities which liquor bearing that name may contain. We do not object to the *name*, the colour, the flavour, or the cost of any kind of liquor; all we object to is the ALCOHOL, or the intoxicating property which they may contain. It is well known that vinous countries are comparatively sober, and that the wines in ordinary use are, as it respects spirit, altogether unlike the wines used in this country. We are assured that into each hundred gallons of wine shipped at Oporto about twenty gallons of brandy are poured. And that, in order to meet the desire for strong stimulants among the English, the wines are frequently brandied again in this country; so that, although there be an identity of name, the articles themselves are far from being the same. 'Bread and wine' was a common refreshment in Judea; and, although this article was frequently prepared so as to produce drunkenness, to become 'a mocker,' as in the case of Noah and others, yet there is every reason to believe, that, as a table drink, it would resemble, in point of strength, that which is commonly used in France and Spain. The mere English scholar is apt to be misled by the word 'wine' in our translation, and to suppose that it uniformly stands for a liquor like that used by the wine-bibbers of this country. The Americans have investigated this subject in all its bearings, and complain much of our translation, as not conveying the true meaning of the original. In the Hebrew there are nine different words, some referring to the grape itself, others to the unfermented juice of the grape, others to a liquor of doubtful character, and in other cases to liquor that was eminently intoxicating, all represented in the English translation by the terms 'wine,' or 'strong drink.' Nothing is more common in the Prophets than the terms 'corn, and oil, and wine,' evidently referring to these articles as the blessings of Providence; but I appeal to any of you, whether you would not consider the grapes themselves, either in a moist or a dried state, or the juice of the grape in a state of perfection, better than when that juice was suffered to run into the vinous fermentation to produce alcohol? Pharaoh drank his wine in a state of the greatest perfection (Gen. xl. 11) and to a liquor like this, calculated to 'cheer the heart of man,' but not to inebriate his brain, we have no objection. To show the uncertainty of deciding the qualities of a liquor by its name, and especially at places distant from each other, I may remind you of the various sorts of liquor to which the term *beer* is applied. It is used by some to denote the strongest malt liquor; by others, as a name for that which is drunk at dinner, of an inferior strength; and in this part of the country, it is commonly used as the appropriate name for a very weak malt liquor sold at a penny a quart. And not only so, but we have ginger *beer*, spruce *beer*, nettle *beer*, and treacle *beer*, as well as malt beer; and when it is proved that *these* are intoxicating, then we may believe that the same conclusion may be drawn as to the term *wine* used in Scripture. The wine which our Saviour used was the wine which was ready on the table at the Passover. The wine of Cana in Gallilee was of his own miraculous creation: and being convinced of the reality of the difference which I have attempted to explain, the character of Jesus himself, in the absence of all other evidence, is a sufficient guarantee to me, that the wine used on these occasions, was such as would not lead to intoxication.

"But supposing that all the Judean wine was intoxicating, and sup-

posing, also, that we could find neither precept nor example for abstinence, it does not follow that, in *another age*, and under *other circumstances*, for the purpose of accomplishing a great reformation, abstinence may not be necessary. For a number of ages men had a plurality of wives, but this does not prove that this practice was to continue. Every nation ought to adopt that sort of moral discipline which is adapted to its own peculiar character; and it is perfectly obvious, that one country may abstain from things in which others may indulge, and that the practices of society at one period may be such as could not be tolerated at another. It is true, that the fundamental principles of right and wrong can never vary; but the circumstantial affairs of eating, drinking, dressing, fashions, and customs ought to be such as are least inimical to the welfare of society. The abstinence enjoined by Moses in reference to animals that did not cleave the hoof and chew the cud, and various other restraints mentioned in the Levitical law, are founded upon this principle. And when we read that the apostles enjoined upon the Gentile churches *abstinence* from pollution of idols, things strangled, and blood (Acts xv. 29) we recognize the same principle. Flesh which had been in the idol's temple was no worse, as an article of food, than that which was brought directly to the shambles; but if the eating of it had the least tendency to lead to idolatry, it was proper to abstain. And upon this principle, while our present national drinks produce, as we know they do, a vast amount of drunkenness, poverty, misery, crime, and death, I conceive it is a duty which we owe to ourselves and to society to abstain from them altogether.

"If these general remarks are not sufficient to answer the objection as to our system being unscriptural, I beg leave to give you a number of cases directly to the point. Although the organization of Tee-total Societies, in their present character, may not be *named* in Scripture, any more than building chapels or printing hymn-books, yet what would be said of us if we pronounced either the one or the other unscriptural? But if you want *facts;* if you want to trace the history of tee-totalism, you must go to the Bible. All the Nazarites under the law were of this order. The sons of Aaron, the priest, were enjoined, during their administrations, to abstain entirely from wine and strong drink. The mother of Sampson was a tee-totaller. For forty years, during their sojourn in the wilderness, the drink of the children of Israel, consisting of six hundred thousand persons, was pure water. Daniel, when at the Babylonian court, became fair and fat on pulse and water, despising the king's wine. Jonadab, the father of the Rechabites, enjoined upon his sons not to drink wine, to which they faithfully adhered; and God, approving of their conduct, promised that Jonadab should never want a man to stand before Him for ever. Timothy was a water drinker till advised to take a *little* wine medicinally. Paul, also, when under the Nazaritish vow, must have abstained from wine and strong drink; and he so far entered into the spirit of tee-totalism as to observe, that if eating flesh or drinking *wine* should cause his brother to offend, he would *totally abstain.* Amongst those who were born of women there was not a greater prophet than John the Baptist, yet, by divine appointment, his lips were never polluted by any intoxicating liquor. And to crown the whole, I beg to remind you that Sampson himself, the strongest man that ever lived, was a tee-totaller!

"A tree is known by its fruits; and upon this principle our Societies can urge a claim to your support which no man can gainsay or resist. The results in this case are neither distant nor problematical. Whilst many expensive associations of a philanthropic character have been formed, and terminated in disappointment, the amount of real good accomplished by these Societies has far exceeded the expectations of their warmest friends. In not a few cases the proofs are in your presence. Were it possible to bring before you the reformed characters in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Westmoreland, Durham, and many other counties; or to introduce you to the United States of America—a nation reformed by the influence of Temperance Societies; or could I even give you a view of the cottages of the hundreds of reformed characters in Preston only, where you would see poverty exchanged for plenty, misery for happiness; houses once the pictures of starvation now well furnished, and all the family well fed and well clothed; individuals once the most abandoned, living not only 'soberly,' but 'righteously and godly' in this present world—I am sure you would be convinced that a system, thus calculated to produce so much good, must be of God, and deserving universal support."—pp. 27—29.

To all who object to Temperance Societies we say, Go ask the father who has seen the son of his age and hopes, qualified by nature, habit, and education, to perform an honourable and useful part on the stage of life; who has seen him abandon all these prospects, and become the slave of this most disgusting propensity, and the companion of all that is vile in the community; ask the father the value of an association which will redeem the lost one from this thraldom, and retore him to society, to his friends, to himself. Ask the heart-broken wife, who has seen the partner of her cares, the father of her children, forget all, abandon all, and ruin all that should be nearest and dearest to him, and seek pleasure in the abodes of vice and intoxication; ask her whether these labours of love and charity, which pluck the brand from the burning, are useless and inoperative. Ask the children whose father is a stranger to their love and affection, and who barters their happiness and his own for scenes of dissipation and intoxication, and let them calculate the value of redemption, and their gratitude to those who break his bonds and set the captive free. Ask society, whether the restoration to a useful and honourable life, of some of its most promising but once lost and unhappy members, is not a source of satisfaction and gratulation—and all this has been done and is now doing.

Who ventures to say, there is no cure for this malady of mind and body? No signal of safety which can be lifted up, like the brazen serpent of old, and whereon the afflicted may look and be healed? No power of conscience—no regard for the present, no dread of the future, which can stay the progress of this desolating calamity? It is indeed a disorder, which falls not within the province of the physician. Empiricism has prescribed its remedies, and various nostrums have been administered, with temporary suc-

cess, calculated to nauseate the patient, and thus by association, to create a revulsion of feeling. But little permanent advantage has attended this process. As the habit of intoxication, when once perminently engrafted on the constitution, affects the mind and body, both become equally debilitated. Can the pleasures of the bowl be weighed in the balance with the rational enjoyments within our reach? with the tender affections of those whose hearts are knit to ours? with the respect of society, with the consciousness of doing well and deserving well, and with all those moral accompaniments which, if not the reward, are yet the sure attendant upon virtuous resolutions and a well spent life? To youth, to manhood, and to age, these considerations appeal, with an energy proportioned to the circumstances of each. All hold their destinies, more or less, in their own hands, and whether these shall be for evil or for good, depends upon the course and conduct they may adopt.

Happy will it be for ourselves, still happier for those who are to succeed us, if we can banish intemperance from this highly favoured land! And if all who acknowledge the importance of the work will unite in its accomplishment, the object can be attained, certainly and effectually. It would be a monument far prouder than the genius of antiquity has bequeathed to us, and more useful than any which modern wealth and power have erected, for the generations that are to follow us upon the theatre of life. Mouldering and delapidated are the temples of Athens and of Rome. Lost are the sites of Nineveh and Babylon. Forgotten are the countless millions, who have filled their places upon the earth and disappeared. But this moral victory would live in remembrance until the advent of the promised era, now begun—foretold in prophecy and invoked in poetry—is completed.

Although much yet remains, enough has already been done to inspire us with gratitude for the past, and joyous hopes for the future. And when we survey the dark cloud of intemperance, fraught with destruction, which so lately enveloped the earth, fast rolling away and dissipating before the beams of truth, and the bright *Bow of Promised Reform* already spanning half the world, have we not reason to exult at the rapid progress of a cause which promises, in its ultimate results, such immense advantages to civilized mankind?

Art. XII.—*An Essay to show the Advantages that will follow the progressive formation of Railways throughout the Kingdom.* By E. P., Author of some Anonymous Fugitive Pieces. London: Richardson. 1836.

How imprudent is that philosophy which assigns bounds to the advance of human ingenuity, up to which it may go, and no farther!

It is constantly compelled, in its own defence, to enlarge the limits which it had prescribed as the boundary to improvement; and is constantly denouncing as chimerical, every new project for the comfort and convenience of the population. It is a happy sign of the present era, that the check arising from these sources to the progress of im provement has been of a very feeble nature; and it is a striking criterion of the facility with which just notions are now calculated amongst the public, that projects denounced as absurd and almost impossible by persons of experience and ability, and which were calculated to prejudice very extensive interests, should, in only a few years after they were broached, have been put into execution. This, in a great many instances, has been the case with rail-roads—vast achievements, which will make the present age a remarkable era in the history of mechanical science. It is true, with respect to the most refined imdrovements, as it is with respect to the rudest contrivances, that necessity is the parent of invention. So it has been in this instance.

The great improvement which has already resulted from the formation of railroads, is apparent to the most common observer, and is further evidenced by the desire of many proprietors of landed property to have the line of road cut through their land, who formerly pertinaciously opposed all attempts to effect such arrangements.

The Marquis of Stafford, as the representative of the Bridgewater interest, was a tower of strength against the Liverpool and Manchester railway; and, if we mistake not, the Derby family, the Earl of Wilton, and Lord Sefton, were by interest joined to the standard of the noble proprietor of Trentham. The holders of shares in the Mersey and Irwell navigation, and in the Bridgewater canal—the medium of water communication between the before-mentioned places—were very well justified in their opposition to any change that would interfere with the existing state of things, for by referring to the prices of those shares, on the eve of their irrecoverable depreciation, it will be found that they had amounted to an enormous premium. A share in what were called the Old Quay Navigation Company, for which originally 70*l.* were paid, fetched the very moderate sum of only 1,250*l.* The projectors were not disheartened at this array of interest against them; they endeavoured to satisfy the commercial public that the plan was practicable—that it would produce a material saving of time, as well as of expense, in the intercourse between Liverpool and Manchester. Moderate reasoning was employed on the people, and now-a-days, the barbarous authority of feudal station having but little to oppose to the sound principles of truth and justice, the project made its way, and the aristocratic holders of canal property were obliged to face about, and march in the same direction with the rest of the public. Very sagaciously, the new company were not content with the neutrality

of their former foes; they took care to enlist the feelings and interests of the members of the old confederacy; they appropriated 1,000 shares to the Marquis of Stafford—an act that, according to every principle of mercantile rivalry, ought to be regarded as one of splendid generosity. They have succeeded at length in turning the tide of opinion in their favour, and the consequence may be summed up in the following extract.

"Mr. Moss, a Director of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, stated that several large landed proprietors, amongst others the Earls of Derby and Sefton, who had opposed their Railway to such effect as to force the Company from their original line, which was the best, and to carry it over that immense morass, resembling an Irish bog, called Chat Moss, at an enormous expenditure both of time and money, had now consented to the Liverpool and Birmingham line of road going through their property; and not only this, but also that a new line of road from Liverpool to Manchester, which has been rendered necessary by their pertinacious opposition to the first line, should also pass through their domains. In reply to other questions, Mr. Moss stated that Mr. Heywood of Manchester, who at first was a determined opponent of the Railway, complained afterwards that it did not pass through his property; and that the Patten family, proprietors of the Bold property near Warrington, also complained that the intended line of road made a bend to avoid going near the house, and that the straight line bringing it nearer the house was actually adopted at their desire!

"Mr. Hardman Earle, one of a highly respectable family, long resident in Liverpool, stated that though they had been formerly opponents of the Railway, on account of the apprehended injury and inconvenience to their house and pleasure-grounds, through which it was to pass, they had suffered no inconvenience in consequence of the locomotive engines since the construction of the Railway, nor found any thing offensive in the smoke arising from them; and that so far from their being considered a nuisance by himself and others, they were rather an object of interest. He stated further, that wherever the line of the Railway came, the value of the land invariably increased, not only for the purposes of farming, by the greater facility of procuring manure, as was the case with the Chat Moss, but also for building; and that he himself was desirous of purchasing land on the line for that purpose. In fact, he had entirely changed his opinion and views on the subject.

"Amongst the farmers who were examined were Mr. W. M. Warner, residing in Oxfordshire, and Mr. C. Whitworth, of Northamptonshire. The former stated unhesitatingly that the advantage to the holders of grass-farms, by an easy and expeditious mode of conveying their live stock, lambs and calves, to market, would be incalculable. At the season of the year when it was most desirable to get the lambs off early and as quickly as possible to market, after quitting the ewes, no conveyance would be so advantageous as a steam-carriage; and the same in regard to calves, which, for want of an easy conveyance, were driven up at a very great expense to the proprietor, and the poor animals themselves were sometimes literally worn off their feet, and on some occasions were obliged to be sold on the road for any price that could be obtained for them. He declared

further, that it would be well worth his own while to pay double the price for conveying his cattle, of every description, to market by a Railway, not only on account of the more advantageous appearance they would present to the eyes of the purchasers on their arrival, but also on account of the positively greater value of the animals themselves, than if driven up in the ordinary way; and that if the Rail-road from Birmingham to London had been made many years ago, it would have saved him fifty pounds a year.

"The evidence of Mr. Whitworth to the same points had this additional advantage that he had been an eye-witness of the conveyance of cattle on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. On the present system they were obliged, when sending lambs to market, to send the ewes part of the way with them, and then not without considerable injury before they reached London; but the cattle that were conveyed by the Railway appeared as fresh on their arrival as if they were just taken from the field.

"Not only farmers but butchers also, who will not be considered as improper evidence, bore testimony to the injury sustained by cattle being driven up to market a considerable distance, which produced disease in the animal, and thus not only rendered the meat of inferior quality, and occasionally unwholesome, but decreased the weight, and consequently much diminished its value."—pp. 17—21.

The propriety of extending railroads throughout the kingdom is becoming every day more apparent to the public, who are rapidly appreciating the advantages which have already been secured by those now in actual use, and their complete adaptation to every purpose of traffic—witness the facts which the various persons examined before the committee of the Manchester railway adduce—as reasons for supporting these undertakings. We shall further make an extract respecting the great saving likely to accrue to graziers from their formation.

"Mr. Sharp, who has been forty years in the trade, states that the injury sustained by the cattle being driven to market, and the continual change of pasture on the road, had rendered it necessary to have recourse to the practice of killing cattle for the London market at the distance of a hundred miles. The great supply of calves used to be from Essex, rarely at a much greater distance than thirty miles; but the increased population of London, and the demand for veal, has brought about this change. Slaughtered meat can be sent up only in winter, and even then a change of weather and other circumstances frequently spoil a part of it altogether, and render the remainder less wholesome.

"Evidence was also adduced, shewing the great advantages, both to the grower and the consumer, in the increased supply of the metropolis with vegetables of all sorts, fruit, butter, milk, creams, eggs, and poultry.

"Thus the great requisites, in regard to perishable commodities, appear to be speedy conveyance to the market, without fatigue or injury to the animals, or deterioration of any other articles of agricultural or horticultural produce, and in regard to passengers, the saving of time and money; for it was stated by Mr. Attenborough, a grazing farmer, at Braybrook, a distance of eighty miles from London, whose business requires his attend-

ance at Smithfield every week, that it takes him three days and two nights out and home each trip; and] that the coach-fare was upwards of three guineas, besides other expenses and the inconvenience of such long absence from home; whereas a carriage on a Railway, by starting in the morning, would bring him to market time enough to transact his business, and to return home the same evening, at a third part of the expense and inconvenience.

"This prospect is not ideal or chimerical, but is founded upon the advantages that have actually been derived by mercantile houses in Liverpool and Manchester since the establishment of the Railway between those two towns. The fare from one to the other by the coaches was ten shillings inside, and six outside; the average number of passengers daily was under five hundred, and the time four hours and a half. The fare by the Railway is one-half those prices, the time occupied considerably less than one-half, and the daily average number of passengers upwards of twelve hundred." —pp. 21—23.

It is impossible to contemplate the prospects which these splendid achievements are opening for the country, and what may be their ultimate effect upon our physical and social condition. Already numerous railroads are in contemplation, which, if carried into execution, will intersect the country in almost every direction, and reduce the most distant counties of the empire within a few hours' journey. The desire for this kind of conveyance is an additional reason to expect that the experiment, which was first tried between Manchester and Liverpool, will permanently become the medium of internal communication amongst us.

"It appeared further in evidence, that so great is the demand for Railroads, if the expression may be allowed, that passengers will go a considerably longer distance in the number of miles, in order to get upon the line of the Rail-road, with a view to save both time and money. Thus, people going from Southport to Manchester, distant from each other thirty-eight miles, prefer going to Liverpool, which is twenty-five miles, and there taking the Railway to Manchester thirty-two more, together fifty-seven miles, increasing the actual distance by one-half. There is no doubt that the same plan will be adopted in other parts of the kingdom: from the large manufacturing towns in the West Riding of Yorkshire to join the line of road from Liverpool by Birmingham to London, and to the west of England; and also from many parts of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire, to join the line of road about to be formed from Cheltenham to the Great Western Railway, thus economizing both time and expenditure.

"To the particular advantages that will be thus derived from Railways must be superadded the general, the national advantages; not to say the actual necessity for their progressive formation; were it merely to enable us to keep up, and to cope, with the other nations of Europe in the transport of goods and the facilities of travelling. Shall this great empire, at all times foremost in commercial enterprise, and in the application of science to useful purposes—having at her command more capital to carry her plans into execution than the whole of the rest of Europe—shall she, on whose dominions 'the sun in his course never ceases to shine,' be outdone in

such important purposes by France, or by Russia, or by Belgium, or by any of the German States? Far be it. Casting our eyes across the Western Ocean, we see in the gigantic republic fifty Railways already completed, and three times that number in progress and in contemplation. Even the tardy Spaniard in Cuba is advancing in this species of improvement; already a Railway is forming, perhaps at this time completed, from the Havanna to the interior of the island, ten or twelve leagues in extent; and more will of necessity follow."—pp. 23—25.

Thus have we established a change in the intercourse of the various manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural districts of this kingdom, which promises the highest advantages to all, whether considered in a political or commercial point of view, that we have no doubt will not disappoint the expectations of the most sanguine.

ART. XIII.—*A History of British Fishes.* By WILLIAM YARRELL, V.P.Z.S. F.L.S. Illustrated by nearly 400 Wood-cuts. London: Voorst. 1836.

THE subject of these volumes is not of greater importance as a branch of natural history than of national economy; and yet in both respects there has hitherto been a great lack of minute inquiry and precise knowledge. But this complaint can no longer, with any show of justice, be advanced, after the care, industry, and ability displayed by Mr. Yarrell in these volumes, who has not only brought his own talents and acquirements to his task, but through his scientific friends has had access to an extraordinary amount of information, practical facts, and specimens which have been turned to the best account. In truth, the work is not more creditable to the artists whose drawings and engravings illustrate its pages, or to the taste which has directed the whole *getting up* of them—and these, at the first glance, speak for themselves—than is the intrinsic value of the author's exertions and skill. It is a work which author, publisher, and printer may point to, many years hence, as a testimonial of undoubted authority in their behalf, in their respective departments.

But instead of general eulogy, it will be proper to let our readers know something of the contents of the work, first by taking a glimpse of its general characteristics, and next, by transplanting into our pages such portions of it as appear to us to be most interesting or worthy of criticism.

The importance of the subject cannot be questioned when it is considered in all its branches. What, to the scientific inquirer, or the student of the wondrous beauties and varieties of the Creator's works, can be more interesting than the forms, organization, and colours of the different species of the finny tribes? But as articles of food and commerce, fishes are entitled to singular regard in this sea-girt land, whose streams and rivers are not more celebrated for

their inhabitants than are its lakes, estuaries, and coasts. An enlarged conception of these riches will be suggested by saying that our author has described and figured two hundred and twenty-six species of them.

The knowledge which the present work shows that naturalists possess of the habits of fishes, may well surprise those who are unaware of the patience with which enthusiasts pursue their studies. Birds and quadrupeds may generally be so situated as to live within the range of man's vision, and be made subject to his experiments. But through the world of waters, he cannot accompany the finny tribes, neither can his eyes penetrate to its depths. Still the anatomy of fishes, their kinds of food, their modes of production, and their migrations, have been in many cases satisfactorily investigated; and like the inhabitants of the earth and of the air, a marvellous diversity of habits, as well as forms, were we only to regard the altitude of their abodes, have been recorded of them. Some fishes, for instance, always swim at or near the surface of the water, others about mid-water, others are ground swimmers.

There has been much discussion about the sense of hearing in regard to fishes, by persons who have not brought to the subject the requisite knowledge of comparative anatomy or of their organic functions. Yet, when it is considered, that, though they exhibit no external sign of ear, the internal structure of that organ may in certain species be most successfully demonstrated, and that the Chinese, who breed great quantities of the well-known gold-fish, call them with a whistle to receive their food, all incredulity on the matter must be laid aside. It is probable that they are destitute of an acute sense of touch. Their olfactory nerves, on the other hand, are large, and their sense of smell, it is reasonable to believe, is strong and nice. Their taste is, however, more questionable, although it is known that they use a different sort of food at different seasons of the year, which, our author says, may account in part for the peculiar excellence of the flesh of some species at particular times.

Notice of these and other general points are taken by Mr. Yarrell, besides a minute description and history of each particular species, in so far as the truth is known, as he proceeds in his work. Belonging to his general statements, we remark that he is of opinion that considerable attachment is often exhibited between parent fish. Now, however reasonable this conclusion may appear, it may be thought to be placed beyond the cognizance of man. But it has been established in this way—when a person who had kept two small fishes together in a glass vessel, gave one of them away, the other refused to eat, and showed symptoms of uneasiness till his companion was restored. Some species also evince attachment to their young. A knowledge of these and such like facts invest this branch of science with superior attractions, entitling it to

a rank equal to that of the study of birds and quadrupeds. It was a branch, indeed, in which Cuvier himself took especial delight in his early years, and which he cultivated with the most signal success, entitling his systematic arrangement to be adopted in preference to all others, by our author.

We proceed now to trace along with the author the history of certain British fishes, which, either on account of their beauty, their strange organization, or wonderful habits and uses, deserve our attention. Indeed, when treated of with the ability and information which Mr. Yarrell is master of, there is not a single species described and figured in these pages which is undeserving of the reader's study and of his admiration.

One of the most beautiful and serviceable inhabitants of the ocean is the Mackerel—

"The Mackerel was supposed by Anderson, Duhamel, and others, to be a fish of passage; performing, like some birds, certain periodical migrations, and making long voyages from north to south at one season of the year, and the reverse at another. It does not appear to have been sufficiently considered, that, inhabiting a medium which varied but little either in its temperature or productions, locally, fishes are removed beyond the influence of the two principal causes which make a temporary change of situation necessary. Independently of the difficulty of tracing the course pursued through so vast an expanse of water, the order of the appearance of the fish at different places on the shores of the temperate and southern parts of Europe is the reverse of that which, according to their theory, ought to have happened. It is known that this fish is now taken, even on some parts of our own coast, in every month of the year. It is probable that the Mackerel inhabits almost the whole of the European seas; and the law of nature, which obliges them and many others to visit the shallower water of the shores at a particular season, appears to be one of those wise and bountiful provisions of the Creator, by which not only is the species perpetuated with the greatest certainty, but a large portion of the parent animals are thus brought within the reach of man; who, but for the action of this law, would be deprived of many of those species most valuable to him as food. For the Mackerel dispersed over the immense surface of the deep, no effective fishery could be carried on; but, approaching the shore as they do from all directions, and roving along the coast collected in immense shoals, millions are caught, which yet form but a very small portion compared with the myriads that escape.

"This subject receives farther illustration from a fresh-water fish, as stated in the Magazine of Natural History, vol. vii, p. 637. 'When the char spawn, they are seen in the shallow parts of the rocky lakes (in which only they are found), and some of the streams that run into them: they are then taken in abundance; but so soon as the spawning is over, they retire into the deepest parts of the lake, and are but rarely caught.'"—vol. i, pp. 121—123.

The operation of the natural law referred to, it is well observed, directs to our shores, for almost every period of the year, a succession

of wholesome food. Mackerel, besides, visit different parts at different times, and on some shores they mature and deposit their roe earlier than on others. They are amazingly prolific. According to Block, five hundred and forty thousand ova have been counted in one female. The principal food of this species is supposed to be the fry of other fish. They are very voracious, and their growth is accordingly rapid. Those taken in May and June are considered to be superior in flavour to those taken either in Spring or Autumn. To be eaten in perfection, they should be very fresh, and therefore they are allowed to be cried through the streets of London on Sunday. This practice commenced in 1698. The extraordinary numbers caught at particular times, and the price which at other periods Mackerel have brought, we find thus stated:—

"In May 1807, the first Brighton boat-load of Mackerel sold at Billingsgate for forty guineas per hundred,—seven shilling each, reckoning six score to a hundred; the highest price ever known at that market. The next boat-load produced but thirteen guineas per hundred. Mackerel were so plentiful at Dover in 1808, that they were sold sixty for a shilling. At Brighton, in June of the same year, the shoal of Mackerel was so great, that one of the boats had the meshes of her nets so completely occupied by them, that it was impossible to drag them in; the fish and nets therefore, in the end, sunk together; the fishermen thereby sustaining a loss of nearly 60*l.*, exclusive of what the cargo, could it have been got into the boat, would have produced. The success of the fishery in 1821 was beyond all precedent. The value of the catch of sixteen boats from Lowestoffe, on the 30th of June, amounted to 5252*l.*; and it is supposed that there was no less an amount than 14,000*l.* altogether realized by the owners and men concerned in the fishery of the Suffolk coast. In March 1833, on a Sunday, four Hastings' boats brought on shore ten thousand eight hundred Mackerel; and the next day, two boats brought seven thousand fish. Early in the month of February 1834, one boat's crew from Hastings cleared 100*l.* by the fish caught in one night; and a large quantity of very fine Mackerel appeared in the London market in the second week of the same month. They were cried through the streets of London three for a shilling on the 14th and 22nd of March 1834, and had then been plentiful for a month. The boats engaged in fishing are usually attended by other fast-sailing vessels, which are sent away with the fish taken. From some situations, these vessels sail away direct for the London market; at others, they make for the nearest point from which they can obtain land-carriage for their fish. From Hastings and other fishing-towns on the Sussex coast the fish are brought to London by vans, which travel up by night."—vol. i, pp. 125, 126.

Who that has ever beheld a haddock has not heard a reason given for the dark spot on both its sides? the mark being assigned to the impression left of St. Peter's finger and thumb, when he took the tribute-money out of a fish of this species. But that this reference is gratuitous, is shown by the fact that the Haddock does not ex-

ist in the sea of the country where the miracle was performed. There is another fish, and one of a very different appearance, which contends for this honour—the Dorey, or Doree, or, according to the common appellation, John Dorey. Some have assigned the origin of the spots on its sides to St. Christopher, who is reported to have caught one when wading through an arm of the sea, bearing the Saviour; and Doree was therefore said to be derived from the French, *adoree*—worshipped; but when and whence John was prefixed to the idle tale does not appear.

Of fresh-water fish, the Pike affords our author an excellent opportunity for collecting a number of curious and antiquarian records. This fish, it is supposed, was much rarer in this country some centuries ago than it is now. Edward the First fixed its price at a higher rate than that of fresh Salmon, and more than ten times greater than that of the Cod or Turbot. Pike were so scarce in the reign of Henry the Eighth, that a large one sold for double the price of a house-lamb in February, and a Pickerel or small Pike, for more than a fat capon. Their growth is rapid, and their voracity, of course, equally remarkable. It is a strong, fierce, and active fish, and swims rapidly, occasionally darting with the rapidity of lightning.

"'Eight Pike, of about five pounds' weight each, consumed nearly eight hundred Gudgeons in three weeks; and the appetite of one of these Pike,' says Mr. Jesse, 'was almost insatiable. One morning I threw to him, one after another, five Roach, each about four inches in length: he swallowed four of them, and kept the fifth in his mouth for about a quarter of an hour, when it also disappeared.' Digestion in the Pike goes on very rapidly, and they are therefore most expensive fish to maintain. In default of a sufficient quantity of other fishes to satisfy them, moor-hens, ducks, and indeed any animals of small size, whether alive or dead, are constantly consumed: their boldness and voracity are equally proverbial. Dr. Plot relates, that at Lord Gower's canal at Trentham, a Pike seized the head of a swan as she was feeding under water, and gorged so much of it as killed them both: the servants perceiving the swan with its head under water for a longer time than usual, took the boat, and found both swan and Pike dead. Gesner relates that a Pike in the Rhone seized on the lips of a mule that was brought to water, and that the beast drew the fish out before it could disengage itself. Walton was assured by his friend Mr. Segrave, who kept tame otters, that he had known a Pike, in extreme hunger, fight with one of his otters for a Carp that the otter had caught, and was then bringing out of the water; and, with the old adage, adds, 'it is a hard thing to persuade the belly, because it has no ears.' A woman in Poland had her foot seized by a Pike as she was washing clothes in a pond; and the same thing is said to have happened at Killingworth pond, near Coventry. The present head-keeper of Richmond Park was once washing his hand over the side of a boat in the great pond in that park, when a Pike made a dart at it, and he had but just time to with-

draw it. Mr. Jesse adds, 'that a gentleman now residing at Weybridge in Surrey, walking one day by the side of the river Wey, near that town, saw a large Pike in a shallow creek. He immediately pulled off his coat, tucked up his shirt-sleeves, and went into the water to intercept the return of the fish to the river, and to endeavour to throw it out upon the bank by getting his hands under it. During this attempt, the Pike, finding he could not make his escape, seized one of the arms of the gentleman, and lacerated it so much that the marks of the wound are still visible.' "—vol. i, pp. 385, 386.

It is a long-lived fish, and attains to the greatest size of any of the fresh water species. Gesner relates, that in the year 1497, a Pike was taken at Hailbrun, in Suabia, with a brazen ring attached to it, on which were these words in Greek:—"I am the fish which was first put into this lake by the hands of the Governor of the Universe, Frederick the Second, the 5th of October, 1230." It was said to weigh three hundred and fifty pounds. The skeleton was nineteen feet in length, and was long preserved at Manheim. Honest Isaak Walton, however, does not recommend Pikes of great size and age for the table, saying that they "have in them more of state than goodness."

The author gives a long dissertation on the most royal and beautiful of all British fishes, viz. the Salmon, and several of its species and varieties, illustrating the distinctions between them by a reference to the number and situation of the teeth, the form of the different parts of the gill-covers, and the size, form, and relative situation of the fins. The Parr, or Samlet, though the smallest of the British Salmonidæ, has given rise to more discussion than any other species of the genus. Our author thus records his opinion regarding it:—

"Abounding in our Salmon rivers, and conspicuous for those lateral marks which are now known to be borne also for a time by the young of the Trout as well as the fry of the other *Salmonidæ*, and this fish always appearing of small comparative size, it has frequently been insisted upon as the young of the Salmon, and local regulations have as generally been invoked for its preservation.

"The fry, however, of the different species of migratory *Salmonidæ* are even now probably accurately known only to a few persons: their great similarity when very small has so frequently deceived even those who have lived the greater part of their lives on the Salmon river banks, that the fry marked by them, in their experiments, believing them all to be what they considered the young of the Parr, have been retaken as Grilse, Bull-Trout, Salmon-Trout, and River-Trout. That the Parr is not the young of the Salmon, or indeed of any other of the larger species of *Salmonidæ*, as still considered by some, is sufficiently obvious from the circumstance that Parrs by hundreds may be taken in the rivers all the summer, long after the fry of the year of the larger migratory species have gone down to the sea; and the greater part of those Parrs taken even in autumn do not exceed five inches in length, when no ex-

ample of the young of the Salmon can be found under sixteen or eighteen inches, and the young of the Bull-Trout and Salmon-Trout are large in proportion. As has been before stated, the transverse dusky bars from which this fish has obtained the name of Brandling and Fingerling are family marks, borne by all the species of the genus for a time, are obliterated by degrees, and at periods depending on the ultimate size attained by the individual species when adult; the soonest probably in the Salmon, and certainly the latest in the Parr."—vol. ii, pp. 42, 43.

These views have been confirmed by Sir Wm. Jardine, and other eminent naturalists. Indeed, Sir William says, that he has no hesitation in considering the Parr not only distinct, but one of the best and most constantly marked species we have, and that it ought to remain in our systems as the *Salmo Salmulus* of Ray. It has often been alleged, on the other hand, that the Parrs are hybrids, and all of them males. This opinion, however, is also contradicted by those who have carefully opened numbers of them. Out of three hundred and ninety-five, one gentleman declares that he found one hundred and ninety-six females; so that this little and elegant inhabitant of our fresh waters seems to have at last attained its rightful title among the finny tribes.

There is another tiny fish, regarding which there has been a good deal of difference of opinion, viz. the Whitebait. For the information of our epicure readers, we quote the author's statement on the subject.

"In the papers on the subject of the Whitebait published in the fourth volume of the Zoological Journal, I endeavoured to prove, historical and anatomically, that this little fish was not, as had been supposed, the young of the Shad, but a distinct species. In its habits it differs materially from all the other British species of *Clupea* that visit our shores or our rivers. From the beginning of April to the end of September this fish may be caught in the Thames as high up as Woolwich or Blackwall, every flood-tide, in considerable quantity, by a particular mode of fishing to be hereafter described. During the first three months of this period, neither species of the genus *Clupea*, of any age or size, except occasionally a young Sprat, can be found and taken in the same situation by the same means. The young Shad of the year are not two inches and a half long till November, when the Whitebait season is over; and these young Shad are never without a portion of that spotted appearance behind the edge of the upper part of the operculum, which in one species particularly is so marked a peculiarity in the adult fish. The Whitebait, on the contrary, never exhibits a spot on the side at any age; but from two inches long up to six inches, which is the length of the largest I have seen, the colour of the sides is uniformly white.

"About the end of March or early in April, Whitebait begin to make their appearance in the Thames, and are then small, apparently but just changed from the albuminous state of very young fry. During the fine weather of June, July, and August, immense quantities are consumed

by visiters to the different taverns at Greenwich and Blackwall. Pennant says, 'They are esteemed very delicious when fried with fine flour, and occasion during the season a vast resort of the lower order of epicures to the taverns contiguous to the places where they are taken.' What might have been the particular grade of persons who were in the habit of visiting Greenwich to eat Whitebait in the days when Pennant wrote, I am unable to state; but at present, the fashion of enjoying the excellent course of fish as served up either at Greenwich or Blackwall is sanctioned by the highest authorities, from the court at St. James's Palace in the West, to the Lord Mayor and his court in the East, including the Cabinet Ministers* and the philosophers of the Royal Society. As might be expected, examples so numerous and influential have corresponding weight; and accordingly there are few entertainments more popular or more agreeable than a Whitebait dinner."—vol. ii, pp. 126—128.

The various species of flat fish which inhabit our shores are amongst the most unique of vertebrated animals. There is a strange want of symmetry in the form of the head of some of them, both eyes being sometimes placed on the same side, one higher than the other, frequently not in the same vertical line, and often unequal in size. The mouth, the two sides of the head, and the frequent want of uniformity in those fins that are in pairs, produce a grotesque appearance. Yet, observes our author, a little consideration points out that their seeming anomalies are in perfect harmony with the station which such animals have to fill. After remarking that flat fishes, such as the Plaice, the Turbot, &c. inhabit the lowest position in the water, Mr. Yarrell proceeds to say:—

"Preferring sandy or muddy shores, and unprovided with swimming-bladders, their place is close to the ground, where, hiding their bodies horizontally in the loose soil at the bottom, with the head only slightly elevated, an eye on the under side of the head would be useless; but both eyes placed on the upper surface affords them an extensive range of view in those various directions in which they may either endeavour to find suitable food, or avoid dangerous enemies. Light, one great cause of colour, strikes on the upper surface only; the under surface like that of most other fishes, remains perfectly colourless. Having little or no means of defence, had their colour been placed only above the lateral line on each side, in whatever position they moved, their piebald appearance would have rendered them conspicuous objects to all their enemies. When near the ground they swim slowly, maintaining their

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*"In the Morning Post of the day on which this account of the Whitebait was written, September 10th, 1835, the following paragraph appeared:—

"'Yesterday the Cabinet Ministers went down the river in the Ordnance barges to Lovegrove's West India Dock Tavern, Blackwall, to partake of their annual fish dinner. Covers were laid for thirty-five gentleman.'"

horizontal position; and the smaller pectoral and ventral fins on the under side are advantageous where there is so much less room for their action, than with the larger fins that are above. When suddenly disturbed, they sometimes make a rapid shoot, changing their position from horizontal to vertical: if the observer happens to be opposite the white side, they may be seen to pass with the rapidity and flash of a meteor; but they soon sink down, resuming their previous motionless, horizontal position, and are then distinguished with difficulty, owing to their great similarity in colour to the surface on which they rest.

"Though the appearance and situation of the eyes and mouth seem to indicate a degree of deformity, yet the head contains modifications of all the bones that are found in a symmetrically-formed head. The vent is situated very far forward between the ventral fins and the commencement of the anal fin; but the abdominal cavity, though circumscribed, extends backwards to a considerable distance, the intestine returning by a convolution."—vol. ii, pp. 210, 211.

There are sixteen species of flat fish on our shores, whereas, at the islands at the mouth of the Baltic there are thirteen; on the coast of Norway they are reduced to ten; at Iceland to five; and at Greenland to three. Thus, our land is highly favoured, the number of species diminishing as you proceed northward.

We shall confine our last extract to a suggestion contained in the Introduction to these volumes, which may perhaps be turned to good account, and to a great enlargement of the species of fishes which inhabit our fresh and salt waters.

"Dr. Walker of Edinburgh, in an essay on the Natural History of the Salmon, published in the Transactions of the Highland Society, quoting the experiments of Jacobi of Berlin, says, he found that when the spawn of both sexes were extracted from dead fishes, the ova by mixture can be fecundated by the milt; and when placed under water in a proper situation can be brought forth into life. He further discovered that this artificial fecundation can be accomplished with the roe and milt of fishes which have been dead two and even three days. This appears to point out the mode of obtaining the fishes of neighbouring countries by the transportation as far as possible of the living gravid fishes, afterwards for a time while dead, and finally by the mixture and further transportation of the mixed roes.

"But there appear to be other, and still greater facilities. Mr. Jesse states, that he has been assured by persons who have lived many years in the East Indies, that ponds which have become perfectly dry, and the mud hard, have after the rainy season been found with fish in them, although no stream communicated with them, or any passage or other means by which fish could be admitted. This curious fact has been confirmed to me by Colonel Sykes and other observers who have lived long in India, who state that the tanks and ditches near fortifications are alternately filled and empty on the occurrence of every rainy and dry season, but that a few days after the commencement of each rainy season these tanks and ditches are replenished not only with water, but also with small fish. The solution appears to me to be this.—The impregnated ova of the fish of one rainy season are left unhatched in the mud through the dry season, and from

their low state of organization as ova, the vitality is preserved till the occurrence and contact of the rain and the oxygen of the next wet season, when vivification takes place from their joint influence. If this solution of the problem be the true one, it points at once to what perhaps may be effected after a few experiments—namely, the artificial fecundation of the roe, the drying of that roe, (or of other roe naturally impregnated,) sufficiently to prevent decomposition, and its possible transportation to, and vivification in, distant countries."—vol. i, pp. xxiv, xxv.

It would be quite easy to greatly extend our extracts without exhausting the new or the interesting contents of these volumes. It is unnecessary to introduce more of them into our pages, however, whether our purpose be to recommend the work to the scientific or the popular reader. The wood-cuts we cannot transfer, without which the descriptions must fail of conveying to their full extent the force of the text when so illustrated. But while we thus bestow upon these illustrations and embellishments the praise to which they are entitled, no judge of good writing, of chasteness of style, and modesty of manner, can listen to a single specimen quoted, without being aware of Mr. Yarrell's excellencies in these respects.

ART. XIV.—*A few Remarks on our Foreign Policy.* London: Ridgway and Sons. 1836.

SOME of these remarks have pleased us; others have startled us; but full as many of them have either bewildered our fancies, or appeared the fanciful conjectures of the author, and nothing better. We did not expect, from the common sense and practical views with which the pamphlet opened, that he was to allow pure speculation to run away with him in such a wild-goose manner, as much of its latter portion betrays. Upon what seem to us to be most inadequate and whimsical principles, he maps out the future condition and history of Europe, and of a great part of Asia, just as if mankind and governments could be divided like a draft-board, and be the puppets of a few unerring rules. He sees the whole at once, and can describe the precise movement which will follow another, just as clearly as that two and two make four. In this respect he is a perfect quack; for with a few simples taken from human history, such as the ties produced by the affinity of language, the geographical relations of the different kingdoms of the world, and the selfish character of mankind, he decides on the policy that ought without fail to be at present pursued by England and other nations, or declares what will be the infallible result many years hence, of an opposite system of conduct. All is laid down in a black and white style; while the most unblushing Machiavellianism is brought to bear upon every obstacle and difficulty, that we ever remember to have heard avowed. At the same time, there are many sagacious as well as straight-forward remarks in these pages: and whether

we see our way with the author or not, whether we believe him to be a mere speculatist in other parts, or positively in error, still there is novelty and boldness enough in all that he says to render his opinions instructive or curious. We shall therefore hastily glance at the contents of the work, selecting some of the passages in it for slight criticism, which appear to us most worthy of notice in point of wisdom, shrewd observation, wild conjecture, or untenable principle.

The author in the outset takes notice of the different manner in which the various parties of the State regard our domestic and foreign policy; the Conservatives being opposed to all reform at home, while the Whig and Radical oppose any interference in the affairs of other countries which might by any possibility lead to a war. He charitably believes that on both sides the parties are guided by the purest and most patriotic motives; for says he, "patriotism is inherent in an Englishman, and animates him from the cradle to the grave; and though it may sometimes be latent, it will burst forth with greater intensity in the hour of danger—when faction rages at home, or an enemy dare to insult 'the meteor flag' abroad." Or, to characterise the three parties in the State more distinctly—the Tories are opposed to all domestic reform—the Radicals to all foreign intervention—while the Whigs strive to establish a *juste milieu* with about the same degree of success that *juste milieu* measures generally meet with.

Now the question arises, whether it might not be possible to have a government which would reform all real abuses at home, and at the same time maintain our power and dignity abroad. To this the author addresses himself, endeavouring to point out the true foreign policy of a country like ours. And here he holds up to just ridicule a certain class of politicians, who say—

"First, That we are the greatest and most powerful people on earth, and shall always remain so. Secondly, That this greatness is entirely owing to our free institutions, and our insular position; and, lastly, That in order to preserve and increase this greatness and power, we have only to render our institutions still more free, and our position if possible still more insular, in short that we have only to mind our own affairs, and not meddle with those of any other people—remaining in every sense of the words—

"'penitus toto divisos orbe Brittannos.'

"Nay, some of the *isolators* go so far as to say, that if any of our Colonies were to revolt, we ought immediately to acknowledge their independence. They seem to think that it would be better if we had no Colonies at all: they would even consent to abandon Gibraltar, Malta, and Heligoland; and some of them would not hesitate throwing away the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and the other remnants which we still retain of France. Their maxim is, that free institutions and an insular position are all that we require. Unless some convulsion of nature should dry up

the Channel and unite us again to the Continent, or unless these institutions be trampled under foot by a monarchical or aristocratical despotism, we shall have nothing to fear. Let Continental nations, say they, fight out their own battles; what does it matter to us how they divide Europe? What does it matter, whether the French re-acquire their *natural limits*, or the Russians bivouac in the streets of Constantinople? England will always remain the first country in the world."—pp. 4, 5.

Even to those who, like our present ministers, are equally desirous as the *isolators* to reform abuses in Church and State, and who are also fully aware of the necessity of paying attention to our foreign policy—their plan, however, being first to reform our domestic evils, and then mind what is going on abroad—the author has a lesson to teach. He does not see the least prospect of our domestic evils being immediately or for several years remedied; but he is strongly of opinion that by the end of that time, Russia, or France, or both, will so far have the lead of us upon the seas, and as respects foreign relations, that neither our free institutions, nor our insular position, will preserve us from the fate which inevitably attends a powerful people too exclusively occupied by the struggles of parties and factions at home, to pay due attention to their foreign interests.

It appears to us that these are sound opinions, and of such pressing importance at the present moment, that unless the present government of England be speedily stirred by them, the wily king of the French, and the ambitious autocrat of all the Russias will do, as they have hitherto been doing—that is, extend and buttress their strength and influence in a manner that we cannot easily shake or cope with.

The author states his opinion generally respecting the foreign policy of England in these words:—

"The only true system of Foreign Policy for any country, is that founded on interest: if the interests of one of the contracting parties be alone promoted, or promoted in a much greater degree than that of the other, the alliance may be of momentary utility, but cannot be durable. The only durable alliances are those founded on mutual and permanent interests, and such interests are chiefly the result of geographical position, while those on which temporary alliances are formed, are generally the interests of a Dynasty, or a Faction, and frequently in direct opposition to the real interests of the nation."—p. 7.

We do not cavil with this definition or description, because where mutual and permanent interests exist, they must be founded upon equitable, just, and enlightened principles, which whether in public or private policy are uniformly the best and strongest. England owes as much of her authority and power to the character which her sons have won for their integrity and high principles of social, commercial, and political honour, as she does to her arms, and perhaps more; or rather, had her armies and fleets not been stimulated by these principles, her physical strength and her gold could never have preserved her intact.

At the same time, it must not be supposed that established renown in war, or the highest national character for moral greatness will stand instead of constant watchfulness, or be an excuse for future supineness and confident security. Mankind are unstable—nations are not stationary—the relative strength and character of kingdoms are ever varying. Certain measures must continually be in operation, for the preservation from foreigu aggression of a country like ours. These, though few, are manifest priuciples, and exceedingly well explained by the author. They are, as regards Great Britain, always to have on the one hand "a commanding naval force ready for action;" on the other, "to keep on good terms, and to cultivate the friendship of our natural allies." But who are our natural allies? and who our natural enemies, or rivals? Let the author answer.

"The natural allies of Great Britain are those nations who have little or no chance of ever becoming a maritime power; and her natural enemies are those who have that chance. Our whole system of Foreign Policy should be grounded on these principles; we should strive to form permanent alliances with inland nations, or with those who have only a very remote chance of ever becoming powerful at sea. If the germs of maritime greatness exist in a country, we should prevent those germs from ripening into maturity, and seize on any pretext for nipping them in the bud, when the risk and expense would not be too great, and thus avoid those numerous evils which a less hardy policy would inevitably entail on our children.

"This will be called an odious policy, but odious as it may at first sight appear, it can easily be justified. Nations, like individuals, have a right to preserve their existence, and to destroy whatever may threaten that existence. Now, Continental nations can exist and even become powerful and mighty without possessing the sovereignty of the ocean; but for us this sovereignty is a *sine qua non*, for the moment any other power becomes decidedly superior to us at sea, we shall lose our political existence, our Colonies will be lopped off, our commerce annihilated, and the mother country itself at last obliged to endure all the horrors of another conquest. We are the only people whose political existence entirely depends on a navy. France and Russia would remain great and powerful without a single ship, consequently, if those powers should increase their respective navies beyond what the protection of their trade should require, we shall have reason to conclude that it can only be with the *arrière pensée* of attacking us, and shall therefore be perfectly justified in anticipating the attack by a declaration of war, or in embarrassing them by favouring any party, legiitimate or illegtimate, which may be in opposition to their existing Governments.

"From what has been said, it is manifest that our most natural allies are the Germans, and our most natural enemies, or to use a less odious word, our natural rivals, the French and Russians. Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, have not sufficient resources ever to become very powerful at sea, but as their respective fleets would strengthen those of an adversary, we ought to keep on good terms with them, which will not be difficult, for

Holland will always be more inclined to form an alliance with England than with France, and the Scandinavian powers will always prefer us to Russia. The same may be said of Turkey, whose importance the public only began to appreciate after the Greek mania was over, and do not seem even now fully to appreciate it, notwithstanding all that has been lately written on the subject. Spain was once a great maritime power, and under a good government, might become so again, but the period is far too remote to cause us any uneasiness, and for years to come it will be of the greatest advantage for us to have her for an ally. Our true Foreign Policy is consequently to form and to strengthen, by every means in our power, a bond of union among all the remaining European states, against France and Russia, a task which would not be so difficult as it may at first view appear, for it fortunately happens that the *true interests* of the greater part of these States would be promoted by such a league."—pp. 9—11.

There is certainly a great deal of truth and wisdom contained in these views, although the author already evidently begins to disclose the doctrine that expediency and selfishness form the groundwork and principles of a nation's foreign policy, rather than justice or alliances formed on reciprocal interests, which, to be permanent, must, as before hinted, be pure and honest.

We are of opinion that the world, especially the civilized world, is rapidly approaching a much higher state of improvement in all its social and political relations than it has ever formerly attained. The sciences of physics, and morals, in the widest sense of the terms, seem to be gaining a new elevation, and to be rapidly introducing new modes of thinking and working even in the every-day details of individual life—of families, communities, and empires. If all this be true, surely some more worthy motives and principles must guide such parties in their intercourse with one another than those which are purely selfish; and therefore the seizing on any pretext, be it just or unjust, for nipping in the bud the increasing power of a neighbouring nation, cannot further the great ameliorations contemplated by us, as about to take place among the nations of the world. Surely there is an authority and power, which a people may maintain, founded upon the great rules of political, as well as social morality, which the Ruler of the Universe will countenance, and of which mankind stand more in awe than of the sword.

Our author proceeds in his endeavour to awaken England to the danger of her relying upon any alliance with France, which, he says, can never be of more than temporary utility to us. His argument rests entirely upon the selfish views which regulate the conduct of individuals and of nations. He even questions whether a war with France would not have been better for this country than the quasi-alliance which has existed for the last five years. It cannot be denied that selfish and exclusive interests in most cases sway the conduct of human beings; but is this a reason why such motives should be systematically recommended and acted upon? Again,

as to the comparative advantages of peace and war—what sort of principle is it that can lead a writer on human policy to regard the evils of the latter as only affecting the nation to which he himself belongs? He says a "war would probably have been better for England" than peace with France! Would it have been to the honour of England to have broken this peace during the last five years?—would it have been conducive to her domestic happiness?—would it have been for the welfare of the civilized world? Let our readers reply.

But according to our author's views, and certainly agreeably to the opinions of almost all who have paid any attention to such matters, it is Russia that is our most powerful rival, and our greatest natural enemy. Nor is her gigantic progress, her secret designs, or her whole system of foreign policy now hid from close observers. The writer before us, however, provides against being thought a stigmatizer of Russian policy, or calling it perfidious. Even on the subject of Poland and the Poles, he says:—

"It may also do well enough in a dinner speech to stigmatize the Emperor Nicolas as a barbarian, an autocratic despot, and so forth, and may often answer party purposes to make use of such abusive epithets; but in the mouth of a statesman they are ridiculous, for he at least ought to know that Nicolas, as Emperor of Russia, cannot act otherwise than he does without sacrificing the true interests of his country. For if it be our interest to see Poland a free and independant kingdom, it is equally the interest of the Czar to destroy its independence by transforming it into a Russian Province, and thus rendering it as subservient to his will as any other Province of his vast Empire. It is therefore quite natural that he should treat the Poles as a conquered people; and however harsh that treatment may be, it will meet with the unanimous approbation of his Russian subjects; an approbation which, no doubt, makes him perfectly indifferent to any thing which foreign writers may be pleased to declaim on the subject.

"Far be it from me to attempt to palliate the cruelties which the Russians have been guilty of in Poland. I abhor those cruelties, perhaps, equally as much as these who expatiate so largely on them; and though I am convinced that they have been greatly exaggerated for party purposes, still deeds have been done, which can only be justified by admitting a very dangerous principle, a principle which, if generally admitted, might be alleged in justification of every crime, both public and private, and therefore if admitted at all, ought never to be acted upon by statesmen, except with great restrictions. The principle is this—that the governments of this world are analogous to that of the Supreme Being, who pervades the universe, and are therefore authorized in producing a partial evil to effect a permanent good. Now, if Russian statesmen admit this principle, and act upon it with *honest intentions*, the crimes committed in Poland ought only to be ascribed to an error in judgment, and not to any inherent love of cruelty. We must not forget too, that our policy in regard to Ireland has been precisely the same as that which Russia has adopted in regard to Poland. We acquired possession of Ireland, as the Russians did of Poland,

by taking advantage of party dissensions. The Irish, like the Poles, frequently rebelled; after one of these rebellions we resolved to make them Englishmen and Protestants, as Russia seems equally resolved so make the Poles members of the Greek Church, and Russians; but the Irish clung to the language and the faith of their forefathers, and we drove them from house and home with the savage cry, 'to Hell or Connaught,' much in the same way as the Russians are now driving the Polish recusants to the wilds of Siberia. When our journalists abuse the Russians, they ought to bear in mind that our conduct in regard to Ireland renders it very easy for them to recriminate; this consideration would, perhaps, tend to moderate the acerbity of their language, and give them a more impartial view of the subject."—pp. 21—23.

We look upon the doctrines contained in the above extract as most dangerous and inconsistent. But not to forestall the criticisms which every clear-headed and conscientious man will readily bestow upon them, nor to repeat the general answer which we have previously suggested respecting a policy which is founded upon convenient expediency or base selfishness, we may ask how can England's unjust treatment of Ireland authorise similar wickedness elsewhere?—how can one evil cloak or excuse another? Our author's justification of Russia as regards Poland, is this, that it was quite natural for the former to desire the subjugation of the latter, because the interests of Russia—which we must interpret by the word ambition—required it. Then, at this rate, where is covetousness and aggrandisement to stop? The answer must be, when there is nothing more to covet: nothing more to gain—might creating right. Now, what would be the condition of the world if this rule and these principles were constantly in operation? But the writer continues to argue, that if Russia had not subjugated Poland, England would have made the latter a strong barrier against the former, and rendered it a fulcrum on which to work her destruction, or at least greatly to affect her independency. Hence the subjugation of Poland was perfectly justifiable, because the Poles would always be dangerous neighbours. The affinity between the languages of the two nations, and the resemblances between their religions are urged as other excuses and motives for conquering Poland. And here our Michiavelli is himself again.

"If Russian statesmen be thoroughly convinced that the task of compelling the Poles to adopt their language and religion is one which only requires a little perseverance to accomplish (a conviction which I am, however, far from partaking,) we ought not to blame them for making the attempt. Such attempts, however, are political experiments of too dangerous a nature to be often repeated, and ought never to be undertaken without mature deliberation and the greatest chance of success. If within a due period such a compulsory system should not prove successful, it ought to be abandoned, and one directly the reverse be adopted. The inhabitants of a conquered country, in a word, ought either to be disnationalized or conciliated—there is no medium. They must either be com-

pelled to adopt the language, religion, laws, and institutions of the conquerors, in order that the posterity of both may form but one people, or they must be left in possession of these characteristics of nationality and be made the confederates of the conquerors, who ought to strive, by a system of mutual concessions, to render the union as intimate as dissimilar nationalities will allow. Conquerors cannot be blamed for *first* trying the harsher system, as it is capable of producing a much greater good than the other, but it will require statesmen of no ordinary capacity to carry on such a system, and especially to judge when it ought to be abandoned and the milder one adopted. This is what our statesmen have failed in, they have kept up a system capable of producing good if successful within a limited period, far beyond the term which ought to have been assigned for its operation; the consequence has been that they have neither disnationalized nor conciliated the Irish, but only produced general misery and discontent, which now renders the one impossible and the other extremely difficult.

"The experiment which Russia is now making in Poland has, however, much greater chances of success than those which have proved so fruitless to us—the languages and religions of the two countries being more analogous than those of England and Ireland. The Irish and English languages belong to two different families; the Irish to the Celtic, the English to the Teutonic—families which have little or no analogy, whereas both Russian and Polish belong to the same Slavonic family, and are as nearly allied as High and Low German or Italian and Spanish. The difference between the Greek and the Roman Catholic Church is also much less than between the latter and the Church of England. The attempt has, therefore, more chances of success than ours had, and I am afraid will eventually succeed, except the Poles meet with that assistance which England, if she has the least regard for her own interests, ought to render them ere it be too late."—pp. 28—30.

Every thing here is put upon a questionable, or an odious ground, which, if universally adopted and perpetuated, would render the world a theatre of contention and cruelty over all its provinces, to the uprooting of every generous and enlightened principle. But whatever Louis Philippe or Nicholas and his serfs may do, let England and France hail and exemplify a higher principle, analogous to that adopted by the Governor of the Universe, whose example our author has quoted—that principle being to secure the greatest good for the many.

Our author's urgency upon England to succour the Poles is not grounded upon the consideration that these unfortunate but brave people should be benefited, but because England would, through their independence, be secure, and Russia checked. These are the reasons assigned for the recommended game of rivalship, in which we do not discover those principles of mutual interest of a permanent character, spoken of towards the beginning of the pamphlet. But not longer to remark upon these principles, let us follow the writer in his glance at the future mightiness of Russia, compared with that

of England, in which he chalks the whole with the confidence and steady hand of an engineer.

"What Russia requires now, and will require for years to come, is not liberty according to our acceptation of the word, but a strong autocratic government, capable of harmonizing the discordant elements of her population, and directing their united energies to the accomplishment of a vast design—the design of rendering Russia the first power on earth, both by land and sea. This design was first conceived by the master-mind of Peter the Great, when he transformed his Asiatic Empire into a European one, by connecting it with the Baltic and Black Sea, and the vast plan which he then chalked out has been filled up by his successors with admirable skill and perseverance, especially by Catherine, Alexander, and the present enlightened monarch. If we take a rapid survey of the Russian Empire we shall find that the greater part of this design has been accomplished and a treble power acquired to realise the rest. Russia has now an uninterrupted dominion from the shores of the Baltic to the British possessions in America, from the Frozen Ocean to the frontiers of the Chinese Empire and the States of Central Asia—an immense extent of contiguous territory, peopled by 60 millions of inhabitants, 50 millions of whom belong to the same Slavonic race, and may in time become as homogeneous a people as the French or English. This contiguity of territory is also a great advantage which Russia has over us. Her conquests have proceeded from a centre, and have been carried on in unbroken line over one-third of the globe; ours on the contrary have proceeded from different points, and are consequently scattered over every part of its surface. Russian conquests appear as the natural development of a great people, whose innate energies have been gradually expanded by the vivifying force of presiding intellect, while our conquests and colonies seem owing to mere chance—which in fact they really are—andappear as so many planets hurled, in a convulsion of nature, from a central sun, some of them at distances which require their parent luminary to shine with undiminished splendour to retain them within the sphere of her attraction

"Russia has thus extended her empire by a series of well-concerted and well-executed plans. She has secured it on the west by transforming Poland into a province, and is now occupied in Russianizing that province, as fast as she possibly can, in spite of the protestations and remonstrances of foreign powers, which she feels herself strong enough to disregard. She has fortified her Asiatic frontiers, has taken the Kirghis horde (in 1829) under her protection, and thus opened for her commerce a secure road to Bokhara and the Central States of Asia, over which her influence is predominant. Her future policy will consequently be principally directed towards Turkey, for it is only by acquiring possession of that country that she can become as powerful by sea as she is now by land, and we may rest assured that no means will be spared by her statesmen to acquire possession, not only of Turkey, both European and Asiatic, but also of all the countries situated between the Black Sea and Adriatic; for their plans will only then be accomplished when the western frontier of their empire shall extend in as straight a line as possible from the mouth of the Vistula to the mountains of Friuli, and from thence only have the sea for a boundary to the southernmost point of Greece. The Russian Empire will then have acquired its '*natural limits.*'"—pp. 30—33.

An Englishman might be frightened by this cut-and-dry representation, were he persuaded that an empire becomes the stronger the more that it extends from a common centre, or that the British dominions at home and abroad are paltry and feeble because they are insular and disjoined. Novel doctrines in sooth! Nevertheless, the author's urgency upon England to do something more than protest and remonstrate, in reference to Russia, is well-timed and ably directed; and whether the arguments he adduces, or the conjectures he deals in be sound or feasible, it is to be hoped that his voice has not been thrown to the winds. But when alluding to these conjectures and those speculations which we have before characterised as wild and intangible, we cannot do better, in illustration of our designating them as such, than quote a long passage where the writer is endeavouring to point out what he considers to be the natural and inevitable development of the political existence of Russian power—that power being, as he thinks, "a phenomena of the same nature as that of the growth of a human being from infancy to manhood."

"The Slavonic race seems predestined to effect as great changes in the world, as the Greco-Italic and Teutonic races have effected. From the high lands of Central Asia, races of men seem to have been propelled like waves one after another, from the remotest ages comparatively speaking down to the present time. The earliest traces we have of these emigrations into Europe, is that of the Finns and Celts, who at a very remote poriod appear to have occupied pretty nearly the whole of it. The Finns being in possession of the northern and eastern, and the Celts of the western and southern part. They were followed by a race which has been severally denominated the Thracian, Greco-Italic, and Romanic. The mixture of this race with a tribe, in all probability of Semitic origin, produced the Greeks, and with various Celtic tribes, probably also with some whose emigration in Europe is of a still earlier date, the Latins, Sabines, Samnites, Marsi, Piceni, &c. The career of this race was truly glorious, and is recorded in imperishable characters in the pages of history; the Greeks and Romans, its two noblest tribes, have filled the world with their renown, but the laws of nature were not changed even for them, they followed the natural progress of society, from barbarism to civilization, refinement and decay, the conquests of the Romans engendering wealth and luxury, and rendering them an easy prey to the hardy sons of the North, the uncorrupted Teutons, who at a much earlier period had replaced the Celts and the Finns in the present countries of Germany and Scandinavia. The fusion of these two races gave rise, as is well known, to most of the modern nations of Europe. The Germans, Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, may be said to be of the pure Teutonic race, and we form a transition to the Teuto-Romanic, which comprises the Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Rhetians (in the Grisons,) and Wallachians.

"The career of the Teutonic race has been and still continues to be very brilliant. The Italians have excelled in the fine arts, and have alone produced a Raphael and a Michael Angelo; the Germans have explored the depths of science, and have proved themselves to be the most intellectual people at present in existence, while we have long been pre-eminent n the practical affairs of life and have carried the useful arts to the high-

est degree of perfection. But will not this career also have an end? Will not German philosophy degenerate into Greek sophistry, and British refinement into Roman luxury? When this shall happen the destinies of the Teutonic race will be accomplished, and it will require to be invigorated by the fusion with a hardier and less corrupted people. The Slavonians seem to be held in reserve for this purpose; they are very far from being barbarous it is true, still they are infinitely less advanced in refinement and corruption than the modern Teuton and Teuto-Romanic nations. This fusion will give rise to a Slavo-Teutonic race, whose career will probably be of shorter duration than that of the Teuto-Romanic, owing to the Slavonians being in a more advanced state of civilization than the Germanic tribes of the fifth century. Still it will, no doubt, be brilliant; for the fusion of two different races, however corrupt they may be, invariably gives rise to a mixed race, infinitely superior to either of them in every quality, both physical and moral—and this is an admirable dispensation of Providence, for even supposing all mankind to be one day sunk in luxury and corruption it would not be necessary, in order to renew the human race, that it should first be destroyed, a century of war would answer the purpose as effectually; the different races would be mingled, and mankind completely regenerated. The Slavo-Teutonic race after centuries of vigour will also be doomed to decay, and will be invigorated in its turn by some fresh horde of Asiatic barbarians. Judging the future from the past, this seems to be the natural course of events, and if it should be so, the increasing power of Russia is a sign that the Teutonic race has already attained its point of culmination."—pp. 33—39.

This is curious if not convincing; it also proves to us, that there are very few questions with which our author might not grapple, and escape from with flying colours; for if facts and sound argument failed, he has only to put his vaulting powers to work, and having thrown out a few conjectures, which his antagonists could neither contradict nor follow, to return again to the regular onset. But the result of this style of discussion, we fear, will be very insufficient or perplexing in the eyes of a British minister; for, says the writer, though such a functionary should be thoroughly convinced that Russia is predestined to perform the part above described in the dramatic history of the world, yet this conviction ought not to prevent the same minister "from counteracting her designs." Again, "Whether her (Russia) progress be better for mankind in general, or for this and that nation in particular, has nothing to do with the question; the only question which he (the minister) will have to consider is, whether that progress be detrimental to British interests, and if so, he ought to oppose it by every means in his power and be ready when these interests are at stake to brave fate itself, convinced though he be that its decrees are irresistible." Now this, we think, would be a severer trial for Lord Melbourne's equanimity than any which a late Lord Chancellor has ever provided for him; forming, in short, motives and grounds of legislation and political conduct that are absurdly unnatural, unnecessary, and impossible.

Throughout the remainder of the pamphlet, there is a great deal said in behalf of war as preferable to peace for this country, as respects Russia; there are also many disheartening views to England brought forward, in reference to the progress and termination of such a war, should it really occur. The author finds that British diplomacy is wonderfully in arrear of Russian, in many respects. For example—

"An Englishman is not well adapted for a diplomatic agent, he has too many prejudices of all kinds, political, religious, and domestic, to get rid of, before he can gain the confidence, or acquire the friendship of foreigners; he is slow too in learning a foreign language, and as for foreign manners and customs, he would think himself lowered in the eyes of his prejudiced countrymen, should he deign to adopt a tittle of them; hence, we see Englishmen dining in Italy at six o'clock, while the Italians are enjoying the cool of the evening after their siesta—we see them when they settle in Germany anglicizing their houses with bed-curtains, stair-carpets, and fire-places, making them what they term quite comfortable, though they are obliged to shiver with cold during the whole winter, while their German neighbours, who are totally unacquainted with such comforts, manage to keep up an equal temperature by means of their stoves so admirably adapted for the climate. How often have I seen these and a hundred other such things done by Englishmen in foreign countries—things which in their eyes appeared quite natural, but which in the eyes of the inhabitants seemed nearly allied to madness."—pp. 47, 48.

Are there no germs of strength in this nationality? No security in the patriotism that is thus manifested? Our readers must see that the writer can trifle, as well as be absurd, when overcharging his argument. Another great drawback alleged to the efficiency of our Foreign Policy, is the want of a regular army of agents or spies, which Russia has spread over every country, and transfused into every class. But would such an establishment elevate the character of England, at home or abroad? We think not; and surmise that the author has lost some of his native feelings and principles by remaining too long in foreign parts. Again, he says, that our employees abroad are most extraordinarily ignorant of foreign languages, and are therefore generally incapacitated for the important posts they occupy. In this emergency he suggests a remedy—

"I would establish, in short, a Board or Council, whose members should, like the judges, be conditionally appointed for life, and be selected from the most experienced and most talented men of all parties, without distinction. This Council should have the exclusive direction of our Foreign Policy, in the most extensive signification of the term, that is to say, of our relations with foreign countries, of our Colonies, and in a great measure also of our trade and commerce, whose interests in fact are too identified with our Foreign Policy to be well separated from it. Its members should not be numerous (thirteen, including a president, would I think be quite sufficient), and its acts of course subject to the

control of Parliament, precisely in the same way as those of the present Foreign Secretary. For this purpose, one of its members should sit in the House of Lords and another in the House of Commons; they should have no vote, and only be permitted to answer questions or to take part in debates on Foreign and Colonial affairs. The other members of the Council should not be allowed to sit in Parliament. Lords, being members, might be allowed to take their seat in the House, as they would not willingly renounce that privilege, but they should not be permitted either to speak or vote; on the other hand, the Presidency of this Council should be made the highest office in the state, as in fact it would be the most important. These, however, are points of minor importance, which might easily be settled, provided the main feature of the plan be found feasible and expedient. The grand object would be to create a council of intelligent and experienced statesmen, whose duration in office and manner of appointment would be a sufficient guarantee that our Foreign Policy would in future be conducted with a unity of plan and design totally independent of party politics, and which at the same time should not in the least endanger any of the fundamental principles of our Constitution.

"If we reflect on these things, I think that the necessity for establishing such a Council becomes quite evident. But there is another institution whose necessity is still more evident—that of a Diplomatic College. If in fact a Council of the kind proposed should ever be created, its first duty would be to demand, by its orators in Parliament, the foundation of such a college, for as this Council would have the exclusive right of appointing ambassadors, consuls, diplomatic agents, &c., its first duty would be to render a sufficient number of persons capable of filling such important offices.

"Embassies, as society is at present constituted, must necessarily be given to men of rank and property; but secretaries of legation, attachés, consuls, and diplomatic agents, ought to be brought up to their office by a regular and uniform system of education, specially adapted to the purpose. We expend a deal of money on a military college, merely to teach young men how to command a company or manœuvre a regiment, and have not as yet even bestowed a thought on the education of those whose office requires ten times more knowledge and instruction. In this college ought to be taught all sciences which are deemed requisite for a diplomatist, such as history, geography, statistics, law of nations, &c.; above all, languages. It ought to have professors of every civilised language spoken on the face of the earth, and especially of the languages of countries bordering on Russia. The students and candidates for office ought moreover to undergo the strictest examination."—pp. 53—56.

We have no farther objections to state against this finely outlined scheme of a Council and a College Diplomatic, than that it is entirely theoretic, and not likely to be put to the trial by a sober and practical Government. In conclusion, however, we admit, that the whole pamphlet proves the author to be an independent and ingenious thinker; he is serious, calm, and above every sort of virulence; and though we think that the principles which would regulate his Foreign Policy are questionable, there can be no doubt of his being a sturdy patriot.

NOTICES.

ART. XV.—*The Reign of Humbug: a Satire.* London: Richardson. 1836.

THE author, in the Preface to his Satirical Poem, says, "I trust that the public will receive with much indulgence this attempt to expose the wretched sophistry that pervades so many affairs, whether public or private, in the present day. I have used the term *Humbug* to designate this principle." Now, we believe that the public so implored, never think of extending any indulgence of the sort, when the attempt is poor and undeserving; least of all is this severe tribunal to be mollified if the failure has been on the part of a writer, whose whole effort is to be severe, and a satirical smasher; because it is very naturally alleged that the said candidate for applause cannot demand a measure for his own personal gratification, which he has not meted to others; and still more, because he should know something of his own powers before obtruding himself upon public attention:—he should know that to write a satirical poem requires powers of a rare order, and no ordinary array of pungent thought, of smart and polished diction.

To afford our readers an opportunity of judging of the author, we extract some lines from two distinct portions of the work, each of which is intended to hit hard a late Whig Lord Chancellor, who seems to be regarded by our poet as the Hero of Humbugs, while the party to whom the same learned Lord has always been attached, is generally disliked and cut up by the satirist.

"Arise, fair visions; lo! a court he sees,
Where ev'ry cause is heard and judg'd with ease;
Bless'd court! so quick, so easy to decide,
For there 'tis law to hear but one sole side;
No knights reply, and cite, and cite again,
Nor Sugden's answer, just to pose one's brain.
Another scene salutes his closing eyes,
A dreamy House of Lords he sees arise,
Where railing's logic, and abuse is wit,
And chousing friends is thought a lucky hit:
Then, as again he moves the cup to fill,
Behold in dreams a greater wonder still:—
He sits—could fancy paint a stranger thing?
And sips his claret with a smiling k—g.
Oh! 'tis too much; the blessed afflatus towers
O'er all his soul, and every thought o'erpowers;
His falt'ring tongue for once has had its fill,
His tawny nose just twitches, and is still."

* * * * * *

"Say, shall I e'er again by many a crowd
Be greeted by huzzas, full long and loud?
Shall I again look wond'rous deep and big,
And deal out wisdom from beneath a wig? &c., &c., &c."

We think this is poor stuff; 'tis all on "one sole side;" but there is too much mouthing for the infliction of a bite; too many repetitions, and senseless or feeble phrases, to allow the "falt'ring tongue" of the reader to have "its fill."

ART. XVI.—*History of Southern Africa; comprising the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, &c.* By R. M. MARTIN. London: Mortimer. 1836.

THIS is the third volume of Mr. Martin's British Colonial Library, which is to extend to twelve volumes, forming a neat and portable edition of his great Colonial work. On its first appearance we entered so fully upon the information contained in its several parts, as to preclude the necessity of any particular detail concerning them here. All along, we considered that it was a performance that could best be characterised by the term national, on account of its extent, and the ability and candour with which it was compiled; as well as because it embraced and combined topics and statistics no where else to be found in a regular and condensed shape. A cheap but handsome edition of such a work, not only shows that in its expensive and original form, its merits were properly appreciated, but enables us to convey the useful intelligence that it is now within the reach of all ordinary readers. It is impossible to produce a more appropriate or striking commentary on the motto prefixed to these volumes, than the one which Mr. Martin has furnished for his British readers;—

"Far as the breeze can bear—the billows foam—
Survey our Empire!"

ART. XVII.—*Memorials of Oxford. Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Colleges, Halls, Churches, &c.* No. XLIII. Edited by the Rev. J. INGRAM, D.D. London: Tilt. 1836.

THE engravings in the present number of this fine work represent Oxford from the Abingdon road—and New Inn Hall—together with other Illustrations on a smaller scale introduced into the letter-press. We have so often spoken in high commendation of this publication, and its fame is so well established, that we need only add that the number before us is equal in every particular to any of its predecessors. The View of Oxford is a beautiful picture of a beautiful subject.

ART. XVIII.—*Statistics of the Church of England, as developed in the Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, &c. &c.* London: Wilson. 1836.

THERE is a great deal of information, though of an arid character, in this small pamphlet. The revenues of the Church; the jurisdiction and incomes of the Bishops; the number of Cathedral and Collegiate churches; and a List of Church Dignitaries, with the several preferments held by each, and their total net income, are stated particularly. Upon these, and the Church Reform Bill, strong observations of a Radical tendency are expressed. The concluding paragraph will save us the trouble of any farther explanation of the character of these observations. "In conclusion, we have," says the writer, "only to remark, that our own opinions on church reform are very brief and very decided. Abolish it altogether. In the present state of religious divisions in the three kingdoms, there is not, nor can there be, a national worship; and any prolonged attempt compulsorily to maintain one, must be a source of endless disturbance to the State, and of strife and agitation among the people. This is the only panacea for religious peace, the best peace of all, as religious wars are the worst. Next to no church,

or the 'voluntary principle,' we prefer the Scotch church; and if we are to maintain one, let it be on that plan, and every parish have its resident minister, respectably paid, moral, and educated. As to those who prefer an array of bishops, deans, and prebendaries, let them have a titular hierarchy, as before hinted; it is a mere matter of opinion, of doctrine that concerns only themselves, and it is fair they should pay for its indulgence."

There will be very different opinions entertained respecting these views by different parties; nor need we attempt to reconcile them.

ART. XIX.—*Nautical Economy; or Forecastle Recollections of Events during the Last War.* By a Sailor, politely called by the Officers of the Navy, Jack Nasty-face. London: Robinson. 1836.

THOUGH this volume be the production of one who was, in his early years, a common sailor, and though it bear a nasty title, nevertheless it is creditable to the author, and far superior to what very many of those who nicknamed him could produce. It is dedicated to the Brave Tars of Old England, and is evidently a faithful picture and account of what the author saw and experienced—a picture which, we believe, is more forbidding in various parts, than the present state of our navy will generally warrant. But that farther reforms are required in the service, cannot be doubted, as the information contained in these pages amply shows.

As a specimen of Jack's truth and manner, we quote his account of preparing for the Battle of Trafalgar, as it was conducted in his ship. "During this time," says he, "each ship was making the usual preparations, such as breaking away the captain and officers' cabins, and sending all the lumber below—the doctors, parson, purser, and loblolly men, were also busy, getting the medicine chests and bandages out; and sails prepared for the wounded to be placed on, that they might be dressed in rotation, as they were taken down to the after cock-pit. In such a bustling, and it may be said, trying as well as serious time, it is curious to notice the different dispositions of the British sailor. Some would be offering a guinea for a glass of grog, whilst others were making a sort of mutual verbal will, such as, if one of Johnny Crabeau's shots (a term given to the French) knocks my head off, you will take all my effects; and if you are killed, and I am not, why, I will have yours, and this is generally agreed to. During this momentous preparation, the human mind had ample time for meditation and conjecture, for it was evident that the fate of England rested on this battle; therefore well might Lord Nelson make the signal, 'England expects each man will do his duty.'"

In a note, in reference to this memorable signal, the author says that these were the precise terms in which it was expressed, and not "England expects *every* man *to* do his duty."

ART. XX.—*Hella, and other Poems.* By MRS. GEORGE LENOX CONYNGHAM, author of "The Dream." London: Churton. 1836.

THESE poems are of no common order. A rich but chastened fancy—a graceful and classic taste—and a harmonious versification, though varied and diversified as if with a youthful sportiveness, distinguish them greatly, when compared with the imitations of the small ware, in the shape of the

Muse's efforts, which we are, now-a-days, with few exceptions, doomed to notice. Mrs. G. L. Conyngham has drank deep at a Grecian well of undefiled feeling and song, and in dedicating these pieces to a child on her eighth birth-day, has provided a beautiful and valuable memorial of affection, which, when the author and giver may be gone, can never fail to breathe her language and her sentiments.

As a specimen, we extract "The Fulfilment of a Father's Hope," not because it is the most happy of these poems, but because its shortness suits the space we can afford for an extract. The verses are an amplification of a thought borrowed from Isocrates.

"There was a father who with joy had seen
His son grow up to manhood. Hope had been
For ever busy with him, to foretell
The glorious future of the boy he loved so well.

"The time arrived when he should send him out
To try the great world. Hope still stirred about
His breast: her whispered promise made him strong
To part with what had been his light of love so long.

"'Go forth my son!' the sanguine father cried,
'Go forth! and be, as heretofore, my pride.
Meet danger boldly, if it cross thy way;
Nor let it turn thy steps from honour's path astray.

"'Remember always that a hero's death
Is worth eternity of coward breath:
Fear not the loss of treasures which are prized
By common men; fear not—except to live despised.'

"Years passed before that father saw again
His soldier son:—he saw him lifeless then:
But Victory's wreath was on his pallid brow.
The old man gasped out—'God! I die contented now.'"

Art. XXI.—*Historia Economico-politica y Estadistica de la Isla de Cuba ó sea de sus Progresos en la Poblacion, la Agricultura, el Comercio y las Rentas.* Por Don Ramon de la Sagra, Director del Jardin Botanico de la Habana y Catedratico de Botanico-Agricola; Botanico Honsrario de S. M.; Corresponsal del Real Jardin de Madrid y del Museo Real de Ciencias de Paris; Miembro de la Real Academia Medica Matritense, de las Medico-quirurgicas y Economicas, de Cadiz y de Murcia, &c. &c. Habana, 4to, pp. 386.

An Economico-political and Statistical History of the Island of Cuba; or Sketch of its Progress in Population, Agriculture, Commerce and Revenue. By Don Ramon de la Sagra, Director of the Botanic Garden at the Habana, &c.

This work, with which we have been lately favoured by the intelligent author, contains materials of a very valuable nature. The first chapter consists of statistical details, which are interesting to the philosophic observer of his species, who wishes to be acquainted with the influence of physical agents upon man.

On casting our eyes over some of the tables touching the movement of the population at the Havana, we find some anomalies not easy of explanation. In the following, for example, which is compiled from estimates made by M. Prevost, of Geneva, with the addition of the author's observations at the Havana, we observe, that in this city alone, the proportion of the males amongst the illegitimate children is less than that of the females. Granting that the procreation of males requires more vigour on the part of the parents, the whole table, it will be observed, is strongly in favour of wedlock. It is an old idea, that bastards have more metal and corporeal vigour than children born in wedlock, and Shakespeare, embodying the idea of the times, makes Edmund say—

> "Why brand they us
> With base? with baseness? bastardy? base? base?
> Who, in the lusty stealth of nature, take
> More composition and fierce quality
> Than doth, within a dull, stale, tired bed,
> Go to the creating a whole tribe of fops,
> Got 'tween sleep and wake."

It has been attempted of late, also, to show that in animals the corporeal vigour of the parents has much to do with the future sex; and M. Giron de Bassaringue, from his experiments, affirms, that very young, and consequently feebler, rams beget a larger proportion of females, and the older and more vigorous, of males. He asserts, however, that females commonly predominate amongst animals that live in a state of polygamy, and the same fact, it is affirmed, has been observed in Turkey and Persia, in our own species. This may partly explain the reason why the males predominate over the females in greater proportion in legitimacy than in illegitimacy, although it does not appear to us sufficient to account for the whole difference. The estimates are decidedly unfavourable to the old notion respecting the bastard, to which we have referred.

It has been a common topic of remark, that, in every climate, certain months are more favourable for conception than others, Yet, when we inquire into the matter, we find it extremely difficult to deduce any satisfactory theory. Raymond, of Marseilles, Burns, of Glasgow, and the authors of the statistical inquiry, published some years ago in Sweden. favour the idea that in those countries women conceive more readily in autumn; yet M. Villermé, of Paris, from an estimate founded on eight years' observation in France, comprising 7·651·437 births, makes the ratio of conceptions as follows:—May, June, April, July, February, March, and December, January, August, November, September, and October; and in the United States, Dr. Governeur Emerson found that the greatest number of conceptions in Philadelphia, from observations of ten years, ending in 1830, are in April, January, and May; the least in October, August, and September—results which would seem to set all theory at defiance, as it is impossible to conceive that influences of season can be the same, or so nearly the same, as regards the point in question, in May as in January.

At the Havana, according to our author, the monthly number of births amongst the white population, during a period of five years—from 1825

to 1829, inclusive—was in the following order:—October, September, November, December, August, January, March, and February. February, January, March, and April, were, therefore, the most frequent months for conception with the whites; June, July, May, and September, the least so. By taking the white and the coloured population—for a difference is here, again, found to exist—the months of February, January, April, December, March, and November, are shown to be most favourable to conception; June, July, August, October, September, and May, the least so; whence M. de la Sagra infers, that the cool months favour conception most, and the warm least.

The greatest mortality at the Havana, is in the months of May, June, July, August, and September, the period at which the yellow fever (*fiebre amarilla*) prevails.

The proportionate mortality in 100 individuals amongst the whites, is 55·1 males to 44·9 females; amongst the people of colour, 51·2 males to 48·8 females; whilst the proportion of the sexes born in 100, is 50·5 to 49·5 females amongst the whites; and 51·4 males to 48·6 females, amongst the people of colour. It would seem, consequently, that the mortality, amongst the males of the white variety of our species, is much greater than amongst the females; and that, in the coloured population, the ratio of mortality is nearly equal to that of the births in both sexes (p. 44). The disproportion of deaths amongst the whites, M. de la Sagra attributes to the yellow fever, which destroys more men than women. In Paris, where the whole number of deaths was, in 1828, 24·299, the proportion of males to females was 1 to 11·250.

The following table, framed from data afforded by M. de la Sagra, indicates the mortality at different ages, amongst the different classes of the population.

AGE.	PROPORTION IN 100 CASES. *Whites.*	*Blacks.*
From birth to 10 years..	46 ..	41
10 to 20	5 ..	15
20 to 30	11 ..	18
30 to 40	8 ..	9
40 to 50	8 ..	7
50 to 60	6 ..	4
60 to 70	6 ..	3
70 to 80	5 ..	2
80 to 90	2 ..	07
90 to100	02 ..	02

It would appear from this table, that, at the Havana, more whites than blacks die, of all ages, with the exception of those comprised between 10 and 50. From 70 to 20 the mortality is three times greater amongst the latter than the former. The months of January, February, and March, are most fatal to children: those of July and August to youth, and those of June and August to the aged. This, at least, applies to the whites; and it is applicable to the coloured population, except as regards the aged, to whom the months of November, December, and January are the most fatal.

The deaths during the early days of infancy are frightfully numerous. In the few years recorded, they were as follows:—

	*Whites**.	*Blacks.*
From birth to the 7th day, inclusive ..	19 per cent.	24
From 7 days to 1 month	10 "	9
From 1 month to 2	5 "	4
From 2 months to 3	8 "	4
From 3 months to 1 year	24 "	23
From 1 year to 3	21 "	19
From 3 to 10	13 "	17

The great mortality during the first seven days, is caused by the *tuismus nascentium*, appropriately termed by the Spaniards, *mal de los siete dias*—"disease of seven days." The greater mortality amongst the black children, is, doubtless, owing to the want of due attention to their comforts, and to their greater exposure to atmospheric vicissitudes. The mortality under one year of age, compared with the whole mortality, is, at the Havana, about 1 in 31.

The researches of Villermé and Milne Edwards, in France, and of Trevisan, in Italy, exhibit, that in those countries the influence of depressed temperature has much to do with the number of deaths in early infancy. They found that of 100 children born in the months of December, January and February, 66 died in the first month; that of 100 born in the spring 48 survived the first year; whilst of 100 born in the summer, 83 lived more than a year.

The deductions of these gentlemen regarding European countries would not apply to the Havana, in which, during the first two years, the cholera infantum, a disease manifestly connected with elevated temperature, is so destructive. Amongst the white, at the Havana, the monthly difference is not great; and, as respects the coloured population, the months of June, March, and February, months differing essentially from each other, exceed the rest.

OF THOSE BORN IN	THERE DIED IN THE FIRST MONTH OF EXISTENCE. *Whites.*	*Blacks.*
January	11 ..	17
February.....	12 ..	19
March.....	11 ..	24
April	14 ..	16
May	10 ..	17
June	12 ..	26
July	11 ..	15
August	13 ..	15
September	13 ..	16
October	10 ..	15
November	13 ..	17
December	10 ..	14

The mortality amongst the white population at the Havana, is estimated, by the author, at 1 in 25; amongst the coloured 1 in 20; the mean being 1 in 22·6.

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* Not of the whole number of deaths, but of the deaths in the first ten years.

THE

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ART. I.—*Travels in Greece and Turkey; being the Second Part of Excursions in the Mediterranean.* By MAJOR SIR GRENVILLE TEMPLE, Bart. 2 vols. London: Saunders and Ottley. 1836.

LIKE the First Part of our author's Excursions, the volumes before us shew that he has not only enjoyed unusual means and opportunities as a tourist, but that he can with great ease and spirit turn these favours and privileges to good account. Although we have of late perused several works which have treated of the regions indicated by the title of the present production, there is novelty enough disclosed by the contents, both as regards facts and opinions, to reward the reader's time and trouble, in once more returning to the same fields. Especially does this hold true of the larger portion of the work which treats of Turkey. We do not mean to say that Sir Grenville is without strong tendencies and partialities in his modes of thinking, or that he has escaped the prevailing error of modern travellers, as respects wholesale doctrines formed without adequate inquiry and observation. Indeed, his unqualified dislike and abuse of the Greeks do not appear more unreasonable than does his extravagant admiration of the Turks and all that is Turkish, even down to their religion and their Bible. Unlike a late writer, who, on leaving Constantinople and entering the open sea, describes the former as "the castellated shores of despotism," and the Egean as "the sea of freedom," our author says, that he felt the same course took him away from "honesty, safety, and protection," towards regions, where there is "nothing but rascals, robbers, and cut-throats." In this strain he often speaks with far too little reserve, unless we believe that a community or a nation can exist without one particle of virtue, public or private. Indeed, he declares that while the Turk "is an honour to the country he inhabits, the Greek is but the dirt of it;" that the independence of the latter is an evil and curse to Greece itself; that the nation was blessed when under Turkish sway, because of its general mildness; and that, in short, the people of that classic land have been, both in ancient and modern times, unworthy of freedom. To this extent Sir Grenville

Temple carries opinions, formed chiefly from what he has read and seen of Greece and its islands, after a long period of degradation and servitude, when the masters were tyrants and aliens in blood and faith.

That treachery, baseness, and crime are characteristic of the modern Greeks is not denied; but whence have these traits been derived? or rather, were this interesting people to have been doomed to a remediless condition, and bound down to a fate that unquestionably can never contain within its nature the germs of regeneration? Such a doctrine is dark and dreadful in the extreme, and ought not to be maintained by any one who is familiar with the light, life, and sweets of liberty, or has had his mind mellowed by the efforts of genius, which the sons of Greece have bequeathed to the human race. Now, our author is a man who has been indebted to these efforts in no ordinary degree, and excepting in so far as his disparagement of the whole nation is concerned, is an enlightened guide in the present instance. But how singular, that one who is manifestly intimate with the beauties and riches of Grecian art and literature should thus write. "On quitting this little upstart realm, forced into existence by the hot-house of the allied powers, I in vain endeavoured to account to myself for the great interest shown by Europe to obtain its emancipation from what it has been the fashion to call the iron despotism of Turkey." It must be conceded, that all the anticipated results of this emancipation have not been realized, and that the country in question seems at present but to form an apanage for the house of Bavaria, under the guidance of Russia. But surely the absence of the sympathy sneered at in the above sentence, would have been a more unaccountable phenomenon; nor are we aware of any sufficient grounds for predicting that the experiment employed by the hot-house power now alluded to, will finally fail, or prove an exception to the current of human affairs and the general history of mankind, if unimpeded by the jealousies and intrigues of neighbouring nations.

Our author in these volumes gives an account of a number of Mediterranean islands which he visited in his way from Naples to Constantinople, besides various places in Greece and Turkey. But as he enjoyed, through the kind offices of Sir Robert Gordon, at that time ambassador to the sublime Othoman Power, opportunities of studying various scenes, not generally afforded to strangers in the capital of the empire, we shall almost exclusively keep by his descriptions belonging to this part of the narrative. But before proceeding to this main branch of the work, we may give a specimen of the unceremonious manner in which the writer speaks of the ancient Greeks in their celebrated ten years' war. It follows a sketch of the localities of Troy.

"Before quitting the Troad, I cannot avoid observing that the Greeks could have had no great cause of being proud of their ten years' war;

they certainly finally succeeded in crushing their foes, by the assistance, let it however be well remembered, of treachery; but, when we consider the great disparity of numbers between the two belligerent powers, we cannot but greatly admire the Trojans for their gallant defence. The invading fleet consisted of not less than one thousand one hundred and eighty-six sail, which landed on the Dardan shores the enormous force of one hundred and thirty thousand troops, whilst the Trojans could only oppose to them twelve thousand five hundred of their own soldiers; or, including the different contingents, furnished by several of the smaller powers of Asia Minor, and the auxiliary corps of Thracia, Assyria, and Ethiopia, amounting to thirty thousand men, forty-two thousand five hundred combatants in all; a number only equal to one third of the Grecian army.

"Ancient warfare has, in many instances struck me as being carried on in a most unaccountable manner, and the siege of Troy is certainly not one of the instances the least remarkable in this point of view; for it does seem passing strange that no less than one hundred and seventy-two thousand men should be actively employed, during ten whole years, in fighting against each other, on a confined space of eight miles by two, without either side gaining, during that immense period, any very material advantage. How perfectly astonished would Achilles, Ajax, and Agamemnon feel, were they to rise from the dead and read the bulletins describing those campaigns which finished at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Moscow, and at Waterloo. At all events, I think we must look upon the Greek army to have either been composed of most execrable materials, or to have been commanded by the most ignorant and inefficient general officers which it was possible to collect together. The system of warfare is now, it will be perhaps observed, totally different from what it was at that period—granted—but still good hard fighting should at all times, and in all places, produce quick and decided results."—vol. i, pp. 273—275.

There is a curious sort of tribute which the Turkish cavalry levied at the conclusion of the war with Russia, which passes under the name of "teeth money." At that period the men were allowed neither pay nor rations by the government, and were obliged to forage for themselves. This was generally performed by the soldier dismounting at any door he chose, and making the landlord supply both him and horse with what sustenance they required. Then, on departing, teeth money was demanded; that is, a compensation in money for the injury done their teeth in devouring the provisions set before them; the sum being freely presented by the one and gravely received by the other.

Who has not heard of Leander's famous feat in swimming across the channel of the Hellespont unattended by boats? Our author states that the only instance of a similar exploit since that time, on record, was accomplished by a young man who alone could thus obtain the consent of his beloved one's parents to his marriage to their daughter—a stipulation which would have cooled the ardour of many a gallant.

Several of the great fires which have been so disastrous in Con-

stantinople are reported to have been done by Greeks, at the instigation of Russians, who wished by these stratagems to alarm the sultan into again applying to them for succour. This seems to be an inadequate measure for such an important end; but it serves the author for a fling, to the prejudice of the Greeks, and also of the Russians, who have not his highest favour. He charges these northern intriguers, we believe not unjustly, with attempting to establish their popularity in other parts of the globe, specifying Malta, where he says, there is a party who would not be sorry to see that island pass into the hands of the autocrat. To the discontented Maltese who are enticed by the splendid promises made by the autocrat's organs, he thinks a short experience of the *knout* system might not be inexpedient, instead of the leniency of our rule; thus confirming, we fear, the suspicion entertained by us, that Sir Grenville does not rate the rights of colonial subjects at a high figure, whether Turks, Russians, or English are the masters. We cannot therefore much wonder when he treats the Greeks unmercifully for having thrown off the yoke of their barbarous oppressors; for he declares that "man is spoiled by too much indulgence, and is, moreover, never thankful to the person who exercises it." We suspect he is an advocate for military flogging, and too tender in his chastisement of despotism and fanaticism, as may farther appear from some of the passages we are yet to notice.

When Sir Robert Gordon delivered his credentials from William of England to the sultan, our author was fortunate enough to obtain leave to accompany the ambassador as aide-de-camp—a privilege rarely enjoyed. There was a great deal of state formality observed on this occasion. The following account regards the bearing and character of Mahmoud the Just.

"He was dressed in the same uniform he wore when I saw him at Yeni-Keui, and on his left breast wore a magnificent decoration in diamonds and rubies, representing the crescent, the star, and a plume of feathers arranged like those which form the distinguishing mark of a Prince of Wales. The room was very simply furnished; the only ornaments it bore were his arms suspended from the wall; his sabre, pistols, and topaz, were mounted in gold, and studded with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds. Sir Robert Gordon addressed him in French, and his speech was immediately translated into Turkish by Esrar Efendi. The sultan then returned his answer in Turkish, which was translated into French by M. Chabert.

"On commencing his speech, which was of considerable length, the sultan seemed rather nervous, but his voice soon recovered its firmness. His delivery was excellent, and quite oratorical, and, as I afterwards heard, his words were well chosen, and his sentences well turned. In fact, he has paid great attention to literature, and is deeply read, not only in the Turkish, but also in the Arabic and Persian languages, and is moreover a very tolerable poet. His expressions bore witness to his great friendship for our king and the English nation, and were excessively

complimentary and kind to Sir Robert Gordon personally. After this he desired that Mr. Villiers and myself should be presented to him, when, through the dragoman, he asked me how I liked those parts of his dominions which I had visited, and when, in answering this question, I said, that I had been delighted with all I had seen, I spoke not in the matter-of-course and complimentary manner, but really as I felt. Sir Robert Gordon then added that I was very anxious to see some reviews of the new troops, to which his Highness answered, 'Insh-allah, when I return to Stambool he shall see plenty;' and at the same time ordered Ahmed Pasha to afford me every facility in seeing the different barracks and the interior economy of the troops.

"After talking some time longer with the ambassador, during which time he was not only very affable, but even gay, we bowed, and reined back out of the room, (where we had remained about half an hour) and returned to the apartment where we had first been received. Here we again smoked the delicious weed of Jebeleh, drank amber-perfumed Mokah coffee, and sipped sherbets of the violet (the best) the white rose, the red rose, the carnation, and a variety of other flowers, all served in richly cut crystal vases, with gold covers. Before our departure, Mustafa Efendi had his best horses paraded in the garden, and close to the windows, for our inspection."—vol. ii, pp. 93—96.

The gallant baronet examined the remains of old Byzantium, and gives an interesting account of its antiquities, its ancient cisterns, aqueducts, &c. The principal mosques in Constantinople are also enumerated, and a particular description of one of the most superb is then inserted. The tombs of the Suleyman, the Universities, and benevolent Institutions of the city, likewise obtain the author's notice. Regarding the latter establishments, we learn that not only the sultans and pashas, but private individuals, generally leave a part of their fortunes towards supporting them, or for founding new ones. It would appear that the lunatic asylum contains an extraordinary number of patients; and the suggested cause of this proportion is curious enough.

"We visited, among other establishments, the lunatic asylum attached to the Suleymanieh. It consists of two open courts, round which run covered galleries, and into these the cells open: the doors are left open, and any one may enter; the patients are chained, and generally occupy the deep recesses of the grated windows which look into the court. The unfortunate beings are allowed a bed and two blankets; but they must, notwithstanding, suffer greatly from the cold in winter: few of them were very furious, but all begged for tobacco.

"According to a work published in 1827 on insanity, by order of the French government, it appears that no less than seven hundred and fifty-five tailors were confined at Paris in the Salpétrière alone, and that on an average, there are two hundred and eighty-five mad tailors in every thousand. Many medical men have attributed this great proportion to the sedentary position adopted by this class of persons; and it would be curious to ascertain whether the Turks and other eastern nations, who sit in the same attitude during the greater part of the day, are, more than other people, subject to this dreadful affliction; though, considering the

case in another point of view, they ought undoubtedly to be exempt from it, as they always keep their *heads shaved.*"—vol. ii, pp. 119, 120.

Our author takes occasion, after testifying that the Turks as a nation are possessed of much charitable feeling, to say that it is uncontaminated by any germ of vanity or ostentation; and this, he says, is proved by the fact, that by far the greater number of the fountains erected in the desert bear no inscription to commemorate their founder; and also by the hosts of unclean and abhorred dogs who possess no master, but are daily fed by the people. But a very erroneous conclusion may be drawn from the conduct of that nation with whose character and sentiments Christians seem, notwithstanding the many accounts published of them, to be extremely ignorant. Superstition, indolence, imperturbable gravity, insensibility to the motives of curiosity, may be mistaken for operative virtues. May not the following testimony proceed in a great measure from misunderstood evidences?

"The piety of the Moslem seems sincere: often have I stopped to admire them at their prayers, when they seem to be so entirely wrapped up in their devotion as to be perfectly unconscious of the bustle of the surrounding scene: no false shame prevents them, at the stated hours appointed for prayer, from kneeling down in the camp, at the road side, or in the crowded street; nor do they omit doing so in the midst of vast solitudes, where they cannot be aware that any eye but that of the Almighty is bent on them.

"The Koran is certainly a fine code of morals; and, when freed from the interpretations and false constructions of fanatic followers, inculcates much greater toleration, and more liberality, than we are generally inclined to concede to it."—vol. ii, pp. 121, 122.

Our author goes on to approve of a comparison of the Muhammedan religion with that of Rome, which gives the preference to the former for its truth and purity, as proved, it is also argued, by the morality of their separate professors. But this is returning to the error already referred to, which consists in trying nations of very different habits and constitutions by one standard, and saying, because the Turks do not exhibit the vices of Catholic communities, that therefore they are immaculate and pious to a wonder. Will Sir Grenville Temple say, that the Turks do not worship an impostor, while the Catholics adore the true God and the Saviour of mankind? Can he deny that the former look forward to a heaven of sensuality, while the latter believe in a futurity where the blest shall for ever rejoice in the beauties of holiness? However much fanaticism, cruelty, and bloodshed may have stained the Christian world during the darker ages, these are evils held in perfect abhorrence by the spirit of Christianity, while they are inseparable from the Moslem faith. Were there no other cruelties and falsehoods to characterise this highly lauded imposture, its inculcated treatment of woman here and hereafter would be its never-dying disgrace and refutation. We wonder that any one who professes himself to be a

Christian can plead in behalf of a religion which his Bible proclaims must one day be destroyed root and branch.

Our author speaks favourably of the Turkish army and navy, and seems to predict that the Othoman Power is to be of far longer endurance than many observers can credit. He does not think that even their most formidable and wily neighbours are to be an overmatch for them.

"Should another war break out in the course of a few years between the Othmanlus and Russians, when the Turkish army and navy are complete in their organization and discipline, the result, I feel convinced, will be far different from that of the last; and no more marshals or generals will then have grounds on which to found claims to the title of Sabalkanski. Although, during the late campaigns, the Turks were vanquished after the greatest efforts on the part of Russia, yet, in the struggle, Russia lost no less than one hundred and eighty thousand men, and a great part of her artillery; the *prestige* of the Russian arms, so much spoken of and so much dreaded in Europe, was completely destroyed; and the world saw, to its utter astonishment, that the Moslems, though labouring under the greatest possible disadvantages, were able to subdue, with a weak and undisciplined force, more than double their own number of their foe's best troops.

"In 1827-28, the Russian force amounted to eight hundred and sixty-four thousand five hundred men; namely, one hundred and sixty-nine thousand four hundred cavalry, four hundred and one thousand infantry, forty-seven thousand artillery, twenty-seven thousand of extra corps, two hundred thousand extraordinary levies, and twenty thousand officers. By far the greater portion of these forces were composed of old and well-disciplined soldiers, commanded by experienced officers, provided with every possible thing requisite to carry on warfare; and from the uniform system of their organization and instruction, acting with that perfect *ensemble* so conducive to success. Russia was tranquil at home, had no other foreign foe to oppose, and the emperor was a favourite with his subjects. On the other hand, the Othmanlus, during the war, never had at any one time more than eighty thousand men under arms. The brave and determined Janizaries, the daring and impetuous Delhis and Spahis, and the active and harassing Timariots of the days of Selim and Suleyman, no longer existed; in their places, were from twenty to thirty thousand raw, weak, and inexperienced boys, to whom, at that period, it would have been thought a burlesque to have applied the term of 'regular troops;' the rest of the army was made up of wild and lawless Asiatics. No money, no depôts, no magazines, no commissariat, and, worse than all, no experienced officers. Turkey had just been agitated by a great and dreadful revolution; and, in the very midst of the war, another serious insurrection broke out. The sultan was detested by a powerful faction for the innovations he had introduced. This disaffection was, by Russian gold, converted into open treason. Varna was basely surrendered, the Balkan was left undefended, and the Pasha of Iskondrah, with a considerable army, preserved a shameful state of inactivity; and yet, what were the results of the first campaign? Why, the Russians, after having suffered immense losses, and their army being perfectly disorganized and

demoralized, were obliged, with the greatest haste, to retire behind the Danube, leaving behind them the greater part of their *materiel*.

"During the second campaign, it is true, that, assisted by the treachery of some pashas, they did succeed in reaching Adrianople; but, arrived there, they found they had only eighteen thousand men wherewith to follow up their operations. The Turks had forty thousand men in their rear at Sofia; but these were, by the traitor who commanded them, not suffered to act, though, after the signature of the peace, he blustered and threatened much, thereby hoping to conceal his infamy. There is also no doubt that the Russians, aware of their own weakness, and of the unpleasant predicament in which they found themselves, were far more anxious for peace than the sultan, who only required to be properly supported by his subjects to have come out of the contest as a conqueror. Fortunate would it have proved for him if his enemies had advanced against the capital, for then the whole population, throwing off their apathy, and recollecting that the seat of their empire and religion was in danger, would have risen *en masse*, and the consequence would probably have been that not one single man of the 'accursed yellow-haired giaours' would have returned to his own dreary *steppes*. But unfortunately the Turks, not aware of the miserable plight of the invaders of their country, signed the humiliating treaty—and the world praised the barbaric northern tyrant for his magnanimity in sparing a prostrate enemy, at the time when he himself, in private, was singing a *Te Deum* for his fortunate escape from annihilation."—vol. ii, pp. 143—149.

Much will depend on England in the contest supposed. But our author is so enamoured of all that is Turkish, probably owing in some measure to the complacent state of mind to which he has been elevated by the attentions paid him at the Othoman Court and other places of note, that he beholds nothing but subjects of admiration in Stambool, or the surrounding scenes. The burial ground of Scutari—the tombs of favourite chargers—the departure of the Mekkah Caravan, &c. have all charms for him, not to be matched in England or other Christian kingdoms. Sir Grenville had even the rare privilege of entering the seraglio whenever he pleased, and to see the whole of it, excepting of course the women's apartments. We shall not follow him in his description of what he there saw—Tavernier and Dr. Clarke having long ago supplied the world with a minute account of its wonders. The condition of one part of it, however, may be quoted, inasmuch as it would almost disgrace the Trustees of a famous Institution nearer ourselves. There are no pigeons' nests in the British Museum, but the utmost cleanliness, whatever the other arrangements may be.

"The famous library (an octagonal and insulated building, resembling Suleyman's turbeh) is supposed to contain many literary treasures. It is not, however, kept in good order, or, more properly speaking, it is probably seldom or never opened: the dust, in consequence, has accumulated to a great degree on the volumes, which are laid horizontally on shelves. Several panes of glass were also broken, which gave admittance to some pigeons, one of whose nests I observed comfortably arranged

among the books. I could hear nothing of the existence of a catalogue, and the librarian did not in the least seem inclined to allow me to make one, had I been disposed to do so, which I must candidly confess I was not; for though the number of volumes was not very great, yet the task of looking them over seemed likely to prove neither short nor easy. On my asking him what scarce works it contained, he answered, 'that God knew;' to which assertion I could not do otherwise than assent, and appear to be satisfied with."—vol. ii, pp. 221, 221.

One most convincing proof of the inordinate admiration of Turkish manners and character entertained by our author, may be found in his account of a celebrated bazaar.

"I mean the slave-market, (Asir khan) established by Beiram Pasha, vizeer of Murad IV. It is situated near the burnt column. The *locale* has nothing very remarkable about it, being an open space surrounded by small buildings, with covered galleries in front; in the centre are some similar buildings; the black men, women, and children, and some of the commoner white ones, are seated either in the galleries or in the open air, in different groups, forming the property of their respective owners.

"Judging from the sounds of laughter, and from the broad grins displaying beautiful rows of pearl-white teeth, these slaves, whom it is so much the custom to pity, appeared very contented and happy, or rather, seemed looking forward with certainty to their being so when purchased —for there is not the slightest doubt that, generally speaking, the slaves in Turkey are as happy and contented as any other class of the community: they are well fed, clothed, treated, and educated, by their masters, and in their old age are not abandoned. The women, if pretty, are possessed of the art of pleasing, lead a luxurious and voluptuous life, whilst to the men the highest offices of the state are open—witness the present serasker, the Capudan Pasha about to marry the sultan's daughter, Mutsafa Efendi, the chief secretary, *e tanti altri.*

"It may here be remarked, that one of the most remarkable features in the Turkish character is the natural dignity they all possess, which qualifies them to bear with such graceful ease the high offices so often and so suddenly conferred on members of the very lowest classes. A man to-day is a vizeer or a pasha, who but the day before was a porter or a boatman; and yet after watching him closely, you feel inclined to believe, from his manners and bearing, that during the whole of his life he has held the highest rank in society, and not only so, but that his family have done so for successive generations before him.

"The fair flowers of Georgia, of Circassia, and of Greece, being of much greater value than the rest, and being reserved for the sultan or his pashas, are not exposed to the vulgar gaze, but are kept within doors. The Turks, for some time after the conclusion of the peace, were in great alarm lest (the Russians being in possession of the ports of the Black Sea, from which these lovely objects are exported) the trade should cease. The love of gold was, however, stronger than religious principle, and the Christian Russians have already sent several cargoes of these precious wares to the bazaars of Stambool."—vol. ii, pp. 238—241.

It is quite true that the condition of slaves in the Turkish dominions varies greatly from that of those who are in bondage under Christian lords; but we must say, that nothing connected with the history of such unfortunates any where, is more affecting and lamentable than their levity, as described in the above extract. Such conduct only shows that their animal nature controls their reason, and that they are degraded to a condition akin to the brutes that perish. And yet, what heart-ensnaring beauties must these same Georgians and Circassians be, who are thus described in the Kitabi Kulsum Naneh as translated by Atkinson!—

"And Georgia is a garden sweet,
And beauty's own romantic seat;
The dark-browed maidens there possess
The boon of perfect loveliness.
Stags' eyes in sleepy languor roll,
And captivate the softened soul;
Long silken lashes shade the ball,
And tresses o'er the shoulders fall
In many a heart bewildering ring,
Glossy and black as raven's wing.
Their forms with fine proportions graced,
Full bosomed, slender round the waist,
With tapering limbs of snowy whiteness,
Eclipsing e'en the moon in brightness;
Circassian damsels, too, display
Superior charms, and ever gay,
Chase sorrow from the heart away."

In conclusion, we must say, that although our author betrays strong prepossessions and partialities, his volumes still contain so much that is curious, or learned, or happily expressed, that there can be no doubt of their being generally read, and often recurred to by persons desirous of acquiring a familiar acquaintance with the scenes described.

ART. II.—*An Angler's Rambles.* By EDWARD JESSE, Esq. F.L.S., Author of "Gleanings in Natural History." London: Van Voorst. 1836.

WE are delighted to receive, in the course of every three months or so, from some one of our "brethren of the rod," a handsome volume full of talk about the "gentle art." It is not that we expect or wish to have any thing very new upon the subject, for of Anglers' Guides there is a superfluity; neither do we believe that much practical knowledge is ever acquired from them. But when, as in the volume before us, we find in every description, story, or anecdote, the spirit and sentiments of a true disciple of Father Izaac, simple and pure, fresh and sweet, sparkling or smoothly flowing, we

are transported to the days and scenes of our youth; the troubles of life are for a time forgotten; our hearts are bettered; and the generous feelings of humanity are awakened and warmed towards all mankind. To read any one chapter which we have ever met with from the hand of the Author of "Gleanings in Natural History," is like, and almost equal to, wandering along with a friend of congenial soul through a fine English landscape, sometimes upon the margin of a meandering brook, and at other times beneath a canopy of variegated trees, or upon the expansive uplands where the breeze fans the blood with the breath of health. It is at such moments and seasons that the outgivings of the heart partake of all that is gentle, peaceful, and good in the voice and works of creation; and where the true lover of untarnished nature would not exchange his condition for the wealth or the power of an emperor.

Amid the turmoil and noisome scenes of a city life, we hail the appearance of Mr. Jesse's Angler's Rambles, as one of the best substitutes the world of books can furnish in lieu of the rural experiences now referred to. When we learnt that he was about to appear in the special character of a professor of the rod and line, our hopes were high: for we knew that he was steeped to the lips in the knowledge requisite for such a performance; and that his enthusiasm was borne upon that intense piety which delights most in communicating pleasure by a faithful, hearty, and simple expression of his own grateful and happy feelings, as touched and aroused by the voice of God in his perfect works. The only thing we feared was, that he might be tempted to give too many technical details and formal rules for the tyro-angler's instruction in the art. This danger, however, he has judiciously and tastefully avoided, by chiefly recording recollections of scenes and circumstances which took place in his younger days, and by detailing what he knows, or has practised—throwing out such directions as his narrative suggests, and interspersing the whole with happily conceived and sweetly described events, anecdotes, and characters. It is a work which, without any particular feature of excellence, or high pretension, can never become uninstructive or tiresome, wherever there is taste, kindly sympathies, or unobtrusive virtues. Like some others we could name, though it lay constantly on our table, a day could not pass in which it might not be fondly taken up for the sake of producing short and speedy repose to the excited or exhausted mind. In its general tendency and power to produce this enviable result, does the excellence of the "Angler's Rambles" consist; and in the author's favourite art, of which his book discourses, this same influence constitutes its principal merit and worth.

We are informed in the Preface, that the only paper in the volume which has been recently written is the one on Thames Fishing, the greater part of it having appeared in Frazer's Magazine;

and a better specimen of the author's style and spirit cannot be selected than what is afforded by its opening paragraph.

"It is somewhat amusing to notice the different characters and description of persons who visit some of the villages in the vicinity of the metropolis by which the Thames flows, for the purpose of fishing. I frequently have them as companions on the outside of our stage coach, and I must in justice to them say, that I invariably find them pleasant and good-humoured, generally full of sanguine and eager anticipations of excellent sport, though now and then casting a look at the sky, and asking the opinion of the coachman as to the probable state of the weather on the morrow. I observe that our coachman always treats these worthy disciples of Izaac Walton with great respect and civility, which I presume these open-hearted lovers of angling return by a small addition to the usual fee. I always think it a piece of good fortune whenever I find myself placed on the roof of the coach near these light-hearted fishermen, with their rods between their knees, and their fishing-baskets properly secured. There is a sort of freemasonry amongst anglers which speedily makes them become acquainted with each other, and then commences an agreeable relation of their exploits in the piscatory art. It is certainly with no small pride and self-satisfaction that these communications are made. Every minute detail of the capture of a trout is entered into; its length, its weight, its condition, the sort of tackle used, the species of bait, the mode of putting it on—even the very way in which the fish is dressed, and its extraordinary fine flavour, are all eagerly detailed in succession, and patiently listened to. Patience, certainly, is a necessary qualification in an angler. Indeed I remember a Thames fisherman, who, on my evincing some displeasure at not having the good sport he had promised me, very coolly told me, that I should never make a good angler if I could not fish a whole day in a bucket of water without shewing impatience."—pp. 1, 2.

What an amount of good has old Father Thames done to overgrown London! We do not speak of the wholesome beverages of which he forms the sole or principal element; nor of the treasures which are borne on his bosom to the mart of the world. But what would Cockney-land be without his ablutions—ablutions, we mean, of the spirit? Were the tranquil scenes, the secluded beauties, and the healthful pastimes which are so often and much enjoyed on his banks and within the domains of his tributaries, banished or destroyed, how many minds would rust and corrode, become foul and be choked! According to this view of the subject, and especially in so far as the angler's silent trade is concerned, there is cause for regret. The good old times for Thames fishing are on the decline; steam-navigation disturbing, and gas, with other poisonous admixtures, destroying, the finny tribes and their spawn. Our author also states, that were the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to expend the twentieth part of what a civic feast costs, in having the river staked in many more places than it is at present, and by employing a proper number of water-bailiffs to prevent the waters being

poached by illegal netters and others, much might still be done for the real sportsmen, that were wont to delight in this noble stream.

We know that many persons, from ignorance or want of taste, sneer at the angler's pastime, and marvel how a trout can become a theme of interesting amusement or engaging discourse. But it is not the trout, so much as the time, the scenery, and the phenomena of nature necessarily associated with the poor trout's history and abode, that produces the charm of our favourite art: and not so much even these adjuncts as the "honest anglers," the "dear lovers and constant practisers," which the pastime brings in contact, and who, having a kindred love of quiet enjoyment, generally cherish congenial tastes on weightier matters than gossamer line, or limber rod, or speckled trout. And yet a harmless creature, that seldom obtrudes its beauties upon the careless world, may start the pleasantest table-talk that can engage the tranquil passages of life. Thus the converse might begin:—

"It is a well-known fact, that the large Thames trout will not take the artificial fly, but by mere chance, and some will not run at a bleak during a whole season, however fine the tackle, and however skilful the angler may be. A large trout may be seen almost daily at this time (June 1835) opposite the water-gallery of Hampton Court, which has defied every endeavour to capture it. A gentleman of my acquaintance, an expert spinner for trout, moored his boat close to a spot where he had frequently seen two large trout on the feed, and which, after many attempts, he had been unable to take. When the fish appeared to have become accustomed to the boat, and had been seen feeding close to its sides, he endeavoured, at various times, and in different ways, to induce them to take a bait, but never succeeded, and I verily believe the fish are at this moment in the full enjoyment of their native element.

"Many curious anecdotes have been related to me respecting the capture of Thames trout, and I will relate one or two of them. Mr. Marshall, of whom honourable mention has already been made, and who is so well known to every lover of Thames angling, during one of his piscatorial excursions in the present season (1835), hooked a trout in the Thames of twelve pounds weight. After playing it for some time, the fish struggled greatly, and at last made a leap out of the water nearly a yard high, and shook the hooks completely out of his mouth, which Mr. Marshall plainly saw. On losing the fish, he let the hooks run directly down the stream, and the trout being very tired, and of course less active, he suddenly pulled, and hooked it again under the fore-fin, and caught it. The fish was so tired, that it lay on its side for half an hour after it was in the well of the boat.

"Mr. Marshall also caught a trout which weighed sixteen pounds, and which had broken from him the preceding day. The set of hooks, and a portion of the line which had been broken, were found in his mouth. This fish, with the tackle in his mouth, and that with which it was taken, are preserved in a glass-case at his house in London.

"I may here mention, that when Mr. Marshall was once fishing with a

friend of his at Uxbridge, they each hooked a trout at the same time. His friend's trout took a run and crossed Mr. Marshall's line, and they became quite entangled. The two fish weighed eight pounds, and were both landed at once in the same landing-net, a circumstance which perhaps the oldest fisherman had never seen before. On another occasion, when he was fishing with three flies, he hooked a trout on the leader, another took the first bob-fly, and, in playing them, a third took the second bob-fly, and he landed all three at once.

"Perhaps, however, the most curious occurrence which this veteran in the art relates, is the following, and no one who is acquainted with him will doubt his accuracy. He was one morning angling for trout, when he suddenly heard a great splash in the water, and, on looking round, saw it was a hare, which had jumped from the bank to swim across the river. When she had got to the middle of the stream, Mr. Marshall threw his trout-fly over her, hooked her on the fur of her back, and, in the language of the angle, landed her '*comfortably*.' Indeed, the accuracy with which this expert angler can throw a fly is quite extraordinary. He was one day fishing near Carshalton, and in a row of high trees, across the river, and which were *fringed* with fishing lines and flies, he saw a poor bird hang by the beak. It had taken one of the artificial flies, and it hung in a small cavity between the branches. There was no way of getting at it, except walking through the river, and procuring a high ladder. Being very anxious to set the bird free, he threw his fly across the river into the cavity, hooked the line, and freed the bird."—pp. 17—20.

But how can gentle-hearted and affectionate men delight in a pastime which is supposed to be wantonly cruel? The truth is, however, that unless in butcher-style the angler fish with live bait, there is, comparatively with some other rural sports, little pain inflicted upon the captured creature, as has frequently been proved by the fact, that a fish which has escaped with a hook in his mouth, immediately afterwards has seized another lure, his greed being greater than his pain. It has also been fully ascertained, that the nervous system of fish, and cold-blooded animals in general, is less sensitive than that of such as are warm-blooded. Besides, the hook, in the case of fly-fishing, is usually fixed in the cartilaginous part of the mouth, where there are no nerves. If, then, the creature be speedily put to death, after being taken out of the water, it is argued that the charge of wanton cruelty is done away with, and that angling secures superior attractions, and is subject to few objections, when compared with fowling or hunting. But though all this should be denied, we affirm it to be the fact, that the most amiable and affectionate natures in the world belong to enthusiastic anglers; and that, whether young or aged, these amateurs grow in healthy tenderness and warmth of heart as they grow in years—becoming as exempt from morbid sensibility as from deliberate cruelty. Mr. Jesse has sketched the character of a few such worthies, with whom, in his angling days, he has formed an intimacy. Several of these belong to the Walton and Cotton Club, of which he himself is a member. But Ned Bartlam, whom the author at first

met accidentally during a little fishing excursion between Reading and Oxford, obtains a particular notice.

"He was then dressed in a green jacket, which came well over his knees, and which had seen good service; and he had on a pair of unusually thick shoes and strong gaiters, with a straw hat. His fishing-basket was hanging behind him. There was, however, something in his air and appearance which made me immediately see that he was a gentleman. He was accompanied by a little terrier dog, who employed himself in snuffing at the various rat-holes by the side of the river. I should add that his rod was handled in a masterly manner. Having accidentally occasion for his assistance in helping me to land a fish, our acquaintance began, and was resumed that same evening at a small comfortable inn where we had both taken up our temporary abode. I found my new friend perfectly well skilled in the art of fly-fishing; and his collection of flies, which were all of his own making, was really beautiful. As I am only a troller myself, I fancied that I was looked upon with some degree of contempt. At all events I was sensible of my own inferiority, and, therefore, listened with all proper respect and attention to the various descriptions Ned gave me of his exploits, without intruding any of my own. It was not till we became better acquainted that I ventured to try and persuade him that trolling might have its charms; and that if trout would not take a bait, I had still a chance of sport with pike, perch, and even chub and barble. I believe, however, that to this day he looks upon me as a mere poacher—so bigoted is he to his own favourite mode of fishing.

"Next morning we separated, after having, according to the example set us by 'old Master Izaac,' paid our reckoning and commended our hostess for 'having been diligent and having used us kindly.' We did not, however, take leave of each other without an agreement to meet again; and our acquaintance, thus commenced, has been turned into a friendly intercourse, which I trust is mutually agreeable. Ned, indeed, is not the kind of person one meets with every day. He has a mildness and gentleness in his nature, a kindness of manner, and a wish to oblige, which must make him a favourite with every one. Added to this he is, as I said before, an expert fly-fisher; and there are few better shots in the country. He is also well skilled as a breaker-in of dogs; and before he became a little crippled with rheumatism, was a first-rate cricketer. Indeed, he is still called upon to make up matches in this manly sport, which he duly attends, being referred to on all knotty points, when his decision is held to be law."—pp. 29—31.

Ned formerly practised medicine, we are farther informed, in a small country town, where he became acquainted with a few wealthy families in the neighbourhood; but the fickleness of a young widow, and some other mishaps, induced him to retire from business, possessed only of a few hundred pounds, which were bequeathed to him by the only relative he ever knew. One of his rich acquaintances, however, offered to let him live in a lodge in his park; and here he resided. The first time the author called upon him, he found that Ned's only human associate was a tidy cheerful old woman, in the capacity of housekeeper.

"On entering my friend's parlour, or whatever it may be called, I found him busily employed in *dressing* up a fly. He was seated in an old-fashioned easy arm-chair, with his little terrier at his feet, and a small table by his side covered with the hackles of cocks, wings of ducks, and other materials for the construction of artificial flies. Over his fire-place hung two guns and various sticks seasoning for fishing-rods. Several of these latter implements were neatly arranged at the other end of the room, while beneath them were placed two well used fishing-baskets, a landing-net, and an old game bag, which had evidently been often replenished. Under a table peeped out, part of a fishing-net, and upon it was a back-gammon-board *reposing* on a piece of green baise, on which was placed a small tea urn, evidently more for show than use. On the mantel-piece were several small stuffed birds, one of which Ned seemed to set great store by, and assured me that it was the only one ever seen in that part of the country. I also observed on the same place the tail of a rattlesnake, a flask of gunpowder, part of an old Roman vase, a snuff-box or two, the jaws of a pike and some other curiosities. There was also a small book-case containing two or three odd volumes of Sir *Charles Grandison*, the *Angler's Guide*, a book of surgery, and another of farriery, a Shakspeare in one volume, and a small pocket Horace, which seemed to have been Ned's constant companion. One volume was carefully covered, and this I found to be Major's beautiful edition of Izaac Walton."—pp. 31—33.

This savours much of a description of one who is a confirmed bachelor, but whose social feelings and amiable character unquestionably fitted him to confer happiness upon others. His portrait, however, is exactly that of one who is also framed for the "gentle art," which, to men of exquisitely fine and deeply seated thoughts, is apt to usurp the place which a bosom associate should have occupied.

The author goes on to say, that Ned found being alone, when within doors, was intolerable, and therefore he made his faithful servant sit with him, to whom he read the newspaper, or some entertaining book, and whom, it is hinted, he endeavoured so far to seduce, as to attempt teaching her to play at backgammon. But his first love-attachment has been, doubtless, his last; and it is supposed, that the circumstances which attended it were of an unusually interesting nature, since it led such a spirit as Ned's to court solitude, and sometimes to evince a melancholy which seemed foreign to his nature.

"I remember that I was one day trolling on the banks of the Thames, and nearly opposite to an old oak-tree which partially threw its branches over the water, and which was in sultry weather his favourite resort. I had not been long engaged in my occupation, when I perceived him slowly sauntering along, and now and then throwing his line into the river, where the openings between the osiers gave him an opportunity of doing so. His thoughts, however, were evidently otherwise engaged, and he did not discover that I was so near him. At length he reached his favourite tree, and, fixing his rod in the bank, threw himself at full length under its shade, at the same time leaning his head upon his hand, appeared to be

solely engaged in watching his line as it was occasionally moved by the eddies or rippling of the stream. He had not remained in this position many minutes when I fancied that I could perceive him wiping a tear from his eye, and that his countenance assumed an expression of deep melancholy; and though there was nothing particular in the whole incident, I need not say that he lost none of his interest in my eyes. His kindness of heart, his love of poetry, and indeed all tales of fiction, added to his admiration for the minutest works of nature, will help to fill up the character of a man whom for unsophisticated goodness I have never yet seen equalled."—pp. 34, 35.

But Ned is not always in the melting mood, as appears from various particulars related of him; and from none more decidedly, than his admiration of Shakspeare's light or humorous passages. For instance, one day, when a person inquired of him, while he was watching his float, the way to some place, the angler responded, in the words of Lancelot Gobbo—

"'Turn up on your right hand, at the next turning; but, at the next turning of all, on your left; marry, at the very next turning, turn of no hand,' &c. It so happened that the stranger was equally well read in Shakspeare; and therefore, instead of being affronted at Ned's wit, he only answered, 'By-'s sonties, 'twill be a hard way to hit.' Ned was so much pleased with the rejoinder, that he 'tried conclusions with him' some time; and was so well satisfied with his companion's knowledge of Shakspeare, and ready repartees, that they embraced, became instantly sworn friends, and having adjourned to Ned's lodge, the stranger was regaled with the best that it afforded. Ned afterwards discovered that his new friend was a strolling player. It was, however, a little incident in his life which he always spoke of with pleasure."—pp. 35, 36.

We have next a description, in Mr. Jesse's peculiarly simple and natural manner, of a walk over the domains of the grandee on whose property Ned resides. A magnificent heronry, in the course of his excursion, particularly engaged the writer's admiration, than which he can figure nothing more royal. But he returns with delight, after an allusion to these long-winged gentry, and the stupendous trees on which they perched, to the *solitaire*, whom he has since frequently met at the houses of the common friends of both, where the former is uniformly received with the utmost cordiality; and though his *dress* clothes be of a somewhat antiquated fashion, he is so neat in appearance, and so fresh in complexion, that the cut of the coat is instantly overlooked.

"If I was pleased with seeing the reception Ned met with from his friends, I was more so when I once accompanied him in a walk through the village in which he resides. It was impossible to mistake the expression of affection with which every one regarded him. The children got about him and he had something kind to say to every one. Only one person we met seemed to avoid him, and that was a young female. Her dress was in disorder, her hair had escaped from a small black hat she had upon her head, and her whole appearance betokened a mind ill at ease. There was something in her appearance which created an interest for her;

and I accordingly asked Ned to tell me something of her. Her little history was no uncommon one. She had been deserted by a worthless scoundrel on whom she had placed her affections, and she had become listless and unhappy. Ned said, that he had taken pains to convince her how little cause she had to regret the loss of her lover; but she had become impatient of what he had said to her, and now avoided him. On our return from our walk, we again met her; Ned accosted her, but no longer spoke to her of her lover. He mentioned her parents—the grief they were in at her altered appearance—the happiness she still had it in her power to give them. He told her of her duty as a Christian, and urged her to apply to the only source from which peace of mind could be obtained. While my friend was thus talking to her, I could observe the poor girl much affected.

"I have since heard that Ned's kind efforts to bring her to her proper way of thinking have succeeded, and that she is now become both industrious and happy.

"I have little more to say of my friend. We often fish together, and enjoy many quiet conversations, in the course of which I have had frequent opportunities of observing his good sense and good feeling. It is indeed impossible not to love him, as there is a harmlessness and quietness in his manner, added to a kindness and a wish to oblige, which I have never seen equalled. I trust that he will forgive me for having introduced this little sketch of him. Retired in his habits and pursuits, he still furnishes an example which may be of use to others, by proving how much positive happiness may be attained in the calmness and stillness of a country life; for though enjoying to the full the innocent amusements which are held out to him, he never loses sight of the chief object of human existence—that of preparing himself for another and a more exalted state of happiness in the world to come."—pp. 39, 40.

Now, we take the portrait of Ned to be exceedingly characteristic, and to be drawn in a most natural and unlaboured style. It also furnishes one of the many instances in these Rambles, where, though the angler has lost sight of the immediate subject of his favourite art, the experience, the taste, and the little adventures of all such professors, are admirably brought out; proving that it is not the capture of the finny race, half so much as the incidents and accompaniments that are inseparable from the pastime, which constitute the real pleasure and fancy of all true rod-and-line-men.

Mr. Jesse, we are glad to learn, is no advocate for fishing with worms, because the writhing of the impaled creature would counterbalance every other pleasure presented at the time. He regards the meanest things that are—

> 'As free to live, and to enjoy that life,
> As God was free to form them at the first,
> Who in his sovereign wisdom made them all.'

But, like one of his companions, Warner, he patronizes sport enjoyed as described in the following song, called "May Morn, or the Angler's Reveillez."

"'Tis the birth-day of May! Up, brothers, I say,
Your tackle out look, and let us away,
There's a cloudy sky, and a breeze from the west,
Oh! we shall have 'killing' to-day in old Test.

CHORUS

Sing trollillee, sing trollillee,
Where the trout-streams flow,
And the breezes blow,
A fishing, a fishing, a fishing, we go.

What son of the angle would bear to lie sleeping,
While grayling and trout are all wagging and leaping?
With our flies and our skill, our panniers we'll fill,
And friendship shall feast on the spoils that we kill.
Sing, &c.

March brown, and oak-fly, and green grannam we'll try,
With the caperer, coachman, and cowlady fly,
The red hackled palmer, and gnats dun and blue!
Art and nature shall smile as our sports we pursue!
Sing, &c.

'Look, Hal! there's a thumper—he's mine, for a bumper!
Look, Jack—here's another—good luck, what a jumper!
Our panniers are filling, and still we are killing—
Oh! we are the lads that are able and willing!'
Sing, &c.

Hold! let us give o'er; see! we've kill'd a good store!
Not Izaac or Charley would ever do more!
Give the tribes of old Test a day or two's rest,
And us a good song, and a cup of the best.
Sing, &c.

Fill high to the joys of the rod, line, and hook!
Good luck to each brother, by river or brook!
May he fish all his life, without trouble or strife,
And ne'er want a bottle, a friend, or a wife!
Sing, &c." pp. 121, 122.

We have the more sedate and sentimental experience of the true angler returning from his long day's pastime to his cheerful hearth, in the following testimony.

"I delight in the tranquillity of a walk by the side of a beautiful stream in the stillness of an evening. The song of birds has ceased, with the exception only of the sedge-bird, one of the prettiest of our warblers. The corn-crake also now and then interrupts the silence, and the chattering of starlings is heard, as they settle for the night amid some neighbouring alders. Something disturbs a bittern from the sedges, and his *boom* seems to sound from afar as he takes his sullen flight. The beetle hums as it rapidly passes, and little white moths hover about the willows in every direction; trout appear to *suck* them in as they fall upon the gently-moving water, while others are caught by the bats as they leave their haunts in some old tree, and hawk about with a move-

ment as silent as it is rapid and various. A bright star appears in the 'ample sky,'

—'Eve's first star through fleecy cloudlet peeping'—

and the moon, soon after the glowing red streaks of the setting sun have disappeared, emerges from a passing cloud, and adds to the beauty of the scene. Not a breath of air rustles among the reeds, but all is calm and tranquil—

'It was an evening, bright and still,
As ever blush'd on wave or bower,
Smiling from Heav'n, as if nought ill
Could happen in so sweet an hour.'"—MOORE.—p. 123.

The picture which we are next to introduce into our pages must have been taken from the living subject of it, and by one too who has an eye for the most touching characteristics of river scenery, such as we have thousands of times gazed upon in the picturesque North.

"The river itself was wide, and in many places shallow, the water rushing over loose shingle, rippling and sparkling as the sun-beams fell on it. Its turnings were here and there abrupt, which varied the appearance of it, by presenting to the sight pools which were calm and deep. From these the water again rippled over beds of gravel,

'With white, round polish'd pebbles spread'—

and then seemed to wend its way to a rocky shore, against which it forced its passage, forming eddies, or little whirlpools, before it resumed its calmer course. These rocks were overhung with the branches of some fine oaks which flourished on the shore, and whose roots were moistened by the ever-flowing stream. It was a scene of calm seclusion. The sound was alone broken by the bittern's cry, or the song of the throstle in a neighbouring brake. Now and then swallows pursued their silent course up and down the river, under the shadow of the over-spreading trees, and then darted over them as if in pursuit of some fresh objects of their search. The lights and shadows were clearly and beautifully defined as the sun glowed in the firmament—

'In his east the glorious lamp was seen,
Regent of day; and all th' horizon round
Invested with bright rays.'

"No cloud or mist obscured its beams, as they rested on the high-topped trees, while flies and other insects flitted in the shades produced by the trunks of these fine wide-spreading oaks, whose gnarled and tortuous roots appeared to grasp the ground, as if to enable them to support the superincumbent weight of the gigantic trees.

"As the anglers advanced, they now and then heard the sound of the distant water, as it forced its way over some rocky obstruction into a pool, surrounded by high reeds, and shaded by drooping willows; and sometimes they caught a view of a meadow, rich with herbage, and covered with groups of cattle, some feeding, and others ruminating in apparent listlessness and content."—pp. 264—266.

We have stated and shown, for the information of those who

might be startled by the title of this work, and led to suppose it was nothing better or more than a compilation from the many Guides that already exist, that it possesses a more interesting quality, inasmuch as it chiefly deals with the experience of a true and honest angler, and in painting his feelings and tastes; thus elevating the character of the art far more effectually, and engaging more certainly the fancy of strangers to it, than could be done by a more regular treatise. Still, Mr. Jesse loses not an opportunity, when it occurs, from what he knows or has practised, of enforcing useful lessons, and suggesting important hints. Take as an example—

"The trout is a bold and a vigilant fish, especially those of a large size, which feed but little during the day, having their haunts amidst roots of trees, or in deep holes, and coming out later in the evening in search of prey. Young trout, on the contrary, may generally be seen in the shallow water, where they are more secure from the larger fish of prey.

"Dr. Hastings added, that he had invariably found, that those who fished for trout with very fine tackle, killed many more fish than those who use a stronger, or rather a coarser sort. They appear to be an instinctively cunning fish, and very easily take the alarm. Many persons imagine that no fly is so killing as that on which the trout have been feeding, but old practical anglers are aware, that when the May-fly is on the water, they have a better chance of success by using a fly of another description. Dr. Hastings accounted for this, by stating, that not only fish, but many animals, appear to delight in a variety of food, and that he had observed in particular that pike would appear to give the preference to a dead stale fish, instead of feeding on the usual productions of the waters they inhabited."—pp. 280, 281.

ART. III.—*Sixth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Held at Bristol, August* 1836.

IT has been with a considerable degree of closeness that we have marked the proceedings of this Association for the Advancement of Science, since its birth; and it has been with no small amount of gratification that we have perceived its prosperity to have been uniformly on the increase. Not only do we mean by the term prosperity, that its members have annually become more numerous, (at the present meeting there were about 1300), but that the *élite* of this great country—most of those distinguished by talents and attainments in each of the numerous departments of science, have now attached themselves to its interests, and already brought to light some most valuable scientific truths, while they have evidently put their feet upon the path to others. Men of the most exalted reputation have sped to our island from all parts of the civilized world, to lend their assistance to the diffusion of the purest knowledge; and all seem filled with the enthusiasm of congenial minds, participating in intellectual enjoyment.

At this last Meeting a great many important subjects were discussed, and some first-rate papers read on the most intricate questions, which give promise of the highest results; nor can those who take little interest in such exertions be insensible to their magnitude, when they are told that the Committee of the Association have been enabled to devote no less than 2,700*l.* in further aid of the purposes for which they labour. The only drawback to the well working of the Association that we have heard of, has been what is complained of by some of its brightest members, viz. that there has been a good deal of the precious time of some of the Sections wasted at the Meetings of different years in profitless talk, and on the part of persons who have nothing to bring to scientific investigation that is worth listening to. This evil, which seems to be a growing one, it is to be hoped is neither radical nor very formidable in its nature. A proper selection of Chairmen and the Committees for each of the Sections, who with a firm hand would take care to repress every thing like twaddle, or attempts by the feeble and froward to occupy the time which modest talent should obtain, would become a sufficient authority and method for checking the evil, which is incidental to all numerous as well as public meetings. One circumstance was extremely gratifying on the present occasion, and equal to the neutralizing of the heavy weight of many lumbering and vain men;—we allude to the fact that Sir David Brewster has been received at Bristol, and has conducted himself there most cordially—clearly showing that all traces of a previous misunderstanding between him and his colleagues had vanished. Indeed, Sir David's exertions in contemplation of this meeting, and during its sittings, have been numerous and brilliant.

It is impossible, and it is unnecessary, for us to give in one paper anything like a complete outline of the many profound and curious subjects discussed at this or any of the previous Meetings of the British Association. When we state that these subjects are handled in sectional assemblies, and for a week together, under the departments of Mathematical and Physical Science—of Chemistry and Mineralogy—of Geology and Geography—of Zoology and Botany—of Anatomy and Medicine—of Statistics—and of Mechanical Science, no one of our readers who may have hitherto been unacquainted with the character and purpose of the Association can fail of perceiving that the range of discussion is unlimited, and that nothing short of a volume containing a full account of all the lights brought to bear upon the separate branches during each Annual Meeting, could be satisfactory. As we have on previous occasions of the same nature done, we shall now confine ourselves chiefly to one of the departments above named, choosing that which possesses the most popular character, viz. Statistics. But, just to show those who are incredulous as to the real practical and

magnificent advantages that result from scientific researches, we will first of all present some notices connected with other branches superintended by the Association.

In the Section which discusses subjects under the denomination of Mechanical Science, Mr. Russell of Edinburgh described the result of certain experiments made by him on the traction of boats in canals, at different velocities. It has formerly been the received opinion of mankind, as proved by being universally acted upon, that boats upon canals could not be moved beyond slow degrees, but by an expenditure of power that would be profitless and wasteful; for it was believed that the resistance of the water would increase with the velocity of the boat. Hence the conclusion, that for two miles an hour speed, there would be four times the resistance of one mile; for four miles, sixteen times, and so on, according to the squares of the velocities. But Mr. Russell has shown that there is in reality in the element and natural movements of water, a circumstance which completely alters the case, and that when over a certain speed, the resistance, instead of increasing, diminishes. He has by experiments found, for example, that though the resistance to the traction of a canal boat increased with its speed according to the law of the squares, up to 7½ miles per hour, the velocity being then augmented to 8½, the resistance fell, and that 12 miles per hour met with scarcely more resistance than when the boat sped at the rate of 7½ miles. These results have been frequently confirmed—the practical application of which is too apparent to require explanation. When the Transactions of this year's Meeting of the Association are published, any one curious in such matters will find a clear and most interesting account of the experiments and the phenomena that have led to this discovery. We may, however, just allude to one of the facts belonging to the discovery; it is this, that when a boat is moving in a canal, a wave is generated which travels at great speed, upon which if the vessel be kept, it will be borne on with comparatively small resistance.

Let us now quote a paragraph or two of a letter from Sir J. Herschel, who is now in Africa, pursuing his astronomical experiments and researches, which was read by Sir William Hamilton before the Association. It is dated from Feldhausen, Cape of Good Hope, June 13th 1836. He says—

"By your last, which only reached me yesterday (though dated on the 16th of March), I learn that the meeting of the British Association will take place early in August. Had it been in September, it might have been practicable for me to have drawn up (not without difficulty) somewhat of a detailed report of my proceedings here. As it is, however, nothing short of a miracle could enable me to do so in time for your meeting. The fact is, since our arrival here, I have been so entirely occupied with the mechanical processes of observation, and the actual *cutting* and *carrying* of my harvest, that I have not had any time to thresh it out for

consumption; or, to drop figure, I have got a monstrous collection of rough observations, but hardly a figure reduced. So much as this however I may say, that I have swept over all, or nearly all, that part of the heavens, which is invisible, or hardly visible, in England, except just in the immediate vicinity of the pole (a most barren region), and (favoured by a season of almost uninterrupted clear sky, and a definition and tranquillity of the stars under great apertures and magnifying powers which I want language to express), have amassed a large collection of nebulæ and double stars of all classes, orders, and degrees. Of some of the most remarkable objects which have occurred to me, I have sent a brief list to Schumacher, who may probably have inserted them in his Astronomical Journal; I can here only find time or room for a few general remarks.

"The general aspect of the southern circumpolar region, including in that expression 60 or 70 deg. of S. P. D., is in a high degree rich and magnificent, owing to the superior brilliancy and larger development of the Milky Way; which, from the constellation of Orion to that of Antinous, is in a blaze of light, strangely interrupted, however, with vacant and almost starless patches, especially in Scorpio, near α Centauri and the cross; while to the North it fades away pale and dim, and is in comparison hardly traceable. I think it is impossible to view this splendid zone, with the astonishingly rich and evenly distributed fringe of stars of the third and fourth magnitudes, which form a broad skirt to its southern border, like a vast curtain—without an impression, amounting to a conviction, that the Milky Way is not a mere stratum, but an annulus; or, at least, that our system is placed within one of the poorer and almost vacant parts of its general mass, and that eccentrically, so as to be much nearer to the parts about the cross, than to that diametrically opposed to it.

"The great nebulæ in Orion and η Argi are, however, by far the most surprising objects this hemisphere presents. The former appears to much greater advantage than in our latitudes, and presents many appendages, branches, and convolutions, which are not discernible in its low situation in Europe. The latter is an object *sui generis*, and which, without a figure, it would be useless to attempt a description of. I should mention that I have spared, and shall continue to spare, no pains to procure correct drawings of these and other the southern nebulæ. I cannot trace in η Argi, as seen in the twenty feet, any resemblance to the figures published of it; though in the seven feet equatorial (furnished with a five inch achromatic object glass) some leading features of those figures may be recognized. It is of immense extent, and crowded with stars, to which the nebulæ form a brilliant back-ground."

We now come to the subject of Statistics, beginning with Dr. Cleland's Report of the former and present state of Glasgow. We can only extract, however, a few of the very many details contained in this Report.

In conducting the government census for 1831, Dr. Cleland found that there was church accommodation in the city and suburbs for only 73,425, viz. in the established church for 30,928; for Dissenters and Roman Catholics, 42,497, being 20,291 sittings less than required by law. The religious part of the community were startled

by this statement; and in little more than two years 24,000*l.* was subscribed for affording additional accommodation. The consequence has been, that six new churches are built, or are in the course of erecting. But to supply the whole deficiency, supposing the population to amount, in 1836, to 235,000, and that 60 sittings were required for every 100 of the inhabitants, there are 61,594 that could not be accommodated, who, we may presume, would occupy 61 additional churches. Dr. Cleland has also come to the conclusion, that the number of Catholics in the districts referred to, in 1830, amounted to 26,965 souls; but that five years later they have increased to 46,288.

The increase of trade in Glasgow during the last fifty years is almost incredible. But to take a few particulars as to the intercourse held with the city by stage coaches and otherwise, the reader arrives at once at a most impressive view of an extensive subject.

"Stage coaches were first introduced into Scotland in 1678. On the 6th August, in that year, Provost Campbell and the other magistrates of Glasgow, contracted with William Hume, of Edinburgh, that he should run a coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow, a distance of 42 miles. The following is an abstract of the indenture, which is rather curious. Hume engaged with all diligence to run a coach with six able horses, to leave Edinburgh every Monday morning, and return (God willing) every Saturday night; the passengers to have the liberty of taking a cloak-bag for their clothes; the *Burgesses of Glasgow* to have a preference to the coach; the fare from the 1st March to the 1st September, to be 4*l.* 16*s.* Scots (8*s.* sterling); and during the other months, 5*l.* 8*s.* Scots. As the undertaking was arduous, and could not be gone into without assistance, the magistrates agreed to give Hume 200 merks a-year for five years. The coach was to run for that period whether passengers applied or not, in consideration of his having actually received *two years' premium in advance*, 22*l.* 4*s.* 5½*d.* sterling."

Dr. Cleland has seen a manuscript account of the manner in which two gentlemen travelled from Glasgow to London in 1739, which shows that in England as well as in Scotland such a journey was in those days an enterprise of no ordinary magnitude. The account states—

"That there was no turnpike road till they came to Grantham, within one hundred and ten miles of London. That up to that point they travelled upon a narrow causeway, with an unmade soft road upon each side of it. That they met from time to time strings of pack horses, from 30 to 40 in a gang, by which goods seem to have been transported from one part of the country to another. The leading horse of the gang carried a bell, to give warning to travellers coming in the opposite direction; and when they met these trains of horses, with their packs across their backs, the causeway not affording room to pass, they were obliged to make way for them, and plunge into the side road, out of which they sometimes found it difficult to get back again upon the causeway."

Dr. Cleland calculates that now, by stage coaches, steam vessels,

canal navigation, and rail roads, that there are not fewer than 1,587,198 persons annually travelling to or from Glasgow. Let us see what is said of the power-looms, and steam engines. As to the former—

"Some idea may be obtained of the extent of their use in Glasgow, when it is known that in 1831 four houses employed 3040 looms. These looms, on an average, weave fourteen yards each per day. Allowing each loom to work 300 days in a year, these four companies would throw off 10,101,000 yards of cloth, which, at the average price of 4½*d.* per yard, is 189,393*l.* 15*s.* per annum. The power and hand looms belonging to Glasgow in 1831, amounted to 47,127, viz. steam looms, 15,127; hand looms, in the city and suburbs, 18,537; in other towns, for Glasgow manufactures, 13,463. Since that period power looms have greatly increased.

"*Steam Engines.*—There are in Glasgow and its suburbs 310 steam engines, viz. 176 employed in manufactories; 59 in collieries; 7 in stone quarries; and 68 in steam boats. Average power of engines, 20.46-100th; total horses' power, 6406."

From 1755 to 1830, both inclusive, 89 persons have been executed in Glasgow, five of whom were females. During the first twelve years only six suffered, but in the last twelve there were 37. Of these, it is consistent with our knowledge, that a great proportion were natives of Ireland.

No where was the Union of Scotland with England more opposed than in Glasgow, and no where in that country has its benefits been more fully felt. At that period and for fifty years afterwards, the inhabitants were very frugal, and strict in their religious observances, for we are informed that the houses in the early part of the century were—

"Almost without exception, covered with thatch, and those occupied by the highest class of citizens contained only one public room, a dining-room, and even that was used only when they had company; the family at other times usually eating in a bed-room. The people were in general religious, and, about 1745, particularly strict in their observance of the Sabbath, some of them, indeed, to an extent that was considered by others to be extravagant. There were families who did not sweep or dust their houses, did not make their beds, or allow any food to be cooked or dressed on the Sabbath. There were some who opened only as much of the shutters of their windows as would serve to enable the inmates to move up and down, or an individual to sit at the opening to read. Influenced by a regard for the Sabbath, the magistrates employed persons, termed 'compurgators,' to perambulate the city on the Saturday nights, and when at the approach of twelve o'clock, these inquisitors happened to hear any noisy conviviality going on, even in a private dwelling-house, they entered it and dismissed the company. Another office of these compurgators was to perambulate the streets and public walks during the time of divine service on Sunday, and to order every person they met abroad, not on necessary duty, to go home, and if they refused to obey, to take them into custody."

The employment of these officials continued till about 1750, when

a gentleman whom they had seized sued them before the Court of Session, and, prevailing in his suit, the practice was dropped. We may farther judge of the progress which the primitive inhabitants of the city were making to their present independence of mind, and style of manners, when it is told, that previous to the breaking out of the American war, the Virginians, who were the aristocracy at the time—

"Had a privileged walk at the cross, which they trod in long scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs; and such was the state of society, that when any of the most respectable master tradesmen of the city had occasion to speak to these tobacco lords, he was required to walk on the other side of the street, till he was fortunate enough to meet the eye of the patrician, for it would have been presumption to approach him."

When our readers are informed that previous to 1813 there were no regular pawnbrokers in Glasgow, they will discover another sign of the march of society. But still more indicative does the evidence become, when it is known that in 1830 there were nineteen licensed houses of the kind; that their pledges amounted to 410,400, and the capital employed in the trade to 24,700*l*. This announcement led to considerable discussion and anxiety in the Section; its connection as a key to the moral condition of the lower orders, occupying the attention of the members, and prompting them to pursue inquiries into the subject much further. It appears that women more frequently have recourse to this mode of raising money than the other sex. Mr. Fripp read the following return of articles pledged at the largest pawnbroking establishment in Glasgow—for the year we presume.

"539 men's coats.	84 bed-ticks.
355 vests.	108 pillows.
288 pairs of trousers.	262 pairs of blankets.
84 pairs of stockings.	300 pairs of sheets.
1980 women's gowns.	162 bed-covers.
540 petticoats.	36 table-cloths.
132 wrappers.	48 umbrellas.
123 duffles.	102 bibles.
90 pelisses.	204 watches.
240 silk handkerchiefs.	216 rings.
294 shirts and shifts.	48 Waterloo medals."
60 hats.	

Baron Dupin addressed the Section on the subject of a paper he had laid on the table, entitled "Researches relative to the Price of Grain, and its Influence on the French Population." His survey had extended over fifteen years, previous to 1832. During this time the price of corn in France had varied from 80 to 34 shillings per quarter, and the effect of this enormous disproportion on the elements of social life—deaths, births, and marriages—has been the great object of his examination. Some extraordinary results followed from his inquiry. He found that more than 100 per cent.

of difference produced far less variation in mortality than other less apparent causes. The effect on births was scarcely greater; but on marriages it was more distinguishable. He found also that society was most prosperous when provisions were of an intermediate price. Lord Nugent remarked, that while the population of France was notoriously on the increase, the number of births appeared to be stationary. The Baron answered, that this was owing to the progress of civilization; fewer children were born, and fewer died.

Complaints were made in the Section, of the great deficiencies in all the English statistical tables. For example, in the population returns, the census was said to be less than the truth, it being imagined by many that government had some capitation tax in contemplation, and for that end were numbering the people. One other source of error was, that children who died before baptism were entered among the deaths, but not among the births. But the greatest mistakes were to be found in the Educational Reports. It is not slightly striking, to hear that the Statistical Committee in Manchester have declared, that 46 per cent. were educated by Dissenters, and only 22 per cent. by the Church. Again, in Sunday Schools, for every hundred scholars, 60 were educated by Dissenters, 30 by Churchmen, and 10 by Roman Catholics.

At the instigation of the British Association, a similar inquiry into the state of education in the borough of Liverpool had been directed, to that which was brought to a close last year; and from the Report furnished in consequence of this new undertaking, we now take our information and extracts.

The difficulties in this case were, for the most part, of the same nature with those encountered in regard to Manchester and Salford, though more formidable. They almost all originated in a distrust on the part of those from whom information was sought, of the objects of the inquirers; some political, religious, or sectarian motives being suspected. One elderly individual observed, "If government choose to legislate on education, the schoolmasters have a right to compensation for the loss of their vested rights." The following statements are discouraging.

"A suspicion as to the object of the inquiry, and backwardness in giving the information asked for, was most common in the wealthiest class of schools; but, in the outset of the inquiry, and amongst the inferior schools, party spirit, evidently excited by a large meeting held 29th October, 1835, followed by other proceedings, was found to rage with considerable virulence. In one of the Dame Schools the mistress stated the feeling between Protestant and Catholic to be so violent, that, on the admission of a new scholar, she frequently received injunctions from the parents not to allow the child, if a Catholic, to sit on the same form with Protestant children, or if a Protestant, to sit with the Catholics. In answer to the question 'How many classes have you in your school?' one or two have replied 'Two; Protestant and Catholic.'

"It appears from the labours of the committee—

"First.—That the whole number of children, male and female, attending schools of one kind or another, is 33,183, which is about fourteen and two-fifths per cent. of the whole population.

"Secondly,—That of this total number of 33,183, about 6,000 are children, either under five or above fifteen years of age, and that, consequently, the number of children between the ages of five and fifteen attending school is about 27,200.

"Now, if 57,500 (or one-fourth of the whole population), be assumed as the total number of children between the ages of five and fifteen in the borough, it would then appear that, of this number, 27,200 are receiving some kind of instruction in schools, and 30,300 (or more than one-half of the whole), attend no schools whatever."

The Report goes on to state, that the number of children now ascertained to be receiving some kind of education, is greater by 15,500 than the number stated to the government in 1835;—a prodigious discrepancy, and reflecting no great honour upon those who conduct government inquiries. The dame schools and common girls' schools are, with one or two exceptions, kept by females, and the common boys' schools by men. The condition of a vast number of these seminaries, in respect of accommodation, is miserable, as the following examples shew.

"Of the common day schools in the poorer districts it is difficult to convey an adequate idea: so close and offensive is the atmosphere in many of them, as to be intolerable to a person entering from the open air, more especially as the hour for quitting school approaches. The dimensions rarely exceed those of the dame schools, while frequently the number of scholars is more than double. Bad as this is, it is much aggravated by filth and offensive odour, arising from other causes.

"On pointing out to one mistress of a dame school, the unfavourable effect these circumstances must produce upon the children, she replied, 'They thrive best in dirt.'

"A circumstance which proves the unwholsome condition of many of these schools, is the very rapid spread of infectious or epidemic disorders which occasionally make their appearance in them. The measles, scarlet fever, small-pox, and ophthalmic affections, never attack one scholar alone. Frequently one-half of the scholars are affected at the same time; and some of the schools have been visited at times when two-thirds of the children, usually attending, were detained at home by such complaints. These cases have invariably occurred in the most unhealthy and ill-ventilated schools, while, in schools more favourably circumstanced, it has rarely happened that more than three or four of the scholars have been absent, on account of illness, at the same time.

"In a garret up three pair of dark broken stairs, was a common day school, with forty children, in the compass of ten feet by nine. On a perch, forming a triangle with the corner of the room, sat a cock and two hens; under a stump bed, immediately beneath, was a dog kennel, in the occupation of three black terriers, whose barking, added to the noise of the children, and the cackling of the fowls on the approach of a stranger, were almost deafening. There was only one small window, at

which sat the master, obstructing three-fourths of the light it was capable of admitting.

"At another school, also in a garret, very much dilapidated, and only nine feet by twelve feet, were thirty-eight scholars; not more than six of these had any book; a desk, at which only five boys could be accomodated at the same time, was all the provision for writing and arithmetic. The room below was in the occupation of a cobbler, whose wife lay ill in bed of a fever, himself pursuing his avocation near to the bedside."

The moral instruction conveyed in these schools seems to be on a principle suitable to their accommodation. On this and kindred points, we must, in conclusion, refer to the following summary, taken from the report of a Committee appointed by the British Association; which, had it done nothing more than open the eyes of the country to the state of education in some of its largest and most influential cities, would deserve the gratitude of all men. The Committee thus abridge their information.

"*First.*—More than one-half of the whole number of children in the borough, are receiving no education in schools, either really or nominally.

"*Secondly.*—Of those who do attend school, more than one-third are the children attending dame and common day schools, some of whom acquire nothing by their attendance at school, to which the term education can reasonably be applied, and, with few exceptions, the remainder receive an education of the very lowest description.

"*Thirdly.*—There is in the dame and common day schools,

"First. An universal want of school rooms, fitted to receive the children, and a very insufficient supply of books and writing materials.

"Second. A very frequent want of discipline and subordination amongst the children; and of respect and esteem for their teachers; and a total absence of any uniform system of instruction.

"Third. A body of teachers, who, with few exceptions, are of the lowest class, who have received no preparation for their task by previous education, whose competency has been submitted to no test, and who are, in fact, totally unqualified for their situation, both from want of knowledge, and want of moral influence over the children. The office of schoolmaster is almost universally undertaken by persons who can find no readier means of subsistence; there is much competition between the masters, and, in consequence of apathy on the part of the parents, as to the quality of the education their children receive, this competition shows itself in a reduction of the terms for teaching, and seldom or never in an endeavour to raise the condition of the school.

"*Fourthly.*—Referring to what they have said under the two preceding heads, the Committee feel convinced that improvement in this class of schools is hopeless, so long as they remain without assistance and direction from some body, vastly superior, both in pecuniary means and in intelligence, to those in whose hands they now are.

"The two great desiderata of those schools are—

"First. A supply of proper school rooms and school books.

"Secondly. A supply of competent teachers.

"So long as these do not exist, not even the first steps towards an effi-

cient system of education can be made, and there is no ground to hope that they ever will, or can be supplied by the unassisted efforts of the working classes themselves.

"*Fifthly.*—The remaining schools for the education of the children of the lower classes, consist chiefly of charity schools, some of which have infant, and most of which have Sunday schools attached to them; and receive within their walls about forty-five per cent. of the whole number of children attending school in the borough, supported, in great part, by the funds of private individuals, by whom they are assisted and directed. The education given in these schools is of a more effective kind. The school rooms are more airy and spacious; and the teachers, of a higher and better educated class, have stronger motives to the zealous discharge of their duties."

ART. IV.—*Memorials of Mrs. Hemans with Illustrations of her Literary Character; from her Private Correspondence.* By HENRY F. CHORLEY. 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley. 1836.

HERE we have a beautiful work upon a lovely subject. Mr. Chorley brings to his task the attachment of a friend, and the tender taste of a sound critic; nor had the correspondence which he has collected, and the observations illustrative of that correspondence, as well as of the genius and productions of her whom he has delighted to honour in these volumes, extended to double the length that they do, should we have found the perusal of the whole tiresome. He has, however, fully succeeded in his purpose, which was, not to write a regular biography of one of our most gifted authors, but to link together so much of those materials which her history has afforded, along with his own discriminating notices, as will enable any one to trace out the entire progress of her mind through its several stages. This he has done, without descending minutely into her domestic life, which was clouded, and, to one of her temperament, far from generally propitious.

Some of our readers may have seen the Sketches and Remembrances of Mrs. Hemans, which appeared in the "Athenæum" shortly after her death. These were by the present author, or editor, as he modestly styles himself in this publication. The fragments then published, however, extended only over the later years of her life. But the great interest excited by them, led him to contemplate their extension, which the rich store of materials transmitted to him, by known and unknown friends, has enabled him to do in the shape now before us. He has thus found himself qualified to go back to her earliest years—to the dawning, and through the mid-day light of one of the most gentle, affectionate, pure, and poetic spirits that ever blessed human nature; to use his own words, he has made it appear fully, that "the woman and the poetess were in her

too inseparably united, to admit of their being considered apart from each other."

The works of Mrs. Hemans have been so popular of late years, and so many sketches of her life, from the period that she became known to fame, have, since her decease, been published—a review of one of these having appeared in our pages—that we shall almost exclusively confine ourselves to her early history, and the landmarks of her mind's expansion, ere she reached the full stature of her powers and of her renown. And never were we called on to perform a more delightful duty than follow Mr. Chorley's delicate hand, in showing that genius is of no sex, and, in this successful effort, to make a valuable contribution to the annals of English poetry.

Mrs. Hemans, whose maiden name was Felicia Dorothea Browne, was the second daughter and the fourth child of a family of three sons and three daughters. She was a native of Liverpool, and born in September, 1794. Her father was from Ireland, belonging to a branch of the Sligo family. Her mother was a descendant of a Venetian house; three of its members having been raised to the dignity of Doge. In the waning days of the republic, her grandfather held the humbler situation of Venetian Consul in Liverpool. Mr. Chorley offers some elegant observations, suggested by the poetess's ancestry, which we quote, along with a touching anecdote.

"Even if, in considering the history of a mind, we are to set aside the supposed influence of the *force du sang* as a popular fallacy, it is still impossible to determine how far and how soon the mere recital of the stately names of her maternal ancestry may have impressed one; so early impressible as the subject of these Memorials. Mrs. Hemans would often, half playfully, half proudly, allude to her origin as accounting for the strong tinge of romance which, from infancy, pervaded every thought, word, and aspiration of her daily life; and for that remarkable instinct towards the beautiful, which rarely forms so prominent a feature in the character of one wholly English born. She was wont to say, that though the years of childhood are for the most part years of happiness, hers were too visionary, too much haunted by impressions and fantasies, not to form an exception to the rule. Had she lived she would fully have described the sensations of that vague hope mounting almost to ecstasy, and of that fear, more vague, so closely linked with superstition, which often trouble even the infancy of those endowed with a quick, poetic temperament: she would have displayed the unexplained want in their hearts, which is born with such; the sense, which suggests a hidden meaning and a mystery to be fathomed in things which to others appear common and tangible; for she was meditating a work partly imaginative, partly real, to be called 'Recollections of a Poet's Childhood,' at the time when her labours were bidden to cease for ever.

"As a child she was an object almost of devotion, for her extreme beauty; her complexion was remarkably brilliant—her hair long, curling, and golden:—in the latter years of her life its hue deepened into brown, but it remained silken, and profuse, and wavy, to the last. She was one of

those, too, who may be said to be born and nurtured in the midst of prophecies. Who can tell how little or how mush impression passing words carelessly spoken may make upon one so sensitive?—One lady incautiously observed, in her hearing, 'That child is not made for happiness, I know; her colour comes and goes too fast.' She never forgot this remark, and would mention it as having caused her much pain at the time when it was spoken."—vol. i, pp. 11—13.

We are informed, that her tastes and dispositions were at an early age encouraged by her mother, to whom she was exceedingly attached, and who possessed many superior qualities. It was to this parent that Mrs. Hemans confided her first efforts at literary composition, some of which were produced at the age of seven years. Several things are recorded of her, belonging to these years. Her memory was excellent, which was shown by her chief delight in reciting poems and fragments of plays. Her talents and attractions excited unusual interest in the minds of all who had access to her, even in those who seldom sympathize with the flights of a young genius; and her fascinations attracted the simple as well as gentle. An old gardener used to say, that "Miss Felicia could 'tice him to do whatever she pleased."

Owing to domestic embarrassments, arising from mercantile misfortunes, the parents of this extraordinary girl removed to North Wales—to a part of the country which, from its situation and character, was admirably adapted to foster the development of her poetic fancies. This was in Denbighshire, not far from Abergele. The house was old, spacious, and solitary, lying close to the shore, and hemmed in by a chain of lofty crags. The deep impression which the localities and traditions of this abode made on her exquisite sensibilities and fancies, may be judged of from the extract we now insert.

"During Mrs. Hemans' last illness, she reverted again and again to this home of her youth, with that peculiar and minute yearning towards 'the days of other years,' which so affectingly marks the parting hours of even the stern and the sensual. She would dwell upon the tales of her childhood—would tell of the strange creeping awe, with which the solitude and stillness of Grwych inspired her:—how it bore the reputation of being a haunted house;—and how on one occasion, having heard a rumour of a fiery greyhound, which kept watch at the end of the avenue, she sallied forth by moonlight, eager, herself, to encounter the goblin. She loved to contrast the fancies born within and around its precincts, with the realities of her after lot; she would say that, though she was never ambitious, could she then have foreseen the fame to which she was destined to rise, the anticipation would have excited a thrill of pleasure, such as the possession had never awakened."—vol. i, pp. 16, 17.

Shakspeare became an early favourite, whom she studied frequently while seated among the branches of an apple tree. After being made familiar with his creations, she grew fond of personifying them; and the characters preferred were those of Imogen and

Beatrice, in each of whom some strong traits of resemblance to herself are found. She was never at school; and, remarks our author, had she been sent to one, she might probably have run away. It is also stated, that the only things she was ever regularly taught were English grammar, French, and the rudiments of Latin, communicated by a gentleman, who used to deplore "that she was not a man, to have borne away the highest honours at college."

Our author, in a very happy manner, speculates upon the advantages and disadvantages to Mrs. Hemans, of her seclusion and nurture in Wales; and while he traces delicately the former to such a temperament as hers, who was a born poet, he also finds that there was the danger of becoming too exclusive in her devotions, and of unduly shrinking from all that speaks of every-day life and experience. He adds the illustration of this doctrine in these words.

"It would be difficult, were the whole range of our imaginative literature searched through, to discover a more perfect illustration of the above remarks than is to be found in the works of Mrs. Hemans, and in the progress of mind they register. That she did only a partial justice to her powers, must be admitted by all who ever held friendly intercourse with her: they will feel, too, that she was summoned away at the moment when she might, and must have risen higher than she had ever done before. Her first works are purely classical or purely romantic; their poems may be compared to antique groups of sculpture, or the mailed ornamental figures of the middle ages set in motion. As she advanced on her way, sadly learning the while, the grave lessons which time and trial teach, her songs breathed more reality and less of romance; the too exclusive and feverish reverence for high intellectual or imaginative endowment, yielded to a calmness, and a cheerfulness, and a willingness more and more, not merely to speculate upon, but to partake of the 'beauty in our daily paths.' Had she lived to bring these yet more fully to bear upon the stores of knowledge she had heaped up, she would have produced a work as far superior to any she has left us, as her own latest lyrics and scenes exceed the prize poems of her girlhood: the first frigid exercises of a timid and trammelled writer."—vol. i, pp. 24, 25.

In proceeding to mark the expansion of her individual feelings and their texture, we find that ere she had long emerged from infancy, the circumstance of a dear member of her family being engaged in the Peninsular campaign, took strong possession of her heart, and that the literature, scenery, and chivalry of Spain came to be associated with her natural affections. Heroic enterprize and glory were now the themes of her muse, though she shrunk with more than feminine timidity from bodily pain. Nor does it seem that she delighted in military prowess after the common school-girls' manner of admiration of a red coat, or of a royal review of feather-bed soldiers. According to this distinction, Mr. Chorley remarks, in a note, that—

"It is beautiful to remark in many of Mrs. Hemans' poems, the

mingling of all that is true, and gentle, and deep in feeling, with all that is most glowing in imagery. Though her muse—to borrow the expression as striking as true, of one, himself a thorough master of the magnificent—'*stoops through even the most flowery paths*,' she wears under all her robes of triumph, the pitying heart of a woman. Thus, how entire is the contrast between these two stanzas of 'The Illuminated City.'—

'I passed through the streets; there were throngs on throngs—
Like sounds of the deep were their mingled songs;
There was music forth from each palace borne—
A peal of the cymbal, the harp, and horn;
The forests heard it, the mountains rang,
The hamlets woke to its haughty clang:
Rich and victorious was every tone,
Telling the land of her foes o'erthrown.

* * * * * *

Didst thou meet not a mourner for all the slain?
Thousands lie dead on their battle plain!
Gallant and true were the hearts that fell,
Grief in the homes they have left must dwell;
Grief on the aspect of childhood spread,
And bowing the beauty of woman's head:
Didst thou hear, midst the songs, not one tender moan,
For the many brave to their slumbers gone?' "

vol. i, pp. 27, 28.

In the earliest poems written by our poetess—and these were when she was but a child, or little more—there seems to have been nothing more characteristic of her after excellence than what lay in the choice of subject, and their remarkable harmony and finish of numbers; still, they excel what is generally produced by *clever children*. It is also worthy of remark, that her earliest collection was almost the only one of her works for the sake of which she had to smart under the severity of criticism. The unkind review in which it was found, affected her so much as to confine her to her bed for several days. But probably the lesson it taught, and the necessity of deep meditation and great pains-taking which it suggested, acted salutarily; for on her second appearance there was a manifest improvement—her pieces rising above the average merit of the fugitive poetry of the day. By the time she came again before the world as an author, she had submitted to much and various cultivation. She was also now married; and, though young, her experience in the world must have ripened her judgment and taste, as well as mellowed her imagination.

It was in 1812 that our poetess took the important step now mentioned; but the union was not permanently happy, having closed shortly before the birth of a fifth son, by a protracted separation;—her husband, Captain Hemans, of the fourth regiment, having, for the sake of his health, exchanged his native climate for the milder sky of Italy—while Mrs. Hemans, whose literary pur-

suits rendered it advisable not to leave England, remained with her family, now removed to a pleasant residence in the neighbourhood of St. Asaph. Regarding this era in her life, our author adds—

"The memorials permitted to me of this part of Mrs. Hemans' life, though less copious and minute than those which illustrate the period of personal intercourse, are interesting, as consistently illustrating the mind whereof the master impulses and gifts had been indicated in her childish readings of Shakspeare in the apple tree, her feverish delight in military glory, and the quick and wayward temperament which made her enjoy the stolen summer evening's bath. The bud, the blossom, and the fruit, underwent no modifications of form and colour, save those of a natural and progressive expansion. That this development was rapid, may be ascribed to the peculiar circumstances of Mrs. Hemans' position, which, by placing her in a household, as a member and not as its head, excused her from many of those small cares of domestic life, which might have either fretted away her day dreams, and, by interruption, have made of less avail the search for knowledge to which she bent herself with such eagerness; or, more probably still, might have imparted to her poetry more of masculine health and stamen, at the expense of some of its romance and music. But—in pointing out the influences which gave to her writings their manner, by some thoughtlessly mistaken for monotomy—it is a duty also to remark, that Mrs. Hemans' poems, though often deeply melancholy, and dwelling, it may be a little too exclusively upon the farewells and regrets of life—upon the finer natures broken in pieces by contact with a mercenary and scornful world—are never morbid in their tone—never convey a word or thought of questionable morality."—vol. i, pp. 42—44.

She now, with unabated ardour, continued to increase her store of knowledge, drawing from the old classic authors, as well as from the more modern writers of Italy, the Peninsula, and Germany; but conducting her studies after a manner which to most persons must have appeared desultory. Her sister writes, that "she seemed to take in everything, as it were by intuition; and whilst flying from one subject to another, in what might have been thought the most puzzling way possible, each retained in her mind its distinct 'form and pressure,' and there was no fear of its ever being confused or effaced." Her works now rapidly followed one another, her fame spread greatly, and her correspondence or intercourse with many of the choicest spirits of the age became frequent—Bishop Heber and the Rev. H. H. Milman being early counsellors and friends, while, among the gifted of her own sex, Joanna Baillie, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Howitt, and Miss Jewsbury had a prominent place. Her reputation had also reached America, and with not a few of the most celebrated citizens in that country her correspondence was cordial and lasting. We give Mr. Chorley's outline of her history at the period now reached.

"Mrs. Hemans had now taken her place in the circle of living poets, as one who possessed powers and feelings and peculiarities of her own. The world had recognised an original mind, speaking in the perfect music of

her verse:—had perceived that the Spirit of romance and chivalry had found another incarnation, although, being this time clothed in a female form, it was united with affections deeper, if less strikingly picturesque, than mere devotion to beauty, or mere fidelity to the knightly vow of valour and courtesy. In like manner, at a later period, has the homely domestic ballad, by passing into female hands, been revived in all its plainness and pathos, without any of the grossness, which, of old, stained its strength. An eloquent modern critic (Mrs. Jameson) has rightly said that Mrs. Hemans' poems 'could not have been written by a man.'—Their love is without selfishness—their passion pure from sensual coarseness—their high heroism (and as instances may be mentioned, among many, 'The Switzer's Wife,' and the 'Lady of Provence,') unsullied by any base alloy of ambition. In their religion, too, she is essentially womanly—fervent, trustful, unquestioning, 'hoping on, hoping ever'—in spite of a painfully acute consciousness of the peculiar trials of her sex—of that lot, so beautifully described in one of her lyrics, which is

. . . . . 'silent tears to weep,
And patient smiles to wear through suffering's hour,
And sumless riches from affection's deep,
To pour on withered reeds—a wasted shower—
And to make idols, and to find them clay,
And to bewail that worship' . . . . . .

"It was about this time, then, that the literary friendships of Mrs. Hemans began to grow more numerous. She might now claim the companionship of the gifted. But in all her advances and answers, she will be found self-distrustful, open, with a child-like gratitude, to words of kindness and encouragement—seeking rather sympathy than praise."—vol. i, pp. 137—139.

We must not go much farther, or rather much more particularly, into the history of this most interesting woman—enough having been culled from these volumes to recommend their beauty, and the exquisite character of their heroine, to every one who takes the trouble to glance at our pages. To give a specimen, however, of the vivacity, the affections, and discrimination which she threw into her letters, we take leave to copy part of one to her friend Miss Jewsbury.

"The inclosed lines,* an effusion of deep and sincere admiration, will give you some idea of the enjoyment, and, I hope I may say, advantage, which you have been the means of imparting, by so kindly entrusting me with your precious copy of Wordsworth's Miscellaneous Poems. It has opened to me such a treasure of thought and feeling, that I shall always associate your name with some of my pleasantest recollections, as having introduced me to the knowledge of what I can only regret should have been so long a 'Yarrow unvisited,' I would not write to you sooner, because I wished to tell you that I had really *studied* these poems, and they have been the daily food of my mind ever since I borrowed them.

"* These were the stanzas addressed to the poet:—
'Thine is a strain to read among the hills,'" &c. &c.

There is hardly any scene of a happy, though serious, domestic life, or any mood of a reflective mind, with the spirit of which some one or other of them does not beautifully harmonize. This author is the true *Poet of Home*, and of all the lofty feelings which have their root in the soil of home affections. His fine sonnets to Liberty, and indeed, all his pieces which have any reference to political interest, remind me of the spirit in which Schiller has conceived the character of William Tell, a calm, single-hearted herdsman of the hills, breaking forth into fiery and indignant eloquence, when the sanctity of his hearth is invaded. Then, what power Wordsworth condenses into single lines, like Lord Byron's 'curdling a long life into one hour.'

'The still sad music of humanity.'—

'The river glideth at his own sweet will'—

'Over his own sweet voice the stock-dove broods.'—

And a thousand others, which we must some time, (and I hope not a very distant one,) talk over together. Many of these lines quite haunt me, and I have a strange feeling, as if I must have known them in my childhood, they come over me so like old melodies. I can hardly speak of *favourites* among so many things that delight me, but I think 'The Narrow Glen,' the lines on 'Corro Linn,' the 'Song for the Feast of Brougham Castle,' 'Yarrow Visited,' and 'The Cuckoo,' are among those which take hold of imagination the soonest, and recur most frequently to memory.'" vol. i, pp. 173—175.

We might now look for particulars of our author's recollections of Mrs. Hemans—of her personal appearance in her womanhood—of her want of regard to many of the little observances of life, (in the matter of dress for instance)—of her indisposition to general society—and of her annoyance on being pestered to write for albums by heterogeneous and vulgar visiters. We might follow her in her various changes of residence—in her visits to Scotland, to Sir Walter Scott, to Wordsworth, &c. There are many memorials in these volumes, of the delight and reverence with which she regarded these and other celebrated characters; but towards none does there appear to have been such a constant increase of admiration as to the latter poet. Here is a fragment regarding him.

"I am charmed with Mr. Wordsworth, whose kindness to me has quite a smoothing influence over my spirits. Oh! what relief, what blessing there is in the feeling of admiration, when it can be freely poured forth! 'There is a daily beauty in his life,' which is in such lovely harmony with his poetry, that I am thankful to have witnessed and *felt* it. He gives me a good deal of his society, reads to me, walks with me, leads my pony when I ride, and I begin to talk with him as with a sort of *paternal* friend. The whole of this morning he kindly passed in reading to me a great deal from Spenser, and afterwards his own 'Laodamia,' my favourite 'Tintern Abbey,' and many of those noble sonnets which you, like myself, enjoy so much. His reading is very peculiar, but, to my ear, delightful; slow, solemn, *earnest* in expression more than any I have ever heard: when he reads or recites in the open air, his deep rich tones seem to proceed from a spirit-voice, and belong to the religion of the place;

they harmonize so fitly with the thrillings tones of woods and waterfalls. His expressions are often strikingly poetical: 'I would not give up the mists that *spiritualize* our mountains for all the blue skies of Italy.' Yesterday evening he walked beside me as I rode on a long and lovely mountain-path high above Grasmere Lake: I was much interested by his showing me, carved deep into the rock, as we passed, the initials of his wife's name, inscribed there many years ago by himself, and the dear old man, like 'Old Mortality,' renews them from time to time; I could scarcely help exclaiming '*Esto perpetua!*'" . . .—vol. ii, pp. 116—118.

The admiration and regard which Mrs. Hemans entertained to such a depth towards Wordsworth, contrasts strikingly with the manner in which she looked upon Byron's character, after Moore's Life of him was published. The extracts which appeared from that work in the periodicals created such a disgust in her mind, that she resolved never to read it. We are also informed, that in defining the distinction between the genius of the former and that of the latter, she said, "that it required a higher power to still a tempest than to raise one," and that she considered it the part of Wordsworth to calm and of Byron to disturb the mind.

To the religious world it must be matter of delight to learn, that our poetess, towards the close of her life, became a daily student of the Holy Scriptures, and of the works of some of the standard English divines. We may hence gather what was her purpose particularly, when penning the following sentences.

"'It has ever been one of my regrets,' says she in one of her latest letters, 'that the constant necessity of providing sums of money to meet the exigencies of the boys' education, has obliged me to waste my mind in what I consider mere desultory effusions:—

'Pouring myself away,
As a wild bird, amidst the foliage, turns
That which within him thrills, and beats and burns
Into a fleeting lay.'

My wish ever was to concentrate all my mental energy in the production of some more noble and complete work: something of pure and holy excellence, (if there be not too much presumption in the thought,) which might permanently take its place as the work of a British poetess. I have always, hitherto, written as if in the breathing-times of storms and billows.'" . . .—vol. ii, pp. 257, 258.

Mr. Chorley's summing up of her character is short and descriptive; with which we conclude this paper.

"The woman and the poetess were in her too inseparably united to admit of their being considered apart from each other. In her private letters, as in her published works, she shows herself high-minded, affectionate, 'grateful—wayward in her self-neglect—delicate to fastidiousness in her tastes;—in her religion, fervent without intolerance;—eager to acquire knowledge, as eager to impart it to others—earnestly devoted to her art, and in that art to the service of all things beautiful, and noble, and holy. She may have fallen short of some of her predecessors in vigour of mind, of some of her contemporaries in variety of fancy; but

she surpassed them all in the use of language, in the employment of a rich, chaste, and glowing imagery, and in the perfect music of her versification. It will be long before the chasm left in our female literature by her death will be worthily filled: she will be long remembered—long spoken of by those who know her works, yet longer by those who knew herself—

'Kindly and gently, but as of one,
For whom 'tis well to be fled and gone,
As of a bird from a chain unbound,
As of a wanderer whose home is found.
So let it be!'"—vol. ii, pp. 355, 356.

ART. V.—*The Anti-Slavery Reporter. July*, 1836.

THE time which has elapsed since the passing of the great Act of Negro Emancipation in the British Colonies, is sufficient to afford very extensive and valuable evidence of the effects which have resulted from it, and more than sufficient to entitle the friends of humanity eagerly to desire to know what these effects have been. A measure so mighty and momentous as the enfranchisement of nearly one million of slaves in one day, never before occurred in the history of the human race; and when we reflect on the fears entertained by one party, and the hopes by another, in consequence of such a great and sudden change, what question can there be imagined, that is more arresting? But it is not only this number of human beings that is concerned—the whole world is deeply interested in its results. Many nations indeed have their eyes upon the experiment; for there are millions of our fellow creatures still in bondage to America, Brazil, and other countries, for whom there is no prospect of emancipation, except through the moral force of our example.

There is another consideration—to follow Mr. Buxton in his admirable speech on the subject, delivered in the House of Commons, in March last—which deserves notice, and which by some people will be looked upon as of paramount importance, if we are to regard the weight attributed to it by the Anti-abolitionists. To adopt Mr. Buxton's words, how often were the friends of the Negroes taunted thus by the planters, "True, there are meetings, and strong resolutions, and earnest petitions; tell the people that the abolition of slavery they shall have, but that they shall pay for it, and you will hear no more of this cheap charity!" but behold what has been done! the people have, without one public murmur, paid to these same planters twenty millions of money, strongly assured in their humanity and religion, that though a great sacrifice, and offered in the face of much discouragement, it was small compared to the amount of good it would procure; nay, that it was not too large an expenditure for such a noble experiment. This was a deed worthy of a great nation; it was a deed that will crown it with a glory in

ages to come, perhaps sufficient to gloss over the infamy of the abettors of slavery. At any rate, the people have a right to know what have been the fruits of this matchless sacrifice of money; and in consideration of this, among other purposes, the strenuous advocate of the blacks, whom we have already named, moved, during last session of parliament, for a committee of inquiry, which was assented to. When a report of this committee's labours is published, we may expect the fullest and most important disclosures; but in the meanwhile, enough is known to excite the deepest interest, and to prepare the mind of the public for the issue. This information may be gathered from the official and authentic documents that already exist on the subject; and as extracts from these have been published in the last number of "The Anti-slavery Reporter," together with other important observations, and Mr. Buxton's speech, we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of diffusing, as far as our pages can do, portions of what is thus presented to us. We are anxious to keep alive and in an awakened state, the nation's interest on the long agitated theme of Slavery. The battle is not yet won; at least the vanquished are not yet innocuous; it is, at the same time, but approaching its heat among our brethren in America. If the fondly hoped for results of the British experiment should be now retarded by timid or insidious measures, the evil consequences will be incalculable. Be awake, therefore, ye philanthropists of these islands, and let not a false security, induced by the silence that has of late prevailed on this momentous subject, be the occasion of marring the trophies of your splendid victory.

We have alluded to the general silence which of late has prevailed regarding the state of the colonies, where so many thousands of our race have been emancipated. Now, however necessary it may be to guard lest this silence should lull the nation into a false security, it is a proof unquestionably, that the experiment is not working so badly, and that it is not attended by such direful effects, as were prophesied by many. Amongst numberless other dreadful forebodings, take the manifesto of the whole West India body, circulated through all parts of the country in the year 1831, published in reply to an address, signed by Wilberforce and others, in which address these words were found: "We, in our consciences, were convinced, after investigations the most careful and scrupulous, that from the emancipation recommended, no risk to the whites would arise." What did the manifesto contain? it said, "We possess, with our property in the West India Colonies, the means of correctly ascertaining the actual state of the Negro population. We know, and we are ready to prove what we assert, in the face of our country, our well-grounded conviction that the speedy annihilation of slavery would be attended with the devastation of the West India Colonies, with loss of lives and property to the white inhabitants, with inevitable distress and misery to the black population;

and with a fatal shock to the commercial credit of this empire." We remember, when first this series of strong assertions was published, that we wondered how the authors of them were to make good the proof of a thing that was only contemplated, and had not happened; or if the sentence only alluded to their "well-grounded conviction," how they were to make this conviction manifest but by mere assertion. Again, though it had been admitted that the West India body possessed the best knowledge of the state of the Negro population, it might well have been doubted whether they were fitted to be the best legislators between themselves and these Negroes, who were their slaves; and Mr. Canning's injunction and opinion might have been quoted when he said—"Trust not the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it, they must be ineffectual in their application. It is in the nature of things it should be so. Let then the British House of Commons do their part themselves. Let them not delegate the trust of doing it, to those who cannot execute that trust fairly. Let the evils of slavery be remedied by an assembly of freemen, by the government of a free people, and not by the masters of slaves. Their laws can never reach, can never cure the evil." There would have been common sense and wisdom, in these replies, had they been made at the time when the manifesto was issued by persons pretending exclusively to know the Negro character. There seemed also to be evidence of a sound estimation of human nature in the opinions entertained by the party who indulged in such anticipations respecting Negro emancipation, as the following—

"They thought, that such was the supineness, the apathy, the want of heart, of hope, of stimulus, in one word, the want of motive to labour in slavery; and, on the other hand, such the unconquerable energies which freedom gives, that though they knew that emancipation would unquestionably reduce the hours of labour, and withhold the stimulus of the whip, and get rid of that cringing subserviency which belongs to the slave, yet relying on the energy of freedom, and the stimulus of wages, and the power of hope, operating on the human mind; foretold, that though there might be some immediate reduction in the quantity of sugar, yet when the first change was over, that nearly the same amount of sugar would be produced; that nearly the same amount of work would be performed in a less time; that property would rise, and not fall in value; and that security and tranquillity would grow up in place of that great danger and great terror which then existed."

We shall soon see whether the predictions of the planters, or the fondly cherished anticipations of the abolitionists, as expressed by Mr. Buxton in the above extract, were the soundest. But though in one sense it is a waste of time to go so far back, and to deal with speculations that have practically been since tested, the sort of prophesyings we now speak of are not unworthy of retrospection, were it for nothing more than to expose the infatuation, the fury,

and the stubbornness that seem indissolubly to attach to the opinions of slave-abettors and masters, whenever any thing connected with slavery is discussed. Mr. Baring said—who is with discrimination characterised as a person who had a weighty, if not a very correct authority on all subjects in which the interests of commerce were involved—that if the legislature put an end to slavery, "Manufactures would decline, commerce would be withered, ships would be rolling in the harbours without freight, and the cessation of the cultivation of sugar, involved calamities of a more serious description than any that had yet befallen the country." He afterwards proceeded to ask—was the country prepared to pay a large sum of money, merely for the sake of trying experiments in humanity? or, was it prepared to lose three millions of its revenue, from the decrease in the production of sugar? It would be amusing, were it not too irritating, to read a few more of these high-sounding predictions. That they have been falsified, and to an extent not contemplated by the fondest philanthropists, admits not of a doubt. Who has heard of the slaughter of the whites, or of the misery of the blacks, or of the destruction of British commerce, or of the nation's want of sugar, or short-comings of the revenue, or of the ruin of the country? yet all these calamities were to follow on the heels of passing the Emancipation Act.

It is necessary, however, to come a little closer to the inquiry embraced by the phrase, "The working of the Abolition Act," than mere negative proof brings us; nor are we left without strong affirmative testimony on the subject. Let us inquire, therefore, first, what have been the effects of emancipation upon the Negro population, and what their conduct since the passing of the Act—secondly, what have been the effects upon the white population, and what their conduct—and thirdly, what have been the effects upon the mother country. The answers to these questions might be given by quoting portions of the official documents concerning all the slave colonies, to be found in the publication before us. But this course, we find, would swell our paper to a length which we cannot afford; and therefore, we confine ourselves chiefly to passages of Mr. Buxton's speech, assuring our readers, that if they have any doubt of the fairness of his representations, they will find them corroborated by the extracts from the official documents, bound up in the present "Reporter." At the same time, it ought to be remembered, that although Mr. Buxton's speech be not legally or fully probative, it is worthy of being much relied upon, not merely because of his character and acquaintance with the subject, but because his statements have not been substantially objected to by the planters, and because, upon hearing these statements, the Government and the House of Commons assented to the motion which the Honourable Gentleman desired should be carried.

We, first of all, take a glance at the condition of the planter, and

the condition of the Negro, previous to the passing of the Abolition Act, as given without exaggeration by Mr. Buxton, as all will allow, who have ever paid any considerable attention to West India affairs. He has been quoting, from many authorities, passages to show how increasingly loud were the complaints of the planters for many years down to the new enactment. He goes on to say—

"And in 1832, after a lapse of nearly twenty years more, during which the West Indians had been drawing immense sums from the pockets of the public, for bounties and protections, and had had freedom too, given to their commerce in an unprecedented degree, what was the language they then used in addressing Parliament and the nation? It was this—'*The alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole British West India interest is at this time involved,*' justified them in imploring Parliament 'to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, *in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin.*'

"If such was the condition of the planter, what was the condition of the negro? Bear in mind two facts only; first, that the number of punishments inflicted in a single colony, and that not the largest, and in a single year, was thus stated by the noble Lord (Stanley) :—

"'In the year 1829, the recorded number of separate punishments in Demerara, when the predial slave population amounted to 60,500, was 17,359. In 1830, the number of slaves had decreased to 59,547, while the production of sugar had increased, and the number of separate punishments had also increased to 18,324: the number of lashes inflicted in that year being no less than 194,744. In 1831, the predial population had still further decreased to 58,404; but the punishments had increased to 21,656, and the number of lashes amounted to 199,507.'

"And, secondly, that the mortality and decrease in population amounted to upwards of 50,000 in ten years."

But what of the slaves since the passing of the Abolition Act? And here we quote two extracts from the official documents; the first regards Jamaica. We may add, that the testimony of the special magistrates are equally favourable.

"*Extract of a Despatch from the Marquis of Sligo to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated The King's House, St. Jago de la Vega, March* 27, 1835.

"'It is with considerable satisfaction that I am enabled to repeat to your Lordship the same favourable assurances as to 'the general state of the Island' that it has been hitherto in my power to transmit to you. The apprentices, generally speaking, are working very industriously: in many instances, where they are paid by the quantity of sugar made, they are in the habit of keeping up the boiling-house work for the whole first five days of the week uninterruptedly, though their bargain with their masters may have been to work only for 18 hours per day. On many estates they work by spells, not having been offered wages, as the proprietors say they cannot afford to pay any in some cases; and in others, because the whole crop will be easily taken off without taking more than the legal time: the last instances are, however, rare. There are some few estates where they have refused to work at all for wages, but where they work very diligently during the legal hours. These refusals are here

attributed to sectarian influence; but I have not as yet seen that satisfactorily proved.'

"*Extract of a Despatch from Lord Sligo to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated Highgate, Jamaica, April* 27, 1835.

"'Every thing appears now to be going on perfectly well. The apprentices are also contented. The managers are relaxing down from their vexatious and teasing attacks upon the comforts of the negroes; finding, from experience, that they have not now the same sort of people to deal with that they had before.'"

The Governor of British Guiana thus writes.—

"'*4th March*, 1835.

"'It affords me great pleasure to be able to state to your Lordship, that the most complete tranquillity continues to prevail throughout the whole of this province, and that the industry and good-will with which the apprenticed labourers perform their work is now pretty generally acknowledged by even the mass of the planters themselves. Wherever complaints have been made against the labourer, it has appeared, upon investigation, that (in nine cases out of ten) it has been to the quantum of work attempted to be exacted from them, and not to labour itself, that the labourers have objected. In very many cases, the labourer was more sinned against than sinning. I do not believe that at this moment there is a single estate in British Guiana on which a reasonable proportion of work, commensurate to seven and a half hours' labour, is not performed by the apprenticed labourers.

"'I deem it my duty further to remark to your Lordship, that since the 1st of August, there has not been an instance of a white man upon an estate being struck or ill-treated by a negro; nor has a single building or cane-field been maliciously set fire to. These facts speak strongly in favour of the labourers. On one estate (La Hague) the sea-dam gave way early on a Sunday morning. The negroes, without waiting to be summoned, ran down in a body with their tools, and instantly repaired the dam; thus preventing the estate from being ruined for several years. The manager (who is a very intelligent and superior man, and has acquired completely both the confidence and respect of the people) assured me that the labourers neither asked nor expected any remuneration for performing this service. On another estate, called La Bonne Intention, the buildings accidentally caught fire. The fire was extinguished by the exertions and good-will of the negroes. The manager assured me, that he was compelled to order the labourers to come down from the tops of the buildings, and not expose themselves to the very imminent danger they voluntarily encountered to preserve their master's property. With patience, firmness, and, above all, good temper, on the part of the justices and of the planters, there cannot be a reasonable doubt (in my opinion) but that the labourers of this colony will continue to perform their duty, and that the produce to be raised by the industry of the apprenticed labourers will exceed the amount of that which was formerly obtained from the slaves.'"

We now insert a long extract from Mr. Buxton's speech, as to the conduct of the Negroes, after a fair trial of the Emancipation

Act. For his authorities, he refers to parliamentary papers, when not otherwise stated.

"The next point to which I am anxious to advert, is with reference to the morals of the negroes; and I can assure the House, that upon no part of the case I have submitted to them, have I stronger or more satisfactory evidence than upon this. One of the special magistrates, in a letter to the Governor of Jamaica, writes—'I have the honour of transmitting to you a report unstained by a single crime.' Another states, that 'the House of Correction, which, under the old system used to contain fifty inmates, contains, at present, only ten.' Another observes, 'crime has diminished in a surprising degree.' Others state, 'instances of insubordination are almost unknown, and attempts to resist authority by force equally so.' 'Complaint are infinitely less than formerly.' 'Crimes of a serious nature hardly now take place.' 'On eighteen important estates, the sheet does not exhibit a single complaint.' 'Crime among the negro population is daily decreasing.' 'Crime is certainly on the decrease.' 'I believe no community has so little of atrocious or flagrant villany.'

"There is one fact which I state on the authority of a Jamaica newspaper, the 'Watchman,' of the 9th January, 1836, it says:—

"'From the 1st of August, 1834, to the meeting of the last Assizes, eighty-one apprentices have been tried before the three courts in the island.

"'For the same period, and before the same courts, fifty-three freemen.

"'I will also furnish you with a table of offences:—

	Free.	*Apprentices.*
Cutting and maiming	1	0
Manslaughter	7	2
Larceny	5	35
Assaults	20	8
Riot	0	1
Felony	2	0
Receiving stolen goods	3	1
Obstruction of magistrates	2	0
Murder	2	1
Burglary	0	7
Horse and cattle stealing	8	20
Sheep and goat do.	6	5
Highway robbery	1	0
Embezzlement	0	1
Forgery	1	0
Rape	1	0
	53	81'

"In the above, you will observe, that in the atrocious crimes of *murder, manslaughter, felony, cutting and maiming*, the poor apprentices, without the aid of education, without the dawn of religion beaming on their souls, and lighting them to her 'paths of peace,' are considerably in the minority; and that the freemen, with the more adventitious ad-

vantages which their condition affords, stand foremost, and exhibit a lamentable contrast in the committal of heinous crimes, when arrayed with the long neglected and ignorant apprentices.

"Now, I will show the proportion of crime that each class bears on its population.

The militia return of 1834, which is composed entirely of free persons, is	10,000
Supposed not doing duty, including women and children, little more than four-fifths	9,000
	19,000

This makes crime on the side of the free, about 1 in 358.

The last registration of apprentices states the number at	310,000
Supposed to be manumised	2,000
	308,000

This gives the proportion of crime on the side of the apprentices as about 1 in 3,802."

We might quote a vast number of other testimonies to the good conduct of the Negroes; but one sentence must conclude this part of our paper. "Upon the whole," says Lord Sligo, "I come to the conclusion, that the perfect success of the system, during the continuance of the apprenticeship, depends entirely on the conduct of the white people, and that if it fails, on them will rest the entire blame."

But much blame is already attributable to them. In Jamaica, for instance, the House of Assembly has endeavoured, and successfully too, to evade several of the provisions of the Abolition Act. There have been not a few encroachments upon the rights of the blacks, by planters; and orders in council have been passed at home, that have rendered these evils more inveterate. But we cannot go deeper into the conduct of the whites, than to quote some passages chiefly on the subject of punishments. Mr. Buxton says—

"I find in Lord Sligo's first message to the Assembly, sent to them on the 17th of November, the following passage:—'A much more serious breach, not only of the spirit, but even the letter of the law, has been committed under the supposed authority of the act in question. (His Excellency alludes to the rule permitting the use of the whip upon women by the superintendents of tread-mills:) this is a direct infringement of the 21st section of the Abolition Act, which expressly forbids the whipping of women under any circumstances."

In another place, he states—

"Of the other colonies I have no time to say any thing, except that I have from some of them the returns of punishments, and they are quite appalling. They are as follows, viz.—

St. Vincents	2,764
Grenada	2,414
Montserrat	1,034

Tortola	467
Demerara	8,152
Barbadoes	7,807

"These things—this lashing and scourging, this flogging of women, this inequality of law, this deprivation of customary allowances, these bad laws, and worse practices—these are the consequences of giving away our money too soon. Till that was done, we had an irresistible argument for the correction of abuses."

The truth is, that slave-masters, overseers, and attorneys cannot, neither is it consistent with human history and nature, forego a cruel system to which they have been inured, and to which these classes of persons—beyond any other order of men whose moral sensibilities have been vitiated or hardened, we ever read of—cling like fanatics or bigots in religion. But, are their patrimonial interests injured by the conduct of the Negroes under the new law? Quite the reverse—the only proofs we have room for, are the following, out of many more. The first contains a few of the memoranda respecting Jamaica, taken by the Marquis of Sligo, in 1835, which he says are "the result of some consideration and observation, combined with the best information that could be procured."

"1. The quality of the sugar made this year is *bonâ fide* far superior to what has been heretofore made by night work on the majority of estates in this island.

"2. There has been by far less stock lost in this year's crop than in that of preceding years, and in many places it has been taken off by a smaller number.

"3. The stock are, generally speaking, in much better condition this year than they were at the close of any former year's crop, when they have been so weak, that many of them have died in consequence.

"4. That the apprentices generally are evidently becoming more reconciled to the system, and work cheerfully for money hire both night and day, and that they are becoming better behaved every day.

"5. That they may be expected still further to improve as soon as they begin to feel the natural impetus of education and religion, and as they get rid of the system of deceit, which slavery occasioned in order to save them from oppression.

"6. That several estates will exceed the present crop in the next year, and the majority will equal it.

"7. That when this is not the case, it can be traced to sufficient causes, independent of the loss of labour, which, of course, must have considerable effect, when it is recollected, that on many estates the slaves were compelled not only to work day and night as long as nature would allow of it, and in such manner as their bodily endurance would permit, for the six week days, but were often compelled to pot sugar on the Sunday.

"8. That a manifest supineness has been exhibited on several plantations, by the fact, that next year's crops are often estimated at much more than the present. I know of several individual instances of persons de-

clining to put in plant canes last year, in consequence of the certainty, by anticipation, which they felt, that the crop would not be taken off at all.

"9. The returns I send home herewith, will show that the preparations for the next year's crop have not been so entirely neglected as has been asserted,

"10. That 'the new system' furnished a most admirable excuse for any failures and neglects which may have taken place, and which will not therefore be attributed to their real cause.

"11. My conviction is, that, in many instances, the opinions of individuals are much more favourable as to future prospects than they choose to allow; and I offer, in proof of it, the reluctance which has been shown in but too many instances to my getting any information upon the subject."

Our other extract is from Mr. Buxton's speech. He says—

"I find in a dispatch of Sir Carmichael Smith, dated 6th of July last, that in the quantity of sugar entered for exportation at the custom-house of Demerara during two quarters of last year, there was an increase of 2,466 hogsheads above the quantity entered in the corresponding quarters of the three preceding years, and taking into account the loss of time from the shortening of the hours of labour, there was an increase of one-fourth, or 4,263 hogsheads. A similar increase will be found to have taken place in the articles of rum, coffee, &c.; in fact, in every article of produce, with the exception of molasses, in which there had certainly been a reduction, owing, probably, to the superior manufacture of sugar. But it is not alone in the quantity produced, that the improvement has taken place, for Lord Sligo says, 'the quality of the sugar is superior to that produced during the years of slavery.'"

According to our arrangement, we should now consider what has been the effect of the Abolition Act upon the mother country; and inquire whether there has been any defalcation in the revenue, arising from the measure. It does not seem necessary, however, to go into this question; for, being a domestic one, with which every one of our readers must be acquainted, or may easily become so, we only take room to assert, that the commercial prosperity of the empire has not been injured by the change, while the peace of the public mind has been on this question, which at one time was fiercely contested, secured and established. One other mighty good has also already resulted from the measure—it has given birth to movements in different parts of the world, which promise corresponding results; witness France and Denmark.

ART. VI.—*Critical Remarks on certain recently published Opinions concerning Life and Mind.* By JOHN ROBERTON, Surgeon, Member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, &c. London: Longman & Co. 1836.

A GREAT book is a great bore—a truth which none know better than reviewers, whose duty it is to examine such an article, and to give

an account of it. There is another truth which may be very often predicated of books, viz. that their worth should be estimated inversely, according to their size and pretensions. How many ponderous tomes, for instance, have been written on the question, Is mind a material or immaterial being? which have left it as much in the dark as before, or perhaps rendered it more obscure! Here, however, we have a little modest work, which is deserving of the very opposite character; for, in our opinion, it throws a great deal of light on the subject. It presents, indeed, a model of philosophical disquisition, whether closeness, cogency, clearness or eloquence, of reasoning be regarded; and with great pleasure we proceed to lay part of its contents before the reader.

On the subject of Life, Mr. Roberton ably combats the opinion of those who maintain, that in organic bodies, both vegetable and animal, there resides an agent, superadded to the qualities of matter; so that besides mind and matter, man's nature consists of a third principle. The author's doctrine, on the other hand is, that what are called the phenomena of life, are qualities of matter in certain conditions, necessarily arising, so far as we know, from such conditions; that life is not the name of a quality, generally speaking, but a genericterm inclusive of a great number of qualities, which matter, as it exists in animals and vegetables, impresses on the percipient mind; these vital qualities, to vary the mode of expression, being nothing else than matter, as it exists in such bodies, perceived by the mind through the instrumentality of the senses. He goes on to say, that so far from having reason to regard the phenomena of life as qualities superadded to organic matter, we have no reason whatever to infer that matter could exist in the identical state in which it exists as a plant, or an animal, without exhibiting the identical vital phenomena it does exhibit, any more than we have to infer, that oxygen could exist as oxygen, without possessing its present properties, or matter in general exist without possessing extension. We do not regard this question as one of very great importance; neither is the discussion to which it gives rise so curious as many other speculations.

The other subject treated of in this volume, viz. whether the human mind be material or immaterial, a distinct entity and essence, or identical with the functions and qualities of the brain, is one of great moment and practical consequence; for, although there be persons who profess themselves to be materialists, and believers in the doctrines of Christianity at the same time, there are far more who more consistently consider the two systems as incompatible, and are sceptics in religion, because the mind, at death, is subject to the laws of chemistry, and dissolves like any other portion of dead organic matter. Nay, something not far distant from atheism, or at least as odious, legitimately follows from the doctrine, that the brain is mind, or that mind is material; for if we are to disbelieve

in the existence of mind as an entity, because we have no evidence of its existence in a state separate from organized matter, then how are we to obtain evidence of the existence of a supreme spiritual being, distinct from the material universe? The arguments made use of by the author, on the nature of mind, we think are admirably calculated to overturn the errors which prevail on this subject, at the present day; for never, we believe, was materialism so undisguisedly inculcated by physiologists and others, in their writings and their lectures, as it is now. It is the opinions however, chiefly of Dr. Elliotson, professor of the principles and practice of medicine, &c. in the University of London, which he assails, who, among many other statements of a similar nature, declares that "the brain thinks, and feels, and wills, as clearly as that the liver has the power of producing bile;" and that he leaves others to fancy that it is "a subtle, immaterial, immortal existence." The properties of the mind are therefore, according to this view, the qualities of the brain—the brain and the mind, so far as these phenomena are concerned, being identical.

Our author judiciously steers clear of all discussion regarding the immortality of the soul, or the future destinies of the mind, confining himself to what he knows of mind, from consciousness aided by the senses; for though he considers it highly probable, from the nature of the thinking principle, that it is immortal, he does not, separate from the testimony of revelation, see that the doctrine is proved. But how does he proceed to show that mind is distinct, and different from matter, or the qualities of the brain, any more than that the bile is a secretion of the liver? Not as some physiologists and phrenologists do, by anatomising the brain, and arrogantly, like one of them, declaring that "anatomy and physiology alone can furnish rational notions of the human understanding;" nor that, "I will show you the different organs connected with the different faculties," just as if the organ of "causality" could be as really demonstrated in the act of reasoning, as any function of our bodies. But he thus proceeds to explain how a man's knowledge of mind has been obtained.

"He is conscious that he exists, that he has feeling, memory, reason, volition; and is persuaded that these faculties (which by turning the mind to contemplate its own operations he is able at pleasure to subject to rigid examination) belong to that, whatever it is, which he is accustomed, when speaking with strict propriety, to denote by the pronoun I. Further, by a law of his nature, he believes that his hand, his foot, the other members of his body, and all objects which impress his senses, are distinct from this same entity. He never confounds this thinking being with any thing else whatever; and intuitively feels that it involves an absurdity to suppose that it could be added to, or subtracted from, or divided. The properties of mind he learns by consciousness, and by a law of his nature, is compelled to ascribe them to *something* of which they are the properties. The properties of matter he obtains a knowledge

of also by consciousness, through the aid of the senses, and intuitively refers them to *something else*, of which they are the properties. Concerning matter, equally as concerning mind, all his knowledge depends on consciousness in the more extended sense of that word. And yet, as has been stated, by a law of his being, he never confounds perceptions of mental properties—volition, reason, memory, fear, hope, joy—with perceptions arising from impressions made on the senses—extension, hardness, fluidity, bitterness; in other words, he never confounds the properties of mind with those of matter, nor ceases to feel, whenever he reflects on the subject, that matter in all its forms is one thing, and mind, in all its infinitely diversified states, is another and entirely different thing.

"These are first principles (if I, indeed, have succeeded in stating them correctly), which it is not optional to admit or to reject. If they are rejected, every proposition which it is possible to present for the assent of a rational being may be rejected."—pp. 9, 10.

There is a long and an exceedingly interesting note to the above passage, in farther illustration of the statement that consciousness supplies sufficient evidence to prove that the mind is, in its nature, distinct from the body. We must present the pith of this note, for in truth it contains the happiest view and explanation of the manner in which a person becomes convinced of the separate existence of his mind, and of its immateriality, that we remember to have met with. Had the writer not advanced another sentence, his service to the cause of important truths would have been worthy of particular notice. Had we never read another line of his book, we should have pronounced him to be a man of no ordinary head, and that he was also possessed of a well-conditioned heart.

Mr. Roberton quotes at the commencement of his convincing note, a paragraph from the observations of Mr. Wallace on Lord Brougham's Natural Theology, in which this statement occurs:—"Let any man not a metaphysician, one ignorant of the dispute connected with the immateriality and separate existence of the mind, be asked for his consciousness respecting mind—it will be found that he has not the most remote notion, opinion, or consciousness that he consists of two parts, mind and body, and that when he uses the pronoun 'I,' as referable to himself, he considers and thinks of himself as one and indivisible, the concrete person, composed of body and mind, making together an individual thing. He understands nothing of the supposed dominion of his mind over his body—that the one is master, the other slave—that when he speaks of self, and uses 'he' or 'I,' he feels, means, or intends his mind only." This is surely a staggering string of assertions, and incompatible with general opinion. But Mr. Roberton handles the statement in a manner that precludes the necessity for any one else attempting a refutation of it.

After questioning the propriety of employing for the purpose mentioned, an untutored person, and one unaccustomed to reflect on

abstract subjects, he maintains that it would not be difficult to convince such an individual, that his mind is one thing, and his body another. He then proceeds to give a dialogue which might be supposed to be held with this unsophisticated man, by drawing his attention to the case of a person who, after arriving at adult age, has lost his sight, and requesting observance of the fact that that misfortune does not deprive him—the blind one, who was formerly a gardener—of the knowledge of colours, of the hues, for example, of his tulips and carnations. The untutored reasoner answers, that the fact is no doubt owing to memory; and the dialogue proceeds thus, between *A.* the teacher, and *B.* the taught.

"*A.* It is so, in part, but the word 'memory' means a great deal. This blind man, allow me to observe, has as truly a perception of the colours of a tulip without vision as we by the help of our eyes—a fact which may convince us that it cannot be the eyes which see, as we in our loose manner of speaking commonly affirm, but something else.

"*B.* I do not quite comprehend your meaning.

"*A.* I will explain. Two years ago, before our blind acquaintance lost his eyes, a splendid tulip was presented to him, with which he was greatly delighted. Now, at this moment were we to lead him to talk of this tulip, we should find he retains the most lively perception of its beauties. No doubt it was by means of his eyes he gained his knowledge of it, but his eyes are gone, and still he seems to perceive the tulip as clearly as ever. I argue, therefore, that it was not the eyes which saw the tulip, but something in its nature altogether distinct from the eyes. I mean the mind, which saw it by the instrumentality of those organs: hence the mind, it is fair to conclude, which sees, and retains a knowledge of what it sees, is one thing; and the eyes, by which it sees, are quite another thing.

"*B.* I partly understand your meaning. You mean that the mind employs the eyes, in some sense, as an instrument, as a lame man uses a crutch?

"*A.* Yes; but I will furnish you with a better illustration than the crutch. The planet Saturn, I am told, has a luminous ring, but I can gain no knowledge of it by my eyes. For this reason, I procure a telescope, by means of which I improve the eye as an instrument of vision so considerably as to be able to see and study this curious body. Having sufficiently examined Saturn's ring, I throw aside the telescope, for my mind now perceives the figure of the ring, its relation to the planet, &c., as well as if it were within the range of my ordinary vision, and constantly before my eyes. Here the telescope is an instrument of seeing, and a necessary instrument, as without it the mind could have had no perception of Saturn's ring: and what else can be said of the eye, but that it is an instrument without which the mind could obtain no knowledge of colours, and of several of the other qualities of things? Only an instrument, however, that may be laid aside, or even parted with at times, with little or no inconvenience to the mind.

"*B.* The same remarks, I presume, apply equally to the ear, the nose, and the other organs of sense?

"*A.* Doubtless they do: the continuance of the senses as the servants

and instruments of the mind, is useful for the attaining of fresh knowledge, as well as for the welfare of the body; and, therefore, it is an evil, in general, to lose one or more of the senses. But there are cases in which it may be no evil, but the contrary. Let us think of a person, say a martyr for the faith, who has only a day to live. Suppose that, without affecting life, all his organs of sense (and the supposition is allowable) were suddenly paralysed. Would he suffer injury in consequence? Quite otherwise. The mind, replete with knowledge and experience, would only thereby be severed from sources of distraction and sorrow. He would not the less hold intercourse with his Master, not the less rejoice in the truth which he had embraced, nor less exult in the hope of his crown; perfectly shielded from the subtle suggestions and insidious temptations of his persecutors.

"*B.* I admit you have mentioned a striking example to prove that the mind is distinct from the organs of the senses.

"*A.* Well, but let us further think of this already mutilated martyr. Suppose, that, before he is cast into the fire, the executioner were to sever his limbs from the body, one by one, but in such a manner as not to cause his immediate death, and that, after this, he were to utter in our hearing some heroic sentiment, would it not be allowable to exclaim, 'True, his body they have mangled and cut in pieces, but it is evident his mind is entire and vigorous as ever!' insinuating the inference, that the mind is something different from the limbs and other external organs?

"*B.* Your exclamation would be justifiable. But granting that the organs of the senses and the limbs are only instruments which the mind employs for its purposes, is it not held by some that the brain is the ruler of the other parts of the body; in a word—the mind itself?"—pp. 58, 59.

The parties have now approached nearer to the subject of dispute or doubt. *A.* immediately admits, as none can fail of doing, that the brain is the organ by which the mind, in some unaccountable manner, is connected with the rest of the body, and the material world in general. But, like the author, we say, that the organic movements and functions of the brain are not thought or volitions, and that the step (we have no term or phrase that employs not sensible signs, though we wish to express a spiritual idea) between the brain's activity and the mental process is to us perfectly inexplicable, and in all probability will continue so, while the mind is embodied. The fact, that the mind and the body maintain the most intimate relations the one with the other, is one thing—the manner and nature of the relationship is another; nor are we aware that anatomy or physiology have thrown much light on this obscurity, but rather served to perplex mankind, inasmuch as those who have enthusiastically studied the wonderful organization of the body, are apt to assume that nothing can be more exquisitely subtle and beautiful—that nothing that is created, however exalted or powerful, can be essentially different. Still, we think, if an untutored person were asked if ever he had tasted or smelt an emotion—as put by the author—or weighed and measured a thought, confined

it in a jar, reflected or refracted it, or made it inhere in some body, so as to demonstrate its presence and its nature—or examined it by any known chemical test, he would be ready at once to laugh in the face of him who propounded such a question, and to exclaim, "Do you think that my mind is the same as my body?" But to proceed with the dialogue before us—*B.* inquires, "Have there been no experiments to determine whether or not the brain be mind?" The reply given is, that there have been thousands of brains of animals sliced in all manner of ways, and all sorts of diseases of the brain in man have also been studied, but to little purpose as to the matter at issue.

"*B.* Do not injuries of the brain readily affect life?

"*A.* Yes; and therein lies the difficulty in making experiments on the living brain, and in drawing inferences from the diseases of that organ. The condition of all the vital organs is affected by diseases and injuries of the brain; the vital power of the animal is diminished or quickly destroyed by them; and hence the effects which the particular injury or disease produces on the mind cannot be determined with accuracy.

"*B.* You admit, however, that the brain is never known to be destroyed without the disappearance of the conscious mind.

"*A.* And the extinction of life at the same time: in some cases where the brain is slowly destroyed to a great extent, the mind is not much affected; but again, slight diseases of the organ sometimes affect the mind greatly. The reason we cannot tell. One fact we know, that in cold-blooded animals, as the turtle, whose vitality is not easily disturbed or diminished by injuries—the brain may be scooped out until only a little bulb at the top of the spinal marrow remain, the animal still feeling, and performing voluntary motions. Children, again, have been born brainless, excepting the aforementioned bulb at the upper extremity of the spinal marrow, and yet they have exhibited manifest signs of consciousness.

"*B.* Well, but why has not this bulb been sliced, in order to discover what would follow? Perhaps it is this portion of the brain which is the mind.

"*A.* Why, if we cut or injure that portion the animal dies instantly—does not merely become insensible, but ceases to live.

"*B.* You start many difficulties: I shall be glad to hear how you solve them. How do you prove, after all, that the brain is not the mind?

"*A.* That, I have, in part, attempted elsewhere; but I will show you the line of argument which is at once the simplest and the most conclusive. Please (having closed your eyes) to press the tips of your finger on the table, and then withdraw them.

"*B.* I have obeyed you, what then?

"*A.* Do you believe that table to be a part of yourself or not?

"*B.* I believe it to be not a part of myself, but something which is different.

"*A.* Again, press the same fingers on the palm of the opposite hand, rubbing them gently over it. Do you believe that that which you touch is a part of yourself?

"*B.* Why, yes I do.

"*A.* But the palm of the hand is something which you feel, and think about, just as in the case of the table; and can that which you are able to touch, feel, and, in consequence of so feeling it, to reason about, be indeed a part of yourself?

"*B.* It is a part of myself—of my body.

"*A.* You say it is a part of yourself. Consider, in rubbing the tips of your fingers over the palm you feel a broad surface; now what is extended may be cut in two parts. Suppose a half of your left hand were, by accident, severed, would you say that you had lost a part of yourself—would you cease to say 'I' and 'myself' ever after?

"*B.* No, I should say that I had lost part of my hand.

"*A.* 'I' should say that 'I' had lost part of 'my' hand! Then it seems you would still say *I* and *my* as before; although you have assured me that by losing half of your hand, you would lose part of yourself. Suppose that one had owed you a sum of money previously to the accident, would you imagine, that since a slice of yourself was lost, you were on that account no longer entitled to the whole debt, but that a portion ought to be subtracted corresponding to the lost fragment?

"*B* No: I must admit I should still feel that I was entitled to the whole of the sum owing me.

"*A.* Yes; and you will also admit, that were your hands, your arms, and legs removed—nay, every member save your tongue, you would still speak of yourself as you do at this moment, and consider yourself as entitled to all your civil rights, privileges, and immunities?

"*B.* Certainly.

"*A.* And were the tongue with which you still uttered the words 'I' and 'my' removed—what then?

"*B.* I should assert, in thought, what I would have uttered in words if I could. Indeed, I am satisfied that my limbs and other members are not that which I call *I* and *myself*."—pp. 60, 61.

But the querist becomes curious to know what would be the consequence were his brain, instead of his other members, experimented upon; and his tutor proceeds at considerable length to state, that cases have occurred through accident, in which a portion of the brain was uncovered, and when that which some say is the mind might be touched. When seen and touched it is a soft, unctuous, yielding body. Nay, he whose brain is thus exposed, might with the help of two mirrors behold it, and even touch it when so beheld. Now, would such a sufferer and investigator, in reference to his brain, suppose that what he saw and examined was the only part or principle in himself, which was entitled to the honour of being called *I*?—would he for a moment conjecture that his material and organized brain was that which, in the language of the poet, "wanders o'er eternity,"—which fears, hopes, and holds communion with the absent, yea, with the Almighty himself? No; anatomists, and self-physiologists, if any should exist, upon a systematic scheme, such as the wounded person now instanced, are as much in the dark as the most ignorant rustic, about the essence or entity called mind; for, it is evident that a brain is nothing but a

brain, and mind a something altogether different from a brain. But *B.* wishes to have the argument restated in the briefest manner; accordingly, his instructor varies its form, and thus volunteers his services.

"*A.* This it is: *a thing* (be it my table or my brain) *which I can touch, perceive, and reason about as an object of sense, cannot be my conscious mind*; or, which is the same thing, *cannot be conceived by me as being my conscious mind*; just as I cannot conceive the half as being equal to the whole of a thing. If the brain be the mind, the Creator has not merely decreed that we shall never know the fact, but that we shall *of necessity* believe the contrary.

"*B.* The subject becomes more interesting as we proceed. Although I do not see how to evade your conclusion that the mind is distinct from all the organs, and that it governs the voluntary members, I shall be thankful if you can strengthen my convictions by further evidence.

"*A.* There is a species of evidence for this great truth I will call *presumptive*, which, in my judgment, is of much force; and it rests, too, upon facts of a very familiar description. For instance, a reputable man of energetic mind and sober habits, owing to unusual circumstances of temptation, becomes intoxicated. He talks and walks as others do under a similar influence; on a sudden a virtuous and respected friend enters where he is; the change produced is immediate. The mind, hitherto subdued and ruled by the intoxicating cause, arouses itself; the rambling, freakish imagination, and the voluble tongue are repressed; the excited look is composed, the irregular muscular activity controlled, and the judgment, in a measure, regains its wonted ascendency—all by *an effort*: but of what? not of any of the bodily organs: for no outward agent has been brought to bear upon the body, but of *that* which feels shame, which self-condemns, calculates consequences, and wills: in a word—the mind.

"*B.* I have myself repeatedly observed the same thing.

"*A.* A person over-fatigued, has sunk upon his seat, faint, exhausted, and scarce able to articulate. You allude to some important duty he has omitted to perform—that is to say, you address him as a thinking, moral being. He raises his eyes, deliberates for a moment, rises from his seat, and proceeds to act. Who, witnessing the circumstance, be he a metaphysician or no metaphysician, can escape the conviction that here the mind has dominion over the body, and that 'the one is master, and the other slave?'

"*B.* Proceed if you please.

"*A.* How do you explain the following fact—a fact established by the observation of Franklin, and others engaged in conducting polar expeditions—that a delicate frame, animated by a cultivated, moral mind, will sustain more privations, hardships, and even fatigue, than a greatly more muscular and robust frame, whose mind is rude or morally debased?

"*B.* The fact is curious and valuable, however it be explained.

"*A.* I think it admits of but one, and that a very obvious explanation. Again, if it be not the mind which rules the hands and the feet, how are we to explain why slaves do not perform half the work of freemen? The owner of a slave is owner only of a body, including, of course, a brain. Law has given him that; but it cannot give him more. It cannot give

him in possession, the feelings of submissiveness, obedience, esteem, fidelity, which remain the slave's own inalienable property—equally as a very different class of feelings—a sense of wrong, sullen rage, disgust, abhorrence, revenge, cunning, deceit. We are assured by Mr. Wallace, that no man, except a metaphysician, ever imagined that his mind has dominion over his feet and his hands. If Mr. Wallace will cross-examine a slave, he will discover his error.

"*B.* I have no difficulty in understanding this kind of evidence.

"*A.* It might, by a little ingenuity, be multiplied to weariness. I will, however, only refer, very briefly, to one example, by which the mind, as something distinct from, and governing the body, is forcibly suggested. A friend, who has been the partner of my inmost thoughts, on whose judgment and affection I have always relied, and, especially, with whose views, on the most solemn subjects, I have ever agreed—is seduced to embrace some system of fanaticism. The change is astonishing. He is still the identical person he was in look, gait, features, stature, and bodily proportions; but, notwithstanding, the transmutation is complete. I exclaim, this my friend is no longer the same!—meaning, when I analyze my exclamation—not that a disease, or a dose of poison, or any form of physical evil has caused the transformation—for I find that I did not refer at all to the body—but that he, the permanent, sentient, thinking being, whom I called friend, is changed; his judgment prostrated, his temper, from being gentle, become positive, and his affections uprooted and let out on new objects—in one word, change is suggested in reference to the mind, but, in no degree, with respect to the body."—pp. 62—64.

We think this is a very striking and successful method of silencing both Mr. Wallace and Dr. Elliotson. But, like a master of his subject, and one who has beheld it in a variety of aspects, his illustrations and arguments are ever apt, and not unfrequently novel. For instance, when Dr. E. declares that he cannot conceive life more than the power of attraction, unless possessed by matter, no more can he conceive mind, unless possessed by a brain, he is shown to have manifestly fallen into the error of comparing mere terms—life and attraction being nothing else than terms which express certain phenomena of matter—with mind, which it is a gratuitous assumption of his to represent as a term expressive of phenomena of matter.

There is rashness, also, in Dr. Elliotson's assertion, that he cannot conceive mind, unless possessed by a brain. We do not, any more than the author, believe that the two things are identical, according to the associations of the untutored, and that it is a fiction which has chiefly arisen from the speculations of physiologists. We think Mr. Roberton has overlooked a very obvious and irresistible argument, or illustration rather, in support of his doctrine, which human language abundantly furnishes. What is more common or impressive than the appeals which are made to other parts of the body, besides the brain, as the seat of mental operations? We venture to affirm, that in the history of a day's inter-

course with mankind, the *bosom*, or, still more strikingly, the *heart*, will divide the empire with the *head*, at any time. The truth is, that though the finger of the pantomimic speaker may be pointed to his head, when a reference is made to his judgment and reasoning powers, the hand presses the bosom or the heart, when the affections are appealed to: the elevation, the throne of our principal senses, intimating that the former is employed in directing, and the warmth and pulsations of the latter pointing it out as the seat of love, sorrow, and all the sympathies of our nature. Still, whether the intellectual powers or the affections be regarded, they equally are operations of the mind; and though we are ready, according to the necessity of our nature, to give, as the sensible sign of these mental operations, a name derived from some vital part of our frames, it is, to say the least of the speculation, ridiculous to take for granted, that a mysterious principle and fact is thus to be materialized and circumscribed. It is not improbable, that some of those savage nations whom we have read of, are just as sound philosophers as our materialists have shewn themselves to be, when they appeal to their *bellies* as the seat of thought and affection. Scripture maketh use of most impressive language, when it speaks of the sympathies of the bowels, in cases of great anguish and affliction; so that, although there is good reason for believing that the brain, as the centre of the nervous system, is a principal agent or organ in the service of mental operations, we have no more right for identifying it with mind, than any other part of the body which may aid in these operations.

It has sometimes been asked, with an air of triumph—If it be not the mind's province to think, of what use is so large an organ in the animal economy? Mr. Roberton readily detects the trap, which is hidden from the unwary in such a question; and he also seizes upon the occasion to turn it to a beautiful and instructive account. We must quote largely here.

"Were it my present object to discuss what are the uses of the brain in the animal body, I should have no objection, with Dr. Elliotson, to allowing that the brain, besides other purposes which it subserves, is the organ of the mind; provided we agree to attach to the term *organ*, in this relation, a modified meaning. This proviso would be necessary; for if we say that the brain is the organ of mind, and the lachrymal gland is the organ of tears, attaching the same meaning to the term organ in these different connexions, we fall into palpable error; and why? Because, while it is matter of fact, a thing not admitting of dispute, that the use or function of the lachrymal gland is to separate from the blood the tears, we are not warranted in affirming of the brain that its indisputable use or function is to separate from the blood, mind—to produce, in any way, mind from matter, or even at all to *produce* or *originate* mind: consequently the brain is the organ of the mind, in a manner,

and in a *sense*, totally different from that in which the lachrymal gland is the organ of the tears.

"Let us briefly inquire (ought I not rather to say conjecture?) in what respects the brain and nerves are to be regarded as instrumental in the operations of the mind. The nerves appear to be instrumental in sensation, in the widest sense of that term; visible objects the mind perceives by the instrumentality of the optic nerves, odours by the olfactory nerves, sounds and rapid bodies by the nerves appropriated to the senses of hearing and taste; and touch, heat, cold, muscular conditions, a great variety of sensations in the stomach and alimentary canal, and in the other systems of organs in sickness and in health by means of nerves, and of certain prolongations of the spinal marrow, extending within the cranium. Unquestionably the phenomena of sensation in the animal kingdom, with, perhaps, a few exceptions, is co-extensive with the endowment of nerves, and defect in the sentient power is found to accompany a morbid state of the nervous structure. It is likewise no less true that volition, in producing the infinite variety of muscular motion, acts by certain portions of the spinal marrow, and certain nerves which exist for this special office. The brain, indeed, we are taught to believe, according to the most recent discoveries (if the inferences drawn from revolting experiments performed upon living animals, are, in the present state of our knowledge, really entitled to the name of discoveries), is necessary, 'not so much that the mind may feel impressions, as that they may be remembered and availed of for useful purposes, not so much that volitions may act as stimuli on muscles, as that acts of volition may be so excited as to produce regular and voluntary actions under the guidance of desires, and of judgment, and experience, as distinguished from blind instinct.'

"Thus the brain, it should seem, is the centre, where, by the instrumentality of nerves, of sense, and of portions of the spinal cord, the mind receives all manner of impressions of bodily conditions, and of objects without; as likewise the centre, whence, by the instrumentality of a different set of nervous prolongations, it moves the muscles in using the hands, in walking, standing, running, leaping; in the motions of the eyes, in eating, in speaking, and in thousands of minor acts which are continually being performed, and are too numerous even to be recounted.

"Seeing, then, the mind obtains its knowledge of facts relative to the external world, by the instrumentality of the nervous substance, is there not reason to infer that in conception, memory, recollection,—i. e. in retaining present perceptions, and in recalling such as are past—the mind employs the same kind of nervous instrumentality as that by which it in the first instance obtains them? A large number of facts seem to warrant an affirmative answer; for it is well known that confused perception, and partial, as well as complete losses of memory, are frequent consequences of disease affecting the brain; as, likewise, in some degree, of that induration of the brain which occurs in extreme old age. I remember conversing with a gentleman, who, having had a severe attack of fever five or six years before, still remained in entire oblivion of all the events of his life previous to his illness. He was a widower at the

period of the seizure, but he had no recollection of his wife. In one instance only did he imagine that he obtained a glance of the past. On paying a visit to the house where he resided before, and at the time the fever took him, he entered one of the apartments, and instantly felt a persuasion that he had been there before. Whether or not perfect recollection has in this instance returned, I am unable to say. Some persons, again, after an illness or an accident affecting the brain, have forgotten for a time the language they were in the habit of speaking, and commenced speaking a language they formerly learned, but had apparently ceased to remember. Others have forgotten the names of certain objects, or the names of certain classes of objects.

"Admitting that this view of the instrumentality of the nervous substance is worthy of regard (as I apprehend it is), if we reflect how incessantly the mind is receiving an infinity of impressions from the world around, by means of the senses alone, and new ideas by reflection, aided by the senses—ideas also from testimony in reading and in conversing, and ideas in reverie and dreaming—the number of orders it is ceaselessly sending through the nerves to the motive organs; and the almost ceaseless demands it is making on the brain for the reproduction of perceptions, in musing, in deliberate reflection, in public speaking, in conversation, in the different kinds of literary composition, in the transaction of business, and in practising the useful and elegant arts—perceptions which are numberless as the sands on the sea-shore—we discover that the brain is exceedingly well employed, even were it a larger organ than it is. In fact, that if the brain perform merely the work which has now been assigned to it, it must be allowed to be beyond comparison, the busiest and best employed organ in the body, without its needing to have imposed upon it the additional exercises of volition, judgment, imagination, emotion; none of which, as mental states, are, so far as is known, manifested by the instrumentality of organic processes.

"Should it, however, ultimately appear to be established on the basis of physiological experiment, and this in the progress of science may occur, that every manifestation of mind, without exception, is accompanied by an organic process, this would be insufficient to secure general assent to the author's proposition, that it is the brain which thinks. An intuitive truth does not lie at the mercy of an experiment. At the present time it is a fact universally admitted, that the mental state we call *sensation*, is, in every instance, accompanied by an organic process; and yet few, I presume, bring themselves to believe that it is the nervous organ that feels. Who has ever brought himself really to believe, because the optic nerve is the instrument in seeing, that it is the optic nerve which sees?"—pp. 14—18.

Our author proceeds to answer in detail, the arguments adduced to prove that it is the brain which thinks. We shall not, after presenting the outline and leading features of his doctrine, pursue the subject farther. To many, his views will not be the less acceptable, that they go to the support of those long-established and sacred truths which Christianity teaches. We cannot, however, do justice to the service which he has in this way performed, without

citing the whole of a note given in answer to the question, "Is the doctrine of materialism ever likely to become popular?"

"The Christian materialist (for some Christians profess materialism) believes that man at death becomes subject to the laws of chemistry, and dissolves, the elements of which he is composed passing to other uses in the economy of nature—perhaps to live and think in other rational forms; and, further, that God will receive every man; and that immortal life will begin at the resurrection. Therefore, when the materialist perceives the approach of death, it is to be inferred that he expects, in the coming change, not only to lose a consciousness of existence, but to cease entirely as a *being*, except in the remembrance of the Almighty Creator.

"That some few Christians, of a philosophic turn, have attained the high faith necessary for holding this view, I am bound to believe; but I cannot imagine that any considerable number have been converts to it: or, that it is ever likely to be cordially embraced as one of the dogmas of a sect. And for the following among a number of reasons which might be assigned:—

"1st. Considerable vigour of mind, (more than falls to the common lot) is required in order to arrive at a tolerable conception of this doctrine; and, to say the least, all indistinct, incomplete notions concerning it must inevitably engender repugnance and the horror of annihilation. Perhaps there are few, if any instances, of Christians who, in the immediate view of death, have referred to the materialists' scheme as the only source of hope and comfort regarding immortality.

"2nd. The mental faculties and affections of many of such, for example, as suffer martyrdom for religion, and of many others dying of slow disease, continue strong and lively to the moment of dissolution. Such being the case, is it probable that a scheme—requiring the belief that *that* which thinks so acutely, which hopes and loves with so great ardour, which is so capable of adoring and serving the Supreme Being, in the latest moments of bodily life, is to be dissipated with the fuel which consumes the body, or to enter into, perhaps, the organic system of the wild beast employed instead of the stake and the faggots—can ever be acceptable, either by anticipation to the sufferer himself, or to those who sympathise with his cause? No: I apprehend there is something upon the whole so repulsive in the contemplation of such a dogma—something requiring, in those who embrace it, so much intellect and so little feeling, as will ever hinder it from becoming generally acceptable.

"3rd. To the enslaved, degraded, and oppressed (how large a proportion of the human family!) and to all those who take a deep interest in their condition, the Christian materialist's scheme will not be palatable. For while it connects such, as to nature, with the beasts of burden whose lot they might often envy, and with the clods beneath their feet, it, on the other hand, in a degree, dissociates them from the unseen—the spiritual realities towards which their hopes and wishes naturally so often arise. It places the gulph of a temporary, but, as it will ever seem to the unreflecting mass of mankind, a dreary annihilation between them and their deliverance; coupling the idea of escape from oppression and a weary life, with that of the loss of being."—pp. 74—76.

ART. VII.—*Mr. Midshipman Easy.* By the Author of "Japhet, in Search of a Father," "Peter Simple," "Jacob Faithful," &c. 3 vols. London: Saunders and Otley. 1836.

IT is beyond our power, though willing we might be, to keep up with the swarms of three-volume novels that are continually issuing from the press, even by bestowing on them the briefest notice. But in justice to the ingenious authors of this light and brilliant class of books, and to our readers, we, in the course of every few months, luxuriate upon the pages of some one of these gay and awakening visiters, choosing a specimen of such mark and promise, as the most sedate, critical, and scrupulous of the reading public may be glad to have set before them. We know that there are bigoted persons, who abuse every production which deals not in dry matters of fact, or the fanaticism of their own sect. It is not to be supposed, however, that a miscellaneous journal like ours can have many patrons of the class indicated. One thing we are sure of—we could never desire to provide for them. At the same time, should there be any such among the number, let us counsel them for once to look into our extracts from Captain Marryat's Mr. Midshipman Easy, and, after a candid perusal, to inform us, whether there be not here more truth and instructive interest, not to speak of matter for cheerful laughter and innocent joyousness, than is to be found in many portly books of infinitely higher pretensions. We venture, besides, to predict, if any misanthropist, cynic, or fanatic, who is worth being converted from a morbid to a healthful state of mind, should be induced to follow Midshipman Easy from the cradle to his middle-age, that the older works of a kindred character, with which our great marine novelist has amused and delighted his countrymen, will not be long strangers to our convert, though perhaps they may be slyly slid, on the hasty visitation of the uncharitable, beneath an ample cushion, or behind a pyramid of duller stuff.

We cannot better describe the tendencies of the Captain's novels, nor the principal motives which prompt him to write them, than in his own words, as found in the present work.

"We do not write these novels merely to amuse, we have always had it in our view to instruct, and it must not be supposed that we have no other end in view than to make the reader laugh. If we were to write an elaborate work telling truths, and plain truths, confining ourselves only to point out errors and to demand reform, it would not be read; we have therefore selected this light and trifling species of writing, as it is by many denominated, as a channel through which we may convey wholsesome advice in a palatable shape. If we would point out an error, we draw a character, and although that character appears to weave naturally into a tale of fiction, it becomes as much a beacon, as it is a vehicle of amusement. We consider this to be the true art of novel writing, and that crime and folly and error can be as severely lashed, as virtue and morality

can be upheld, by a series of amusing causes and effects, that entice the reader to take a medicine, which although rendered agreeable to the palate, still produces the same internal benefit as if it had been presented to him in its crude state, in which it would either be refused or nauseated.

"In our naval novels, we have often pointed out the errors which have existed, and still do exist, in a service which is an honour to its country; for what institution is there on earth that is perfect, or into which, if it once was perfect, abuses will not creep? Unfortunately others have written to decry the service, and many have raised up their voices against our writings, because they felt that in exposing error, we were exposing them. But to this we have been indifferent; we felt that we were doing good, and we have continued. To prove that we are correct in asserting that we have done good, we will, out of several, state one single case.

"In the 'King's Own,' a captain, when requested to punish a man *instanter* for a fault committed, replies that he never has and never will punish a man until twenty-four hours after the offence, that he may not be induced by the anger of the moment to award a severer punishment than in his cooler moments he might think commensurate—and that he wished that the Admiralty would give out an order to that effect.

"Some time after the publication of that work, the order was given by the Admiralty, forbidding the punishment until a certain time had elapsed after the offence, and we had the pleasure of knowing from the first lord of the Admiralty of the time, that it was in consequence of the suggestion in the novel.

"If our writings had effected nothing else, we might still lay down our pen with pride and satisfaction; but they have done more, much more, and while they have amused the reader, they have improved the service; they have held up in their characters a mirror, in which those who have been in error may see their own deformity, and many hints which have been given have afterwards returned to the thoughts of those who have had influence, have been considered as their own ideas, and have been acted upon."—vol. ii, pp. 168—172.

While we thus speak of our author's tales, and allude to those that are older than the present, we are not sure but we may fall into an anachronism, if we should call this the latest of his pictures of the glorious service which he has so often and so inimitably delineated and illustrated. The Captain is the most prolific tale-teller of the age—the most rapid and reckless weaver of plots that ever existed. Nor do we wish him to take more time, or bestow more care; afraid lest what might be done in the way of finish, would be at the sacrifice of individuality of character among his endless creations of actors—of never-ending incidents, and the most whimsical as well as most interesting adventures.

We need not attempt distinguishing between the present effort and several of its predecessors by the same writer. Certainly, it is worthy of the author of "Peter Simple," and we doubt not will be even more popular than some of the same family. Mr. Midshipman Easy shows, as a few of his elder brethren have done, that the Captain is quite at home upon land as well as upon sea. It is when

careering upon the latter element, however, that he is most glorious; nor do we know that we have ever beheld a truer picture than that of the hero before us. We are sure that we have seen him twenty times; or if there is any thing novel in his gait or his whims, it is what we can easily perceive is equally characteristic with any of his well-remembered features. According to the manner in which Mr. Easy, Junior, was gifted by nature and trained by Mr. Easy, Senior, he could not, in the hands of our author, have been other than as he is here drawn.

Before proceeding to glance at a few of the most effective scenes which these volumes present, we must drop a hint or two regarding the worthies now named,—father and son. Mr. Easy, Senior, is a country gentleman of good estate, but being bit by a democratical mania, he is, as far as theory goes, a leveller, an equality man, and an apostle for a community of goods. The longer he lives, the more rabidly wild he grows—a mad fool abroad, a despot at his own fireside. His son, Master Easy, gathered with his years the doctrines of the equality creed, and at the same time an inextinguishable habit of maintaining his own views, and arguing the point to a conclusion, whatever the subject might be, or whoever the opponent; without, however, once losing sight of his principles of conduct, or concealing them, or being driven from his equanimity and composure.

The opening chapters of Mr. Midshipman Easy naturally treat of his earliest years, of his schooling, and his humours ere becoming a middy. Some passages from this unmaritime portion of the work will afford, not merely a sketch of him and his parents, but of the author's peculiarly sly wit and stinging satire. He has no mercy on levellers, phrenologists, or that class of philosophers who are continually reducing every principle and opinion to some systematic abstract rule.

John Easy, afterwards the midshipman, is an only and a spoilt child, for whom the family physician, Dr. Middleton, prescribes going to school as a necessary remedy, when sent for to attend the urchin, who has cut his thumb; an advice that has been introduced in the following manner. Our extract will also furnish some resemblance of the older branches of the family.

"Every body appeared excited except Master Jack Easy himself, who, with a rag round his finger, and his pinafore spotted with blood, was playing at bob-cherry, and cared nothing about the matter.

"'Well, what's the matter, my little man?' said Dr. Middleton, on entering, addressing himself to Jack, as the most sensible of the whole party.

"'Oh, Dr. Middleton,' interrupted Mrs. Easy, 'he has cut his hand; I'm sure that a nerve is divided, and then the lock-jaw——'

"The Doctor made no reply, but examined the finger: Jack Easy continued to play bob-cherry with his right hand.

"'Have you such a thing as a piece of sticking-plaster in the house, madam?' observed the Doctor, after examination.

"'O yes:—run, Mary—run, Sarah!' In a few seconds the maids appeared, Sarah bringing the sticking-plaster, and Mary following with the scissors.

"'Make yourself quite easy, madam,' said Dr. Middleton, after he put on the plaster, 'I will answer for no evil consequences.'

"'Had I not better take him up stairs, and let him lie down a little?' replied Mrs. Easy, slipping a guinea into the Doctor's hand.

"'It is not absolutely requisite, madam,' said the Doctor; 'but at all events he will be kept out of more mischief.'

"'Come, my dear, you hear what Dr. Middleton says.'

"'Yes, I heard,' replied Jack; 'but I sha'n't go.'

"'My dear Johnny—come, love—now do, my dear Johnny.'

"Johnny played bob-cherry, and made no answer.

"'Come, Master Johnny,' said Sarah.

"'Go away, Sarah,' said Johnny, with a back-hander.

"'Oh! fie, Master Johnny,' said Mary.

"'Johnny, my love,' said Mrs. Easy, in a coaxing tone, 'come now—will you go?'

"'I'll go in the garden and get some more cherries,' replied Master Johnny.

"'Come, then, love, we will go into the garden.'

"Master Johnny jumped off his chair, and took his mamma by the hand.

"'What a dear, good, obedient child it is!' exclaimed Mrs. Easy: 'you may lead him with a thread.'

"'Yes, to pick cherries,' thought Dr. Middleton."—vol. i, pp. 23—25.

Mr. Easy, Senior, and the Doctor, are now left alone, and the latter inquires of the former, if he has no idea of putting the boy to school? Part of the answer runs thus:—

"'The great objection that I have to sending a boy to school, Dr. Middleton, is, that I conceive that the discipline enforced is, not only contrary to the rights of man, but also in opposition to all sound sense and common judgment. Not content with punishment, which is in itself erroneous and an infringement of social justice, they even degrade the minds of the boys still more by applying punishment to the most degraded part, adding contumely to tyranny. Of course, it is intended that a boy who is sent to school should gain by precept and example; but is he to learn benevolence by the angry look and the flourish of the vindictive birch—or forbearance by the cruelty of the ushers—or patience, when the masters over him are out of all patience—or modesty, when his nether parts are exposed to general examination? Is he not daily reading a lesson at variance with that equality which we all possess, but of which we are unjustly deprived? Why should there be a distinction between the flogger and the floggee? Are they not both fashioned alike after God's image, endowed with the same reason, having an equal right to what the world offers, and which was intended by Providence to be equally distributed.'"—vol. i, pp.—26, 27.

Jack becomes so unruly as to go beyond the authority and management of his natural guardians; and Dr. Middleton, with

much difficulty, obtains their consent that he be sent to school—with one most important proviso, however, that there be no flogging. This the man of medicine promises, and takes him in his own carriage to Mr. Bonnycastle, who never resorts to the birch, merely because the part of body thus saluted in punishment soon becomes case-hardened, and the least effective part one can touch a boy upon. But he is a practised *caner;* in short, by means of his cane a complete terrorist. In consequence of the use of this instrument, Jack, by the time he reaches his sixteenth year, has had driven into him a tolerable portion of learning. In fact, he was far from being a dull scholar, when taken in the way that addressed his peculiar fancies. But his passion for arguing every point where there was a difference of views, and his loquacity, were sustained and encouraged at an equal or more rapid rate, by his father, whose opinions he implicitly imbibed, though the son's head was far sounder.

Jack's inherited opinions and habits of ratiocination, were continually bringing him into awkward and droll scrapes. Take him one fine morning, before he ever thought of a maritime life, fancying that some tempting fruit on the other side of the hedge would suit his palate marvellously well. He accordingly breaks through and climbs the apple tree, like Eve, culling the fairest and eating.

"'I say, you sir, what are you doing there?' cried a rough voice.

"Jack looked down, and perceived a stout, thickset personage in grey coat and red waistcoat, standing underneath him.

"'Don't you see what I'm about,' replied Jack, 'I'm eating apples, shall I throw you down a few?'

"'Thank you kindly—the fewer that are pulled the better; perhaps as you are so free to give them to others as well as to help yourself, you may think that they are your own property!'

"'Not a bit more my property than they are yours, my good man.'

"'I guess that's something like the truth; but you are not quite at the truth yet, my lad; those apples are mine, and I'll trouble you to come down as fast as you please; when you're down we can then settle our accounts; and,' continued the man, shaking his cudgel, 'depend upon it you shall have your receipt in full.'

"Jack did not much like the appearance of things.

"'My good man,' said he, 'it is quite a prejudice on your part to imagine that apples were not given, as well as all other fruit, for the benefit of us all—they are common property, believe me.'

"'That's a matter of opinion, my lad, and I may be allowed to have my own.'

"'You'll find it in the Bible,' says Jack.

"'I never did yet, and I've read it through and through all, bating the Pocryfar.'

"'Then,' said Jack 'go home and fetch the Bible, and I'll prove it to you.'

"'I suspect you'll not wait till I come back again. No, no; I have lost plenty of apples, and have long wanted to find the robbers out; now

I've caught one I'll take care that he don't 'scape without apple-sauce, at all events—so come down, you young thief, come down directly—or it will be all the worse for you.'

"'Thank you,' said Jack, 'but I am very well here. I will, if you please, argue the point from where I am.'"—vol. i, pp. 68—70.

Jack gets out of this danger, not without a good deal of damage. In his speed to escape, he vaults over the hedge of the orchard at a different point from that at which he entered; he overturns two hives of bees on alighting on the other side; and, mad from the pain of their stings, stumbles in his race into a draw-well. There was an illness of considerable length after this mishap; but on his recovery his father said:—

"'It's just what I told you; the world is so utterly demoralized by what is called social compact, and the phalanx supporting it by contributing a portion of their unjust possessions for the security of the remainder, is so powerful, that any one who opposes it, must expect to pass the life of a martyr; but martyrs are always required previous to any truth, however sublime, being received, and, like Abraham, whom I have always considered as a great philosopher, I am willing to sacrifice my only son, in so noble a cause.'

"'That's all very good on your part, father, but we must argue the point a little. If you are as great a philosopher as Abraham, I am not quite so dutiful a son as Isaac, whose blind obedience, in my opinion, is very contrary to your rights of man.'"—vol. i, pp. 89, 90.

The visit, at this juncture, of a Captain Wilson of the Royal Navy, who is related to the Easy family, puts it, somehow, into Jack's head, that he would like to join that noble service; nor was he to be thwarted by mother or father; the latter at last consoling himself, that while he would be regenerating the people on *terra firma*, his heir and disciple would take the aquatic inhabitants under his charge, and proselytise the whole British navy to the equality creed. Our readers will already see that a field now opens for the culture of such a fertile and experienced genius as Captain Marryat's, of no ordinary scope and interest. We must not, however, attempt following him through the intricacies of his story, for this would be to copy a great part of these three volumes; since his canvass, as before hinted, is peopled with numberless figures, and his pictures are characterised by an infinitude of colours. The truth is, he sends his actors as rapidly on and off the stage as may be witnessed at a royal levee—presenting a new creation every five minutes, of distinguishable beings. We look, indeed, upon the manner in which he strings the adventures of his heroes together, and the multiplicity of his incidents, as objectionable, in so far as the unity of design, and the gradual development of one arresting story are concerned. Yet it must be admitted, that the reader is never weary of his inventions, and that each particular triumph or catastrophe stands well by itself, whatever it may do to the further-

ance or enlargement of the main plot. But we must return to the middy, soon after he joins his ship. The occasion next described is when, in a foreign port, Mr. Smallsole, the master, is temporarily entrusted with the command of the vessel.

"'What are you doing here, sir,' cried Mr. Smallsole to our hero.

"'Nothing at all, sir,' replied Jack.

"'Then I'll give you something to do, sir.—Go up to the mast-head, and wait there till I call you down. Come, sir, I'll show you the way,' continued the master, walking aft. Jack followed till they were on the quarter deck. 'Now, sir, up to the main-top gallant mast-head, perch yourself upon the cross trees—up with you.'

"'What am I to go up there for, sir?' inquired Jack.

"'For punishment, sir," replied the master.

"'What have I done, sir?'

"'No reply, sir—up with you.'

"'If you please, sir,' replied Jack, 'I should wish to argue this point a little.'

"'Argue the point,' roared Mr. Smallsole—'By Jove, I'll teach you to argue the point—away with you, sir.'

"'If you please, sir,' continued Jack, 'the captain told me that the articles of war were the rules and regulations by which every one in the service was to be guided. Now sir,' said Jack, 'I have read them over till I know them by heart, and there is not one word of mast-heading in the whole of them.' Here Jack took the articles out of his pocket and unfolded them.

"'Will you go to the mast-head, sir, or will you not?' said Mr. Smallsole.

"'Will you show me the mast-head in the articles of war, sir,' replied Jack; 'here they are.'

"'I tell you, sir, to go to the mast-head: if not, I'll be d—d if I don't hoist you up in a bread-bag.'

"'There's nothing about bread-bags in the articles of war,' replied Jack; 'but I'll tell you what there is, sir;' and Jack commenced reading,

"'All flag officers and all persons in or belonging to his majesty's ships or vessels of war, being guilty of profane oaths, execrations, drunkenness, uncleanness, or other scandalous actions in derogation of God's honour, and corruption of good manners, shall incur such punishment as'——

"'Damnation,' cried the master, who was mad with rage, hearing that the whole ship's company were laughing.

"'No, sir, not damnation,' replied Jack, 'that's when he's tried above; but according to the nature and degree of the offence.'

"'Will you go to the mast-head, sir, or will you not?'

"'If you please,' replied Jack, 'I'd rather not.'

"'Then, sir, consider yourself under an arrest—I'll try you by a court-martial, by G—d. Go down below, sir.'

"'With the greatest pleasure, sir,' replied Jack, 'that's all right, and according to the articles of war, which are to guide us all.' Jack folded up his articles of war, put them into his pocket, and went down into the berth."—vol. i, pp. 194—197.

There is a *duel of three*, to make use of a bull, where, of course, Midshipman Easy is a party, which is arranged in the most novel, though not unsailorlike style, that ever combats of the kind presented, we believe. Easy has challenged the other two, Biggs and Easthupp. The seconds, Gascoigne, our hero's friend, and the gunner, Tallboys, the friend of the other two, discuss the preliminaries.

" ' Mr. Gascoigne,' said the gunner, ' I have been very much puzzled how this duel should be fought, but I have at last found it out. You see that there are *three* parties to fight; had there been two or four, there would have been no difficulty, as the right line or square might guide us in that instance; but we must arrange it upon the *triangle* in this.'

" Gascoigne stared; he could not imagine what was coming.

" ' Are you aware, Mr. Gascoigne, of the properties of an equilateral triangle?'

" ' Yes,' replied the midshipman, ' it has three equal sides—but what the devil has that to do with the duel?'

" ' Everything, Mr. Gascoigne,' replied the gunner; ' it has resolved the difficulty: indeed, the duel between three can only be fought upon that principle. You observe,' said the gunner, taking a piece of chalk out of his pocket, and making a triangle on the table, ' in this figure we have three points, each equidistant from each other; and we have three combatants—so that placing one at each point, it is all fair play for the three: Mr. Easy, for instance, stands here, the boatswain here, and the purser's steward at the third corner. Now, if the distance is fairly measured, it will be all right.'

" ' But then,' replied Gascoigne, delighted at the idea, ' how are they to fire?'

" ' It certainly is not of much consequence,' replied the gunner, ' but still, as sailors, it appears to me that they should fire with the sun; that is, Mr. Easy fires at Mr. Biggs, Mr. Biggs fires at Mr. Easthupp, and Mr. Easthupp fires at Mr. Easy, so that you perceive that each party has his shot at one, and at the same time receives the fire of another.'

" Gascoigne was in ecstasies at the novelty of the proceeding, the more so as he perceived that Easy obtained every advantage by the arrangement.

" Easy took his station, the boatswain was put into his, and Mr. Easthupp, who was quite in a mystery, was led by the gunner to the third position.

" ' But, Mr. Tallboys,' said the purser's steward, ' I don't understand this—Mr. Easy will first fight Mr. Biggs, will he not?'

" ' No,' replied the gunner, ' this is a duel of three. You will fire at Mr. Easy, Mr. Easy will fire at Mr. Biggs, and Mr. Biggs will fire at you. It is all arranged, Mr. Easthupp.'

" ' But,' said Mr. Easthupp, ' I do not understand it. Why is Mr. Biggs to fire at me? I have no quarrel with Mr. Biggs.'

" ' Because Mr. Easy fires at Mr. Biggs, and Mr. Biggs must have his shot as well.'

" ' If you have ever been in the company of gentlemen, Mr. Easthupp,' observed Gascoigne, ' you must know something about duelling.'

"'Yes, yes, I've kept the best company, Mr. Gascoigne, and I can give a gentleman satisfaction; but'—

"'Then, sir, if that is the case, you must know that your honour is in the hands of your second, and that no gentleman appeals.'

"'Yes, yes, I know that, Mr. Gascoigne, but still I've no quarrel with Mr. Biggs, and therefore, Mr. Biggs, of course you will not aim at me.'

"'Why, you don't think that I'm going to be fired at for nothing,' replied the boatswain; 'no, no, I'll have my shot any how.'

"'But at your friend, Mr. Biggs?'

"'All the same, I shall fire at somebody; shot for shot, and hit the luckiest.'

"'Vel, gentlemen, I purtest against these proceedings,' replied Mr. Easthupp; 'I came here to have satisfaction from Mr. Easy, and not to be fired at by Mr. Biggs.'

"'Don't you have satisfaction when you fire at Mr. Easy,' replied the gunner; 'what more would you have?'

"'I purtest against Mr. Biggs firing at me.'

"'So you would have a shot without receiving one,' cried Gascoigne."—vol. ii, pp. 46—48, 49—51.

Captain Wilson uniformly exerts himself in behalf of the middy, otherwise he would frequently be disgraced or severely punished. Jack's good fortune in getting out of scrapes and dangers of all sorts, is extraordinary; which results, considering his deserts, the reader is satisfied with on every occasion. He has in many of the scenes a coadjutor, in a personage of the name of Mesty, an original and most effective character, whose history is little less exciting than that of the hero of the piece. Mesty, which is a contraction for Mephistopheles, as he has been dubbed, was an Ashantee prince by birth, and a warrior from his boyhood, till carried to America as a slave, where he learned what he had of the English language from certain Irish emigrants; and thus his jargon is a strange mixture of his native tongue, Yankeeisms, and Hibernianisms. But a human creature more heedless of bloodshed, more inventive, more ready in the cause of Jack Easy to do desperate deeds, more brave, and more faithful, never existed. As it would require, however, a complete perusal of several chapters to let this interesting character be seen with any tolerable degree of fulness, we can only have him introduced incidentally. Be it remembered, that Mesty, who had made his escape from America, and got to Britain—having heard that this was the land of liberty—did not now like his subordinate situation of cook, or cook's assistant, as he appears to have been when Mr. Midshipman Easy first became acquainted with him; neither could he understand what should tempt a young man of such wealth and prospects as Jack possessed, to enter a service in which such toil and self-denial was required. By the time the following dialogue occurs, Mesty has been promoted to the rank of ship's corporal.

"'By de holy poker, Massa Easy, but that terrible sort of gale the other day any how—I tink one time, we all go to Davy Joney's lacker.'

"'Very true, Mesty, I hope never to meet with such another.'

"'Den, Massa Easy, why you go to sea? when man ab no money, noting to eat, den he go to sea, but every body say you ab plenty money —why you come to sea?'

"'I'm sure I don't know' replied Jack thoughtfully; 'I came to sea on account of equality and the rights of man.'

"'Eh, Massa Easy, you come to wrong place any how; now I tink a good deal lately, and by all de power, I tink equality all stuff.'

"'All stuff, Mesty, why? you used to think otherwise.'

"'Yes, Massa Easy, but den I boil de kettle for all young gentleman. Now dat I ship's corporal and hab cane, I tink so no longer.'

"Jack made no reply, but he thought the more. The reader must have perceived that Jack's notions of equality were rapidly disappearing; he defended them more from habit, and perhaps a wilfulness which would not allow him to acknowledge himself wrong; to which may be added, his love of argument. Already he had accustomed himself to obedience of his superiors, and, notwithstanding his arguments, he would admit of no resistance from those below him; not that it was hardly ever attempted, for Jack was any thing but a tyrant, and was much beloved by all in the ship. Every day brought its lesson, and Captain Wilson was now satisfied that Jack had been almost cured of the effects of his father's ridiculous philosophy.

"After a few minutes Mesty tapped his cane on the funnel, and recommenced.

"'Then why you stay at sea, Massa Easy?'

"'I don't know, Mesty, I don't dislike it.'

"'But Massa Easy, why you stay in Midshipman berth—eat hard biscuit, salt pig, salt horse, when you can go shore, and live like gentleman? Dat very foolish! Why not be your own master? By all power! suppose I had money, catch me board ship. Little sea very good, Massa Easy—open one eyes; but tink of the lightning t'other night: poor massa boatswain, he shut um eyes for ebber!'

"'Very true, Mesty.'

"'Me hope you tink of this, sar, and when you go on shore, you take Mesty wid you; he sarve you well, Massa Easy, long as he live, by de holy St. Patrick. And den, Massa Easy, you marry wife—hab pickaninny —lib like gentleman. You tink of this, Massa Easy.'"—vol. iii, pp. 9—11.

To show the masterly hand which the author has over naval scenes, and how his heart swells with his subject, we take our concluding extracts from the description of a desperate engagement. A frigate is descried, which, from her conduct, is declared either to belong to England, or one commanded by a brave fellow, and well manned. It is after sun-set, and when the two vessels are within about half a cable's length from one another, our hero's ship is thus hailed:—

"'Ship ahoy! what ship's that?'

"'His majesty's ship Aurora,' replied Captain Wilson, who stood on the hammocks. 'What ship's that?'

"By this time, the other frigate had passed half her length clear of the beam of the Aurora, and at the same time that a pretended reply of 'his

Majesty's ship—' was heard, a broadside from her guns, which had been trained aft on purpose, was poured into the Aurora, and, at so short a distance, doing considerable execution. The crew of the Aurora, hearing the hailing in English, and the vessel passing them apparently without firing, had imagined that she had been one of their own cruisers. The captains of the guns had dropped their lanyards in disappointment, and the silence which had been maintained as the two vessels met, was just breaking up in various ways of lamentation at their bad luck, when the broadside was poured in, thundering in their ears, and the ripping and tearing of the beams and planks astonished their senses. Many were carried down below, but it was difficult to say whether indignation at the enemy's ruse, or satisfaction at discovering that they were not called to quarters in vain, most predominated. At all events, it was answered by three voluntary cheers, which drowned the cries of those who were being assisted to the cockpit.

"'Man the larboard-guns and about ship!' cried Captain Wilson, leaping off the hammocks. 'Look out, my lads, and rake her in stays! We'll pay him off for that foul play before we've done with him. Look out my lads, and take good aim as she pays round.'

"The Aurora was put about, and her broadside poured into the stern of the Russian frigate—for such she was. It was almost dark, but the enemy, who appeared as anxious as the Aurora to come to action, hauled up her courses to await her coming up. In five minutes the two vessels were alongside exchanging murderous broadsides at little more than pistol shot—running slowly in for the land, then not more than five miles distant. The skin-clad mountaineers of Corsica were aroused by the furious cannonading, watching the incessant flashes of the guns, and listening to their reverberating roar.

"After half-an-hour's fierce combat, during which the fire of both vessels was kept up with undiminished vigour, Captain Wilson went down on the main deck, and himself separately pointed each gun after it was loaded; those amidships being direct for the main-channels of the enemy's ship, while those abaft the beam were gradually trained more and more forward, and those before the beam more and more aft, so as to throw all their shot nearly into one focus, giving directions that they were all to be fired at once, at the word of command. The enemy, not aware of the cause of the delay, imagined that the fire of the Aurora had slackened, and loudly cheered. At the word given, the broadside was poured in, and, dark as it was, the effects from it were evident. Two of the midship's ports of the antagonist were blown into one, and her main-mast was seen to totter, and then to fall over the side. The Aurora then set her courses, which had been hauled up, and shooting ahead, took up a raking position while the Russian was still hampered with her wreck, and poured in grape and cannister from her upper deck carronades to impede their labours on deck, while she continued her destructive fire upon the hull of the enemy from the main deck battery."—vol. iii, pp. 66—70.

The moon, bursting from "a low bank of clouds," enables the Aurora to accomplish her work of destruction with more precision. The Russian frigate is totally dismasted, and at last her firing ceases. While Captain Wilson is ignorant whether she has struck

or not, and is listening for a reply from his second lieutenant, who has been deputed to pull alongside and ascertain,

"Suddenly the silence of the night was broken upon by a loud splash from the bows of the Russian frigate, then about three cables' length distant.

"'What could that be?' cried Captain Wilson. 'Her anchor's down. Mr. Jones, a lead over the side, and see what water we have.'

"Mr. Jones had long been carried down below, severed in two with a round shot—but a man leaped into the chains, and lowering down the lead sounded in seven fathoms.

"'Then I suspect he will give us more trouble yet,' observed Captain Wilson; and so indeed it proved, for the Russian captain, in reply to the second lieutenant, had told him in English, 'that he would answer that question with his broadside,' and before the boat was dropped astern, he had warped round with the springs on his cable, and had recommenced his fire upon the Aurora.

"Captain Wilson made sail upon his ship, and sailed round and round the anchored vessel, so as to give her two broadsides to her one, and from the slowness with which she worked at her springs upon her cables, it was evident that she must be now very weak-handed. Still the pertinacity and decided courage of the Russian captain convinced Captain Wilson, that, in all probability, he would sink at his anchor before he would haul down his colours; and not only would he lose more of the Aurora's men, but also the Russian vessel, without he took a more decided step. Captain Wilson, therefore, resolved to try her by the board. Having poured in a raking fire, he stood off for a few moments, during which he called the officers and men on deck, and stated his intention. He then went about, and himself conning the Aurora, ran her on board the Russian, pouring in his reserved broadside as the vessels came into collision, and heading his men as they leaped on the enemy's decks.

"Although, as Captain Wilson had imagined, the Russian frigate had not many men to oppose to the Aurora's, the deck was obstinately defended, the voice and the arm of the Russian captain were to be heard and seen everywhere, and his men, encouraged by him, were cut down by numbers where they stood.

"Our hero, who had the good fortune to be still unhurt, was for a little while close to Captain Wilson when he boarded, and was about to oppose his unequal force against that of the Russian captain, when he was pulled back by the collar by Mr. Hawkins, the chaplain, who rushed in advance with a sabre in his hand. The opponents were well matched, and it may be said that, with little interruption, a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, for the moon lighted up the scene of carnage, and they were well able to distinguish each other's faces. At last, the chaplain's sword broke; he rushed in, drove the hilt into his antagonist's face, closed with him, and they both fell down the hatchway together. After this, the deck was gained, or rather cleared, by the crew of the Aurora, for few could be said to have resisted, and in a minute or two the frigate was in their possession. The chaplain and the Russian captain were hoisted up, still clinging to each other, both senseless from the fall, but neither of them dead, although bleeding from several wounds."—vol. iii, pp. 71—74.

We now close these volumes—not that they do not abound with very many passages and scenes of equal force and fidelity to any we have cited, exhibiting great variety of character, incident, and colouring, but because our limits forbid us to go far into them. Mr. Midshipman Easy's exploits in various lands, especially his "yarns for the governor," and the fine Italian tableau that is introduced, will have many admirers. Then, there is his courtship—his succession to a splendid property—his marriage, and his setting himself down like a true English country gentleman, each and all delineated with the utmost effect—showing that Captain Marryat is a Fielding, both on sea and land.

ART. VIII.—*Glances at Life in City and Suburb.* By CORNELIUS WEBBE, Author of the "Posthumous Papers of a Person lately about Town," "Lyric Leaves," &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1836.

MR. WEBBE prefaces these sketches of life, manners, and localities in city and suburb, by informing his readers, that some portion of this volume is selected from essays and papers published by him in various periodical works, to which several are added, not till now printed. This piece-meal style of book-making, as in the case of all other happy ideas—when the separate materials are varied and talented enough to be worthy of being tied together—has become a positive evil; because it has led to innumerable publications, in which, though there may be a few specimens that sparkled in a magazine, or, at least, by their setting amid others of quite a different hue and spirit, served to meet the demand for ephemeral, and the lightest of all reading, yet nothing is to be found that can stand by itself, or that is entitled to fill a regularly well got up volume, such as may profitably, in point of pleasure or instruction, be frequently in after times perused. The meretricious and forced sort of display which may be most greedily sought after during a ten minutes' glance at a periodical that consists of sketches and short tales, is absolutely tiresome and distasteful when seen upon a larger scale, and extending to a much greater length; especially when, as in the volume before us, there is a remarkable sameness throughout of subject, of style, of method, and of phraseology. We do not, in short, believe, that Mr. Cornelius Webbe has consulted his permanent fame by the present publication.

But, besides an itch for writing, and an ambition to see himself in print—both very praise-worthy motives, and symptoms of ingenuous mindedness, which, we presume, he will not disclaim—he leads us to suppose that the principal reason for appearing in this reprinted form arises from the natural feelings of self-defence; having found that these papers "are dropping piece-meal out of his

hands into the hands of persons who have not so much right to them." One takes a sketch, and cuts and carves it into a shape to suit himself, and another dovetails nearly the whole of another paper into the chapter of a novel, re-christening the hero; and all this is perpetrated without a single acknowledgment—even without so much as turned commas, which are "known and used by compilers with a conscience." Now, here are good grounds for complaint; nor can we sufficiently admire the leniency of the author, who, after sustaining such wrongs, "spares the names of the offenders." If any one should ask, Why allude to the matter if you do not name the culprits? The answer is, "Lest some gentle reader, lighting upon two or three passages which he thinks he has read before somewhere, should suspect that the author is the offender, and not, as he unfortunately is, the very unwilling victim." Very considerate in you, Mr. Webbe, and very forgiving, at the same time. For ourselves, however, we can only say, though at the risk of our literary character, that none of "these passages" have ever met our eyes, neither would we be tempted to steal them.

Mr. Webbe has one other motive for publishing this volume; our readers will judge of its originality first, then, from our extracts, whether the effort has succeeded; and lastly, whether the author should look around him again, "to see what is to be seen." He says, "Should this first book of 'Glances at Life' prove welcome to those readers who seek amusement for an idle hour, or those who take up a work like this as a relaxation from graver matters, the author will look round him again to see what is to be seen; and he needs not say (we are sure he needed not) will only be too happy to make his second bow, should the call become loud for his re-appearance." If Mr. Webbe above proved himself to be exceedingly considerate and forgiving, he is here not less candid and plain.

The city and suburbs in question are those of London; and no one can deny, that there is more than enough within these boundaries to occupy the eyes of many acute lookers on, and many pens and pencils. Like the ocean, it is the great fountain as well as receptacle of the empire's life. Even as respects the regions of imagination and of untarnished nature, London is continually welcoming rusticity and rudeness, and, in return, sending from her bosom the same materials in a polished and cultured form, enriching them also with the experience and knowledge drawn from other treasuries of nature than those which rural parts can furnish, but not less fresh and exciting.

There are, however, in London, an immense crowd of worthy persons, who are, to all intents and purposes, Cockneys. We do not wish to use the term contemptuously, though we are aware that it has a disparaging application, but because we know of no other

single word that can supply its place. By Cockneys, we understand, persons whose avocations, whose opportunities, and whose habits, confine all their experimental knowledge, feelings, and associations to city life, and who labour under as great a defect, with regard to human affairs in the widest sense, and the various aspects which the world present, as does the peasant who never left his native hills. When such people begin to speak of the beauties and delights of cultured rural scenery, not to speak of wild magnificence, there is a constant use of imagery, which seems to have gathered all its colouring and flavour from brick and lime, tinselled ornaments, potted flowers, and the like. Now, we declare, that Mr. Webbe is, in our opinion, the most perfect specimen of this kind, whose writings we have ever read. Indeed, at first, we suspected that the whole volume was a quiz upon Cockneyism; but, at length, the earnestness of his manner, and the absence of every thought or image which could by any means detect an imitation, led us to believe him a sincere and thorough Cockney. In so far as this character belongs to his pictures of life or localities in the suburbs, we cannot take a shorter method of proving the accuracy and the meaning of our criticism, than by begging the reader to compare our extracts with those taken from Mr. Jesse's Rambles, in a previous paper of our present number. In that comparison, it will, we believe, be felt by every competent judge, that it is fully more in spirit than in language or subject that the two writers differ, distinct and at variance howsoever much in these respects they may be. Let any one try the pair, by reflecting on the sentiments and sympathies which the descriptions of each produce, after half an hour's reading. We have now been speaking of Mr. Webbe when he travels beyond the sound of Bow-bell; for surely within that range he must be at home. But even when so limited, he is not a successful limner, according to our judgment. He exaggerates and caricatures, instead of striking the descriptive features of character or scene. To our eyes, he does not, in a word, produce a happy likeness; which may be owing partly to his anxiety, and excessive effort to do wonders, as well as to the want of an artist's eye. A mere vocabulary of words, extensive reading, and learning, will not any more equip a writer for producing graphic and happy sketches, than will a complete assortment of colours prove to the painter. But can we make good our opinion of the author? We proceed to try, taking the second paper in the volume for our first specimens. It is headed, "To Richmond," and opens thus:—

"'By-the-bye, Twaddle,' said Jones to me, in one of the fine days of June, 'you and I and our set have had all sorts of parties but a water-party;—what say you to one.' I hemmed and ha-ed a bit, and replied, 'I have no disinclination to such a trip, certainly; but can any of our friends pull an oar or handle a scull?' 'I can't,' said Jones candidly,

'nor, I believe, can Wilson, nor Smith, nor Tomlins; but what of that? we can learn, I presume? Rowing is easy enough—'—'Except when it is hard,' said I. Jones smiled and went on. 'Tchew! what *can be* easier? You have only to pull *so*,' (said he, suiting the action to the word,) 'and you row.' 'But with inexperienced persons,' I remarked, 'there is at least some danger.' 'Danger,' exclaimed Jones, pulling up his collar, and putting on a look of wonder, 'what is that?' I was silenced by his superior daring, and said, 'Well, I'll be one. Who are the selected?' 'Wilson, Tomlins, Smith, you, and I.' 'And the indispensables?' 'Why, we will say the two Miss Browns, Miss Simpson, and Fanny and Fatima Smith.' 'Very good. When, where, and at what time?' 'To-morrow at nine, at Searle's, Stangate, and Richmond our destination.' 'Well, I will undertake to get you there, if you will yield to me the entire command of the expedition—'—'Expedition it will be if we get there in half the usual time,' said Jones, chuckling over the jest; (Jones is not, however, by any means so dabbish at wit as he thinks he is). 'You interrupted me,' I resumed; 'but who is to arrange the preliminaries and accessories—the eatables and drinkables, and all that?' 'Leave the *all that* to me,' said Jones. 'Well, then, to-morrow at nine;' and we shook hands and parted.

"At nine the next day I was on the Lambeth side of Westminster bridge, and at a quarter past nine we were all mustered, the crew gallantly, and, I may say, nautically dressed in striped shirts, white trowsers, white hats, and black neckcloths tied seamen's fashion; our boat—(a shallop with a white awning)—manned in no time; the ladies safely got on board and seated; our provisions stowed away fore and aft, and every thing ready for starting. Expectation ran high, and the tide was about to do the same: we could not have had a finer morning; the ladies, though timorous on the one hand, relied, on the other, upon the courage and steadiness of the crew; Mr. Searle, a jolly, good humoured man, said, 'Now is the time, gentlemen, to start—you could not have a finer tide.'"—pp. 18—20.

The voyage up the river occupies a number of pages, the description of it being all along equally piquant and happy with what we have quoted, but not a whit more so. At length this most characteristic question is put—

"'By-the-bye, where shall we dine?' said Jones all at once. 'Yes, where shall we dine?' cried all. I saw that he had the sense of the company with him, so I replied, 'Where you please.' 'Why not here?' he rejoined. We were at that moment in sight of a lovely lawn, that ran with an easy slope down to the water's edge. It was one o'clock—the place was propitious—and the labours of the morning had whetted our appetites to the keenest edge. I was not therefore taken by surprise when I heard the four exclaim, as with one voice, 'Here we dine!' I immediately rounded the rudder for land, and in a minute we touched the shore, and all hands leaped on the lawn. The ladies, the giblet pies, bottled porter and sherry, were landed in a jiffy; and while a detachment was sent out to select a pleasant spot for our sport, Jones was as active as a harlequin in unpacking and preparing all things. A delightful nook

in a quickset hedge, and under a shady elm, was marked out for the happy occasion; and every thing being in no time removed to it, a clean cloth was spread on the green turf; the pies, bread, salt, knives and forks, plates, glasses, and every thing was in apple-pye order—the word was given, 'To your places,'—the ladies were handed to theirs, and down we all squatted, like a Turkish dinner-party, hunger and expectation being remarkable in every countenance.

"'Jones,' I directed, 'cut up the pye.' 'With all the pleasure in life,' he promptly replied, and began to operate. 'A cursed hard crust to begin with, and as thick as the Serpentine in skating season;' remarked Jones, as he grinned and groaned and vainly endeavoured to make an impression upon its outworks. 'Never mind its hardness,' said I, (Miss Fatima Smith had made it with her own fair hands) 'I shall venture on it.' 'Yes,' said Smith, 'it will *bear* you.' *(Roars of laughter.)*"—pp. 31, 32.

The most notable incident of the day we now cite. It may give satisfaction to mention, that the paper is signed T. Twaddle.

"A rookery was overhead. Jones, bent on mischief, must now have a fling at its black tenantry. Up went stone the first—down it came with a rebound over a low wall, and a crash followed, as if a hundred hot-house panes were shivered: at the same moment a head and red night-cap suddenly popped up from the other side, surveyed us in silence, and as suddenly disappeared. 'Now, for heaven's sake,' said I, 'don't destroy people's property in mere wantonness!' 'Pooh!' said Jones, 'I sha'nt hit 'em again if I try!' and up went stone the second, and fell as before, with the same awful clatter and crash. 'That makes five shillings,' said the head and night-cap suddenly popping up again. 'Nonsense,' said Jones, 'it was an accident.' 'Well, gentlemen,' said the head and night-cap, 'you sha'nt go till you *do* pay, for I've grabbed your oars.' 'Oh, pay the man,' we all advised. 'Here, then, you night-capped numskull,' said Jones, flinging a sovereign up the wall with a munificent air, 'give me my change!' 'Break four more, and that'll be a pound's worth;' and down went the head and night-cap. How that Smith did chuckle! 'Well, then, I'll have some fun for my money,' said Jones: 'here goes!' and up flew stone after stone, but not one of them told, for the wary gardener, as we supposed, had covered over the remainder of his glasses with matting. And now we had the laugh fairly against Jones—he was matched. He pretended, however, to admire the fellow's cunning, and tried to laugh too, but 'twas 'with a difference.' 'I never saw you look so foolish, Jones,' said Smith. This was quite enough, Jones turned quite pale with rage, and instantly walked down to the boat, Miss Simpson following him. Then up spoke Tomlins; 'Let him go and be——'—'Wiser,' I interposed, 'when his pride is subdued to reason by reflection.'"—pp. 36, 37.

Our readers, after the above specimens, may at once surmise, and indeed precisely know, what Mr. Webbe will have to say under such a heading as "A London Sunday." They may make themselves sure that there will, at the very outset, be a fling and a sneer at Sir Andrew Agnew, and a host of common-place, as well as stupid things, said about fanaticism, recreation, and so forth.

The sketch opens thus promisingly:—"Sunday, if Sir Andrew Agnew would let him alone, is a sober well-behaved day enough; indeed, I have my doubts whether Monday would dare to show his face before him, and invite comparison between them." Then we are informed, that a London Sunday is not what it was, but far better. We question, however, whether the author entertains anything approaching an adequate conception of the duties belonging to the first day of the week, or has ever tasted the pure and lofty delight of those who keep it holy. Was there ever such a Cockneyfied sentimentalist and instructor, as he who penned the following address, and personified piece of wit?

"Do not, then, dear decent Sunday, be persuaded to think yourself worse than you are; but show your cheerful, shining face, and though a million of Agnews speak ill of you, and charge you with this and that, heed them 'not a jot,' but put on your best 'bib and tucker,' as usual; go to church in the morning, as *ditto*—in the afternoon, too, if you like to do so; but don't be persuaded from taking your evening stroll out of town—your musing meditative saunter through the serene green fields of the suburbs—your ale, biscuits, and shrimps, or brandy and water 'cold, without'—your tranquil pipe and cool arbour-seat—your chat on politics or other matters with the intelligent old gentleman who 'hopes he doesn't intrude himself into your company;'—do not be persuaded from these innocent enjoyments though legions of solemn, serious Andrews cross your path, and strive to make you believe the merry Andrews are your worst friends and most sinful companions. Mind them not, but delight, as was your wont, in beholding the careless, innocent little men and little women, who are to be the fathers and mothers of your grandchildren, romping and rolling over the lawn which makes green the 'trim garden' where you 'take your pleasure.' Admire, as you must do, that little girl with double-stalked cherries hanging from either ear, and bobbing against either cheek, as round and beautiful with Nature's own 'white and red.' Laugh, if you like, at that humorous urchin who, like a young bacchanal, has purpled his nose and cheeks with juice of a blackheart cherry. Or turn your eyes upon that happy group busily blowing up gooseberry skins, and exploding them on the backs of their hands."—pp. 71, 72.

"It is a day of rest," we are farther informed, "and, accordingly, ten thousand John Smiths take different roads out of town to enjoy themselves; the juniors drawing their little brothers and sisters in children's chaises, trucks," &c. "More considerate senior Smiths, spare their heirs apparent, and harness the thousands of Pompeys and Pinchers—the dog population of this town—to similar vehicles." Oh la! How pretty and delightful! There can be no doubt of it, that Mr. Cornelius Webbe is just the sort of person to be pleased to ride in a dog cart, or, in a melting day, to hobble along with a truck at his heels and Missus on his arm—unless she be one of the Mrs. Smiths who "follow in the wake—each one bearing a basket full to the cover with cold lamb, lettuces, bread, salt, small knives,

and napkins, for a camp dinner in Copenhagen Fields." "But not only Smiths, but the Joneses, Wilsons, Williamses, Johnsons, and Jacksons, are migratory too;—an universal dispersion, which purifies and pacifies the town for one day, and leaves the few who worship in temples to pursue their pious work in quiet." It would appear, that the Smiths, the Joneses, &c., are not among the few that take pleasure in dog-carts on the Sabbath, and thus *pacify* the town. But enough of such childish twaddle. What egregious fools must those borrowers and thieves have been, who thought to purloin any thing that dropt from the pen of one who never rises above the paragraph we now copy!

"But perhaps you did not know the late Mr. Harty Hippy, or, as he was familiarly called by his friends, who took that liberty with him, 'Happy Hippy'? No—you did not know him: 'The more's your *misfortin*,' to use the exact encomium of his excellent landlady, Mrs. Frances Fondleman, No. —, Norfolk-street, Strand: for then you did not know the finest, rarest, most unaccountable, accountable, incongruous, congruous, irreconcileable and reconcileable mixture and amalgamation of acerbity and sweetness, lemon and honey, vinegar and marmalade, alum and candy, Seville orange and sugar, crab-apple and capillaire, ever mingled and made up—and made palatable too—in one man. Mrs Fondleman had the highest possible opinion of him; and if a landlady thinks well of her lodger, it is, or it should be, a letter of recommendation all over the world. He lodged and lived with her at least twenty years. He was always going to leave her, but he never left her till he left this mortal sphere. Once he threatened to quit because a weaning child four doors off cried in the night: once because her maid squinted: once because her milkman had an unbearably sonorous cry of 'milk below:' once because the six o'clock in the evening postman seemed as though he selected the corner of Norfolk-street to be particularly violent in the abuse of his clapper: once because the people at No. 10, over the way were eternally leaving their door open, 'which made a draught of air in the street that gave him cold:' once because he was quite sick of hearing for twenty long years the same daily old woman twice a day advertising her 'green water-cresses.'"—pp. 308, 309.

The sketch is called "The Last Hours of Mr. Hippy," and thus closes:—

"At that moment, when his brain was screwed up to the pitch of poetic frenzy, one of those itinerant vagabonds that make London so ultra-noisy turned suddenly into the street, and with lusty lungs bellowed out, 'Buy a line?' A muddle and confusion of ideas got somehow, in a moment, into my poor friend's mind: in his best days his ideas were all at sixes and sevens, and his brain in a litter. 'Buy a line?' still nearer and louder cried 'the wandering voice:' poor dear Hippy! confused, bewildered, he rushed headlong to the window, overjoyed, perhaps, at being so seasonably assisted in his difficulties; he flung it up,—'Buy a line?' cried the voice—'Yes,—stop, man, stop!'—and oh, fatal precipitancy, in the hurry of the moment—his toe, perhaps, catching in a hole in the carpet—he tripped, and fell head-foremost out of a second-story window

into the street! He was carefully picked up by the passengers, the 'Buy a line' man humanely making one. The unfinished sonnet was found convulsively crumpled up in his right hand. It is supposed that the fall was too much for him—he was dead! 'Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him well, Horatio;—a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy!' But 'so perishes, grows dim, and dies all that this world is proud of.'

"Having faithfully given these few particulars of the last hours of my most worthy friend, I leave his 'life, character, and behaviour,' to abler biographers; and as our lively neighbours, the French, talk of beginning with the beginning, I, in my way, beg to be allowed to conclude with—the end."—pp. 334, 335.

Our readers have now had enough of these "Glances;" but if they wish to have still more perfect specimens of twaddle, we recommend one of the longest papers in the volume to their perusal, which goes under the name of "Reading in the Fields." It could only be conceived by a thorough-bred Cockney. If Mr. Webbe takes our advice, he will never reprint any more of his stray sketches.

ART. IX.—*The Seven Ages of England; or, its Advancement in Arts, Literature, and Science, from the Earliest Periods to the Present Time.* By CHARLES WILLIAMS. London: Westley & Davis. 1836.

IT is far from being an unhappy conception which has led the author of this volume to its composition; and the execution is not unworthy of the conception. He views the history of England as dividing itself into certain well defined periods, each varying from the other in some strong features of advancement, beginning with the nation more than eighteen centuries back, when the inhabitants were in a state of great mental and moral degradation; when they were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and when they dwelt in huts reared in the forests and marshes which covered the face of the country, or were migratory. The first age, commencing half a century before the Christian era, and coming down to 1066, when the Norman Conquest took place, he calls "The Age of escape from Barbarism." From the Conquest to 1420, he calls "The Age of Civilization." From 1420 to 1554, "The Age of Discovery." From 1554 to 1644, "The Age of Learning." From 1644 to 1730, "The Age of Science." From 1730 to 1800, "The Age of Invention." And from 1800 to the present moment, "The Age of Progress." Now, although several of these dates be somewhat arbitrarily fixed and designated, yet, in so far as is requisite for a popular work and general accuracy, the classification seems to be sufficiently precise, and well calculated to direct the ordinary reader in his researches, and in his modes of reflection, to a profitable result.

In tracing "the gradual course by which this happy island had for eighteen centuries been advancing to a pitch of elevation un-

matched in the history of the world," Mr. Williams has concerned himself far more with the advance in arts, literature, and science, than the accession and character of kings, factions of courts, the defeats or the triumphs of war. There are abundant chronicles and records of these dazzling but more hollow evidences of a nation's prosperity, already in existence; but we know of no single and moderately sized work, where half of the facts and materials which enter into the present volume, are to be found. It is a production highly deserving the study of all, and of youth especially. The author has drawn from a vast number of sources, and has also brought to his task a mind which is in the habit of reflecting judiciously and instructively upon any given fact. Before we proceed to introduce into our pages some specimens of his modes of procedure and of thinking, we must direct the attention of our readers to another excellence in his writing, and the system he has here pursued; we allude to the interest which he throws into his narrative and his observations. His pages neither consist of a meagre outline nor of disquisitions wearisomely spun out. He states his facts, the sources whence derived, and then offers such plain reflections upon them as naturally occur to a philanthropic mind; so that, on closing the volume, after perusing any one of his chapters, there is a feeling of satisfaction and deep interest experienced, which proves that the reader's mind has, with all its sympathies, entered into the author's views and been enlightened by them.

The history of all nations enforces the truth, that mankind never originate improvements without the pressure of an immediate and adequate want, and the ready means of removing it. We also find that nations which make rapid advances in civilization and the useful arts, are greatly indebted to foreign lights, and greedily borrow from them; for, were we but to reflect deeply upon the originally rude form of any one of the simplest instruments now used in ordinary life, a juster notion would thence be acquired of the slowness which mankind manifest in their first steps to knowledge and refinement, than any eloquent declamation about the nature of the human capacities could furnish. Hunting and war are amongst the earliest occupations of man; and the weapons of attack and defence are necessarily the first that are fabricated by him. But how much is there to be learned, and how many ingenious devices must have become familiar to him, ere he could fashion a steel sword? The following observations strengthen this view of man's progress in civilization.

"Lying on the margin of the known world, appearing as the extreme border of its ancient geography, an isle like a rude fragment torn by some convulsion of nature from the main land, and flung into the ocean-region of the north, Britain was one of the parts of the world last known to the Greeks and Romans. For a long time it appears to have been noticed only as a country supplying tin;—a rare and useful metal, not then found

in any other part of Europe, or in Western Asia. The Cassiterides, or islands of tin, mentioned by Herodotus, included, Major Rennell conceived, a vague idea of the whole group of the British islands; though the appellation might be originally restricted to the Scilly Islands, and to the south-western promontory of England, from the Lizard Point to the Land's End, where alone tin was to be found. To obtain this valuable mineral, the coasts of Britain were sought, at an early period, by the ships of various mercantile states, especially the Carthaginians; and the tin of Tarshish, mentioned by Ezekiel, is thought by some to have been brought from the mines of Cornwall.

"Intercourse thus originating with other people would be likely to increase the skill of the Britons, and to add valuable articles to their humble store. Thus the Tyrian traders seem to have taught them to make spear-blades and arrow-heads, from a composition of copper and tin, by first showing them their own rude weapons in this mixed metal, and then directing them to improve them in form, and to use them with dexterity. The lance, formed of a long bone, ground to a point, and placed in a split at the end of an oaken shaft, where it was secured by wooden pegs, was first followed by a metal blade, shaped and fastened in a similar way; but shortly afterwards the shaft, instead of receiving the blade, was well fitted into a socket, and, finally, the blade assumed a proper form. The arrow and the hatchet, or battle-axe, were as gradually improved. The sword they probably owed to the Phœnicians or Gauls, who also made these weapons of brass, and of a similar form. The hilt was cased on each side with horn; and hence the saying—'He who has the horn has the blade.'

"The flat circular shields of the Britons, too, which, like their quivers, their boats, their idols, and various other articles, were of wicker, were soon either imitated in brass, or covered with a thin plate of that metal. Two, still preserved, have a hollow boss in the centre to admit the hand, as, in action, they were held at arm's length."—pp. 5—7.

After the retirement of the Romans from Britain the arts declined; so that that of building seems to have been almost entirely lost amongst the descendants of those ancient Britons who fled from the Saxons for refuge to the mountains of Wales.

"The chief palace of their kings, where the nobles and others assembled to make laws, was called the white palace, because the walls of it were woven with white wands, which had the bark peeled off. By the laws of Wales, whoever burnt or destroyed the king's hall or palace was obliged to pay one pound and eighty pence, besides one hundred and eighty pence for each of the neighbouring buildings—the dormitory, the kitchen, the chapel, the granary, the bakehouse, the storehouse, the stable, and the dog-house. Thus it appears that a royal residence in Wales, with all its offices, was valued, when these laws were made, at five pounds and eighty pence of the money of that age, which is equal in quantity of silver to sixteen pounds of our money, and in value to one hundred and sixty. This is a sufficient proof of the meanness of the dwellings, which were entirely of wood. Even the castles in Wales, that were erected at this time for the security of the country, appear to have been reared of the same materials; for the laws required the king's vassals to come to the building of them with no other tool than an axe."—pp. 13, 14.

Whitaker has given a lively picture of what an English country scene most probably was a thousand years ago. "Could a curious observer of the present day," says he, "carry himself nine or ten centuries back, and, ranging the summit of Pendle, survey the forked vale of Calder on one side, and the bolder margins of Ribble and Hadder on the other, instead of populous towns and villages, the castle, the old town-built house, the elegant modern mansion, the artificial plantation, the enclosed parks and pleasure ground; instead of uninterrupted enclosures, which have driven sterility almost to the summit of the fells; how great must then have been the contrast, when, ranging either at a distance, or immediately beneath, his eye must have caught vast tracts of forest ground, stagnating with bog or darkened by native woods, where the wild ox, the roe, the stag, and the wolf, had scarcely learnt the supremacy of man, when, directing his view to the intermediate spaces, to the windings of the valleys, or the expanse of plains beneath, he could only have distinguished a few insulated patches of culture, each encircling a village of wretched cabins, among which would still be remarked one rude mansion of wood, scarcely equal in comfort to a modern cottage, yet then rising proudly eminent above the rest, where the Saxon lord, surrounded by his faithful cotarii, enjoyed a rude and solitary independence, owning no superior but his sovereign."

If we turn to reading and writing, which are more immediately symbolical of mental improvement, it will appear, that under the thraldom of the Druids they were mysteries, and under the Saxons almost wholly confined to the clergy.

"Thus the word 'Clericus,' or 'Clerk,' became synonymous with Penman, the sense in which it is still most commonly employed. If a man could read, and especially if he could write, his attainments were considered as proof presumptive that he was in holy orders. When kings and other great men had occasion to authenticate any document, they subscribed the sign of the cross opposite to the place where the 'Clerk' had written their names. Hence the phrase to *sign* a deed or letter. Some persons now bending with years, and happily like the ichthyosauri, relics of times gone by, may still be found to pursue the same course; they draw a cross, by the side of which the attorney's clerk adds their Christian and surnames. This was once the style *royal*, but it will soon altogether cease to be the style *plebeian*. Heaven speed the day!

'For is it fitting that one soul should pine,
For want of culture in this favoured land,
That spirits of capacity divine
Perish like seeds upon the desert sand,
That Education in this age of light
Should not by birth be every Briton's right?'"

pp. 18, 19.

In early times commerce was almost entirely conducted on pain-

ciples of barter. There was nothing like the present subdivisions of labour; every man might be said to be Jack of all trades; his wants were few, and the arts and manufactures at the lowest state. The manufacture of glass, for instance, was unknown in England in the seventh century. But as agriculture and war required the smith, this artisan was a functionary of no ordinary note in those early days, the worker in iron being particularly honoured, even above those who worked in silver and gold.

"The former were so highly regarded in those warlike times, that every military officer had such an attendant to keep his arms and armour in order. The chief smith was a person of considerable dignity in the court of the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh kings, where he enjoyed many privileges. In the Welsh court the king's smith sat next to the domestic chaplain, and was entitled to a draught of every kind of liquor that was brought into the hall. Another important occupation was that of the carpenter in modern phrase, but in Saxon, the tree, or wood-workman, and there were others variously denominated. Besides the persons who have made such trades their business, some of the clergy appear as labouring to excel in the mechanical arts. Thus Dunstan was not only able to draw and paint the patterns for a lady's robe, but he was also a smith, and worked in all the metals. Among other products of his industry, he made two great bells for the church at Abingdon; and his friend Ethelwold, the Bishop, made two other bells for the same place, of a smaller size; and a wheel, full of small bells, much gilt, to be turned round for its music on feast days. He also displayed great art in making a large silver table of curious workmanship. Stigand, the Bishop of Winchester, made two images and a crucifix, and having gilded them, assigned them a place in the cathedral of his diocese. Edgar, indeed, issued a command that every priest should diligently learn some handicraft."—pp. 31, 32.

But however deficient the Anglo-Saxons might be in the mechanical arts, and those of reading and writing, they had more to do with one department which draws upon the mental powers, than ourselves. Poetry, in those days, was in high repute and frequent use. Facts were thus recorded; the achievements of heroes were celebrated in song; and the *gleemen*, or minstrels, were regarded as sacred characters. Our author says, "the seeds of poetry, indeed, are the events of dark ages, increased by tradition, and expanding with the growing imagination of men who are passing from obscurity to light." Or rather, the seeds of poetry are sown in the minds of all, and are comparatively independent, in the course of their growth, of the refinements of civilization, or the culture of the reasoning powers, inasmuch as the emotions of the heart, the passions, and the vagaries of the imagination, whence poetry flows, are universal. But the mental and the moral condition of the nation at large was at a low ebb down to the period of the Norman Conquest. The Saxons, though originally a warlike people, were now feeble and servile. Their condition was degeneracy rather than civilization—a state of society which required not merely a

purification, but an infusion of new life; and these remedies were now at hand.

It is quite unnecessary for us to do more in reviewing the present volume, than to give a few examples, besides those already quoted, of the author's matter and manner. It is impossible that he can do more than compile from stores which are, though in separate and numerous works, accessible to all, or that he can alight upon a period which is unknown. The excellence of his book consists in its lucid and judiciously combined form, where nothing of real importance is overlooked, and nothing extraneous to the purpose of the plan of it is introduced—sound and interesting observations enriching the whole. The impression which every patriotic Englishman will obtain from the performance must be consolatory, for it is nothing less than that his country has grown to a pitch of unmatched magnificence and prosperity, and that its present condition gives promise that it will most probably serve as the basis of an inconceivable progress throughout the world. If we indeed but think of our colonies, and of the Anglo-American nation, may we not feel that this progress has made the most wonderful strides which the history of the world ever furnished?

If we but reflect on the history of what the author calls "The Age of Progress" in this country, viz. of the years between 1800 and the present moment, and contrast it with that of China for any length of time, how striking does our advancement become! But to come nearer home.

"To take an instance from a remote part, it may be remarked, that only half a century ago Cornwall was in a very different state. The country was traversed by bridle-paths rather than by carriage-roads; carriages were almost unknown, and humbler vehicles were very little used. 'I have heard my mother relate,' says Dr. Davy, 'that when she was a girl there was only one cart in the town of Penzance; and that if a carriage occasionally appeared in the streets, it attracted universal attention.' Pack-horses were then in general use for conveying merchandise, and the prevailing manner of travelling was on horseback. At that period the luxuries of furniture and living enjoyed now by people of the middle class, were confined almost entirely to the great and wealthy; in the same town, where the population was about 2000 persons, there was only one carpet, the floors of rooms were sprinkled with sea-sand, and there was not a single silver fork. The only newspaper which then circulated in the west of England was the Sherborne Mercury; and it was carried through the country, not by the post, but by a man on horseback, specially employed in distributing it.

"What is the state of Penzance now? It has a population of about 7000 souls; a harbour, successively enlarged till it has become a work of great magnitude, generally crowded with shipping; its streets are handsome, almost entirely of recent erection, and lighted with gas; it has a public library, a geological and agricultural society, a mechanics' institute, and another to diffuse useful knowledge among the people generally; a

neighbourhood highly cultivated, abounding in garden-grounds and gentlemen's villas, with excellent roads in all directions, even to the Land's End; and an ample number of carriages, public and private, of various descriptions. Its present improved and flourishing condition is owing to many causes, but chiefly to those which have operated on England generally during the period under consideration, and have effected throughout the country a similar augmentation of wealth, and in many particulars an amelioration of circumstances."—pp. 541, 542.

Let us mark the progress of society in another department.

"One fact will place beyond all doubt the value of modern improvements in medicine. Sir William Petty (who died about 150 years since) states, that the proportion of deaths to cures in St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals was, in his time, one to *seven*; while we know, by subsequent documents, that in St. Thomas's Hospital, during 1741, the mortality had diminished to one in *ten*; during 1780, to one in *fourteen*; during 1813, to one in *sixteen*; and that, during 1827, out of 12,494 patients treated, 259 only were buried, or one in *forty-eight*. 'Such, indeed,' says the Duke of Sussex, 'is the advantage which has been already derived from the improvement of medical science in this line of study, that comparing the value of life as it is now calculated to what it was a hundred years ago, it has absolutely doubled. The most fatally malignant diseases have become comparatively mild in the hands of modern physicians. The entire half of the population were, at one time, destroyed by one disease alone, small-pox; the mortality of which, at the present time, is but fractional. Typhus fever was once accustomed to visit this country in annual epidemics, and to slay one out of every three whom it attacked; whereas, in the present day it is seldom seen as an epidemic, and its average mortality does not amount to one in sixteen. Measles, scarlet fever, hooping-cough, and consumption, are no longer regarded with the extreme terror in which they were once viewed. From 1799 to 1808 the mortality of consumption amounted to about twenty per cent.; of those who became ill from 1808 to 1818, it diminished to twenty-three; and from 1813 to 1822, it still further decreased to twenty-two per cent.'

"The extreme clumsiness and cruelty with which surgical operations were once performed could scarcely be credited, were there not extant some descriptions of them by those who operated. Thus Fabricius, the preceptor of the immortal Harvey, describes what he considered an improved and easy operation in the following terms:—'If it be a moveable tumour, I cut it away with a red-hot knife that sears as it cuts; and if it be adherent to the chest, I cut it without bleeding or pain, with a wooden or horn knife soaked in aquafortis, with which, having cut the skin, I dig out the rest with my fingers.' It is little more than fifty years since Mr. Sharpe, one of the most eminent surgeons of London at that time, denied the possibility of the thigh-bone being dislocated at the hip-joint—an accident which occurs daily, and which the merest bone-setter in the kingdom can now detect."—pp. 577, 578.

It is needless to multiply examples of the late improvements made in the arts and sciences in this country. We hardly can read a new book that does not bear unequivocal testimony to the fact; we can-

not open our eyes upon the busy world without beholding its proofs. Were it required, we could also satisfy the unprejudiced, we think, that along with our advancement in science and the arts, in literature and the refinements of life, the moral condition of the people has kept pace. We see no reason for being charmed with the hackneyed unsubstantial phrase, "the good old times." Vice and misery, to be sure, are still rife, but not more so than formerly. Manners have changed, and certain subjects of regret have supplanted others; but we are confident, from all the lights which history and experience afford us, that virtue and wisdom have kept up with knowledge among the people, and that the rank of our country, wonderfully elevated though it already be, is destined to attain a point, when our posterity will feel as much complacency in comparing themselves with us, as we now do, when looking back to former centuries. And yet we can say with a certain writer, England's "career of glory is already as long, and her measure of blessings as full, as hath ever been vouchsafed to any nation. She has enjoyed and abused greater mercies than were given to Israel of old. Her freedom has been ample, and more lasting, than that of the ancient republics; and her commerce has taken a far wider range than that of the once favoured cities of Tyre and Carthage, each, like her, for a season, the mistress of the sea. If her days, even now, were closed, she would excel all those ancient states, not only in her prosperity, but in her progeny. She would leave an empire of freemen behind, strong in all the fervour of youth, and ready to renovate those vast designs which Britain was unable to accomplish. The thoughts of moral supremacy and domination will not perish while the English language survives. The dreams of glory which were cherished for their country's line and language by the great minds of England, during its brightest periods of intellect, will at length become realities; and a new Rome will be re-edified in the West, whose mild and beneficent supremacy all nations will be happy to acknowledge." Whether these bright prospects are to be realized in the precise method here outlined, it is beyond our sagacity to discover; but whoever reads the volume before us, will be convinced that the past history of England, and the descendants of her sons, give the strongest promise that nothing less will be connected with our country's name.

ART. X.—*Principi di Scienza Nuova.* Di GIAMBATTISTA VICO. Edizione Settimo. Milano.

IN every age and country distinguished for the cultivation of literature, grave and solid writers have been observed to complain of the foolish predilections of their contemporaries, and to regret those

good old times in which they suppose the taste for profound meditation and abstruse reasoning was in vogue. The fact seems to be, that the greater number have always been actuated by a more powerful appetite for enjoyment than for knowledge; and, therefore, those authors whose sole object is to agitate the passions, and by a more or less skilful imitation of life, to produce that state of excitement which the being engaged in action, or simply beholding it, creates, are inevitably more popular than such as pursue those deep trains of thought, which lead directly to the mysterious fountains of being, and carry the torch of science into the obscure penetralia of nature.

Such are the reasons why writers upon the abstruse subject of the theory of human development, have remained unread, though the investigation be an object of the greatest utility.

The elucidation of the laws that regulate the progress, and determine the limits of the improvement of society—which has become of late somewhat familiar to the public mind—formed the theme of few of the philosophers of the ancient schools. It is chiefly, in fact, within the last half century, that the speculations on this subject have begun to assume the form of definite theories. At the opening of the French Revolution, when the whole Christian world was in eager expectation of some great results that were to follow from this political movement, the boldest and most ardent thinkers started the idea, that a complete reform in the institutions of society would bring about the entire abolition of moral and physical evil in all their forms, and convert the earth into a paradise of perfect innocence and happiness, where we should flourish forever in immortal youth, without, of course, any wish or necessity of a better state hereafter. This system has been popularly called the theory of the perfectibility of man, and is not to be confounded with the sounder notions which encourage us to believe in the possibility of great improvements in the condition of particular individuals and societies, but always within moderate and reasonable limits. The partisans of this extravagant scheme were not undeceived by the fatal reverses that so soon overclouded the fair promise of that memorable era. The torrents of innocent blood that flowed at that insane period, could hardly quench the fiery faith with which enthusiastic souls adhered to their delusive visions of ideal perfection.

Nevertheless, it is certain that nature, ever fond of variety, has been pleased to give to each different species of animal and vegetable life, distinct and separate limits for the respective increase and perfection of their forces.

The reed never arrives at the size and strength of the oak, nor the dog at that of the elephant. We may also remark, that the same species, placed in different situations, receives a different degree of increase and perfection. The greater or less degree of perfection

to which each may arrive, may therefore be termed development, and the greatest possible perfection of which each particular genus is susceptible, is its complete development. Should the seed be crushed or destroyed before it has begun to shoot, it will not be developed at all. Should it be prevented by circumstances from shooting as it ought, it will be but partially or badly developed. But should it be neither injured by climate, situation, or any other cause, and on the contrary should every thing conspire to render it a deep-rooted, flourishing, and many branched tree, it will then arrive at the fullest and most complete development of which its nature is capable. By the increase and multiplication of this tree, are formed, either the groves which the care of man has planted and cultivated for his use and amusement, or those eternal and awful natural forests, where the hatchet was never heard, and through whose leafy and branched tops the genial and enlivening rays of the sun have never from the beginning of the world been able to penetrate. Neither sickness, nor famine, nor any other cause, great or small, has prevented any of the larger sorts of cattle from arriving at that degree of perfection and strength of which each is capable. Each particular animal of these species has its forces more fully developed than one that may unfortunately have been starved or maimed, and by increasing and multiplying such cattle are formed the numerous droves, which either supply the wants and pleasures of sovereign man, or they are left to roam, wild and untamed, in the woods and plains, never marked with the badge of servitude, like the countless horses of European breed which wander in Paraguay, their necks ungalled by the yoke, and their flanks untouched by the spur.

Leaving the brute animals and vegetables, which we merely introduced by way of example, let us now proceed to treat of man, who possesses some faculties and qualities common to brute animals and plants, and others peculiar to himself. Whether the distinctive qualities of man, and of other organic bodies, be to be referred to the development of pre-existing perfectly-formed particles, or to some successive and gradual process, by which shapeless matter is organized and fitted together by the fashioning hand of Providence, is, and will be, one of the unsolved problems of physiology. It is sufficient for our purpose to consider man as we see him formed.

As a healthy and robust infant is from its birth cast into more or less fortunate circumstances, it will naturally be the more likely to arrive at the highest degree of development and perfection of which its kind is capable, and to surpass others of the same kind to whom nature may have been less bountiful, or who may have found fortune adverse to her views. Man being endowed with both physical and mental faculties, and some of these mental faculties being of an inferior order, and enjoyed by him in common with the brute creation, and others superior and peculiar to himself, it is pos-

sible that, all the superior faculties being neglected, man may approach the condition of the brute; or, on the other hand, by the high development of his mental, and peculiarly of the superior faculties, he may partake more of the qualities of higher spirits.

The perfection of man being, however, always only relative, both in its quality and degree, and in his greatest perfection something being always wanting, we must therefore conclude, that, should one man be endowed with superior faculties, and these faculties be brought to a higher degree of perfection, his character will be more developed than that of another, who may possess inferior faculties, and in less perfection. If we suppose all the faculties and capabilities of man to be ten, and that one man possesses five of these and another the other five, the character of these two will be more or less developed, in comparison to each other, according to their respective capacities; and such, in numberless and diversified combinations and relations, is the condition of nearly all mankind.

Proceeding with the foregoing example, we may say, that as, by their multiplication and increase, trees form woods, and cattle herds and flocks of the same character, so men form the character of nations, which are but the social union of many men. What is lost or gained by each individual man, in this social state, is foreign to our inquiry. The same elements exist in this, as in every other condition, and divers faculties, susceptible of a different degree of perfection and development. Should one nation, therefore, have less capabilities, and those in less perfection; this nation will be less perfect, and its forces less developed, than another possessing superior capabilities and in greater perfection. One nation may be superior in points where another is inferior, and *vice versâ;* the character of these nations will be more or less developed, in comparison with each other, according to the peculiar faculties of which each is possessed; and such, by numerous and various analogies, is the condition of all nations. If we could suppose a nation possessing every possible capability, and these, by superior industry, brought to the highest degree of perfection—this would be the character the most developed, the most perfect, the most happy among nations. But neither has experience hitherto shown us any such nation, either among those continually advancing towards perfection, or among those sometimes advancing and sometimes stationary, to say nothing of those which have been receding from it; nor has theory pointed out any precise limits of perfection, nor will it, indeed, allow us to imagine the existence of any nation, than which it is not possible to form another more perfect. This, however, does not preclude the possible existence of a gigantic or pigmy nation, as there have existed both dwarfs and giants.

The development of a nation, as of its component men, may be called by many names—cultivation, education, government, civili-

sation, &c. The first of these terms is derived from the careful husbandry of the soil, which thus is made to develop greater capability, and is consequently better than when barren and uncultivated. The second refers to the method taken in the instruction of the youth of both sexes, who are capable only of this species of development. The third has its origin in the just and correct observation, that it is only by union, and by the union of free citizens, that any development of the faculties of a nation can be obtained. The development of a nation of slaves would be like the clumsy attempts of a man at graceful or active movement in chains and fetters. Not only is development impeded, not only is man deprived of more than half his virtues, but the reasoning faculties, which although not superfluous, are often a dangerous gift to those who possess them, are in some degree destroyed by slavery.

The last name, "civilization," is a subject for more serious consideration. 1st. Because the faculties of man, when developed, are more worthy of attention and observation than when they are not. 2nd. Because for civilization the nation must previously be in a state susceptible of it; as to produce development of character we must presuppose some principle of character involved and concealed, which care and art, acting in aid of nature, or sometimes nature without the assistance of art, may unfold. To expect development from what is not susceptible of it, or where there is nothing to unfold, would be as absurd as to try to raise to the stature of a giant, one whom nature had doomed to be a dwarf.

Modern Europe having arrived at a very superior degree of civilization, or development, for this reason the name of European is connected always with the term civilization.

National civilization, or development, is of two distinct kinds. The first regards only the security, order, decorum, and convenience of human life, and may be termed "social." The second guides and directs the rational faculties of man to arts, sciences, and inventions, and may be termed "intellectual," or "scientific." To the first, no doubt, belong many mechanical and technical discoveries, which may however be attained, and no doubt have been, without the aid of science; and such are the greater part of the practical notions of the Asiatics and Egyptians, which do not give any very high idea of the philosophy of those nations. The second supposes a nation industrious, laborious, and naturally refined—a happy combination of nature and fortune; in which man, raising himself above the rest of the creation, feels an internal wish to learn what relations he has with the beings around him, and what with his fellow men—to acquire every knowledge, to steal from the rich treasures of nature, or to be allowed to dive into her mysterious depths, and perhaps be enabled to boast of having conquered her numerous tests, and discovered some few secrets of which others must yet remain ignorant.

Although the whole human race appear to be formed after a common type, the essential characteristics of which will never be altered —although men never have been monkeys, and in their present state of being never will be angels—although the differences between the principal varieties of our species, intellectually and morally viewed, are perhaps less important than we are at first thought disposed to consider them—it is nevertheless certain, that such varieties exist. Men, when examined at different times and places, and under different circumstances, exhibit very different intellectual, moral, and even physical characteristics. The several communities that inhabit the globe at the same periods, differ materially from each other in many important particulars. It is impossible for the utmost stretch of liberality to place the New Hollanders and the Hottentots on a level with the Frenchmen or the Englishmen of the present day—to confound the subject of the Celestial Empire with the citizen of America. The same communities again exhibit, at different periods, as great a variety of characteristics, as different communities at the same periods. Cities, that have figured as the seats of empire and luxury, dwindle into nameless heaps of ruins. Whole regions, that have been at one time abodes of civilization, wealth, and happiness, are given up to universal desolation at another. Compare the England of our time with the England of the Heptarchy or the Roman conquest. Compare the wealth, the arts, the luxury, the high cultivation, the dense population, that have rendered a little island one of the leading powers of the world, with the rude condition of the few scanty and half-naked savages that shuddered under the shadow of their sombre forests at the incantations of the Druids. Look at Sicily as she was two thousand years ago, feeding from her abundant stores her own population of twelve millions, and at the same time exporting provisions to such an extent, as to be styled the granary of the Roman empire. Compare her with the Sicily of the present day, exporting nothing, and hardly sustaining a remnant of less than half a million inhabitants. Look at Greece in the age of her greatness and of her glory—glowing with life and genius, swarming with inhabitants, every hill crowned with a fortress or a temple, every valley teeming with the richest fruits, every grove vocal with the sweetest strains of music and poetry, every sea covered with her canvass, every climate filled with her renown—first repulsing, and then overturning the giant power of the Persian despotism—in short, subjugating, civilizing, charming the known world of her day; and then look at her as we see her now—aptly described by the illustrious poet, who devoted his pen and his life to her service, as the cold and lifeless corpse of what she was—bereft of every thing, except the inalienable treasure of her fine climate. Egypt, the wonder and glory of a still earlier period, has relapsed into a horde of

slaves. The most superficial observation of the state of the world and the course of history proves, in short, that the condition of man, whether viewed in his individual or social capacity, though not subject to a law of regular progress, is nevertheless not determined, like that of the lower animals, by a fixed and unalterable standard, but varies very much at different times and places; and that the modern theories, which deny the possibility of any improvement, are not less incorrect than those which affirm that it can be carried to the point of absolute perfection.

If, then, we dismiss from our attention both these extreme systems—if we recognise, on the one hand, the practicability of the advancement of civilization, and admit, on the other, that there are limits which it never can transcend—the interesting question naturally presents itself, What are the principles which regulate this progress, and determine these limits? and how the investigation of this question should be conducted.

The law on this subject, suggested by the analogy of nature, and confirmed by all experience, appears to be this. The essential characteristics of human nature will always remain the same, but individual men and individual communities are susceptible of improvement or degradation, according to the circumstances in which they are placed, and the comparative vigour of their own exertions in turning them to account. If we look at the communities that fall within our own observation, with reference to their moral, intellectual, and physical condition—every particular, in short, which constitutes what we call civilization—we find in each a common standard, which is, as it were, an average of the condition of all the members, and to which that of the great majority of them, in point of fact, very nearly approaches; and we also find a certain number of individuals and families towering above or drooping below this standard, and exhibiting talents and virtues on the one hand, or weaknesses and vices on the other, which distinguish them completely, though in different degrees, from the rest. The same phenomenon presents itself to us, when we extend our observation so as to take in at once the whole compass of history. Nations—races are the individuals and families that make up the vast society of man; and as we notice in each particular community a common standard of civilization, and a certain number of individuals and families that rise above or fall below it, so in tracing the character of our race from its origin up to the present day, we observe in like manner a common standard of humanity, if we may so speak, which is the average of the condition of the various communities that have successively flourished in the different quarters of the globe, and to which the great majority of these communities make, in fact, a very near approach: and we also observe a number of particular communities rising above or falling below this common standard—in one case,

living out feebly and obscurely the term of their existence, and then sinking into complete oblivion—in the other, exercising a powerful influence over their contemporaries, and leaving a luminous track in the annals of the world, which seem, nevertheless, to exert but a slight influence upon those nations or communities that succeed them in the career of fame.

Such, then, appears to be the law. The nature of man will ever be substantially the same. The condition of individuals, whether men or communities, is variable: depending partly on the will of Providence, which places them in a more or less favourable condition for progress and improvement, but still more, perhaps, on the fidelity with which they respectively take advantage of the talents committed to their trust. The degree to which this improvement or this degradation may be carried, may be said to be indefinite; not because there are no limits to it, but because it is impossible to say beforehand what these limits are. We cannot affirm with certainty, that no individual will ever be greater or better than the greatest or best man that has yet appeared, or more abject and vicious than the worst. In like manner, every inquirer, in casting his eyes over the long roll of history, would probably fasten them upon some one nation, which, in his opinion, was fairly entitled to claim a pre-eminence over the rest. The magnificence of Egypt, the piety of Judea, the taste of Greece, the virtue of Rome, the stability of China, the science and art of modern Europe, would in turn engage his attention, and according to his peculiar habits of thought might determine his preference. But he would exhibit more weakness and prejudice than sound philosophy, who should undertake to affirm, that no nation can possibly exist hereafter, which shall exhibit his favourite qualities in higher perfection, and with less alloy, than any of these.

But though the capacity for improvement may justly be said to be indefinite, it is far from being infinite. It is obviously limited, as we have already remarked, by the laws of our physical and moral constitution; and experience shows, that the actual progress in improvement of individuals and nations has no tendency to exempt them—still less the whole race to which they belong—from the operation of these laws, or to confer upon them powers and privileges which Providence, in this our state of probation, has denied us. The best and greatest man that ever appeared has, we need not say, no more chance of arriving at immortality and perfection, on this side of the grave, than the worst. The mightiest and the weakest nations pursue alike the common course of progress, maturity, decline, and fall. If religion, virtue, taste, courage, art, science—all the finest and noblest qualities that adorn the character of nations—afforded security against the mutability that is attached to every thing earthly, would Egypt, Judea, Greece, Rome, and so

many other illustrious communities of ancient and modern days, have disappeared in succession from the theatres on which they flourished? Indeed, the highest attainments of individuals or communities, far from serving as a point of departure for a subsequent progressive advancement of the whole human race towards perfection, are much more frequently—we may rather say universally, for such appears to be the general law—the precursors of their own regular and rapid decline. The individual continues to advance, until he arrives at the maturity of his nature; but no sooner has he reached this point, than the germ of decay begins to display itself. No matter how superior his qualities, how noble the use he makes of them: let him be as great as Napoleon, as wise and good as Aurelius or Socrates, it makes no difference; he must go the way of all flesh—dust returns to dust, and the spirit returns to God who gave it. Families, that at one time produce great characters, are very soon exhausted by their own fertility. It is much if a name continues illustrious for two generations; after which the glory of the ancestor only serves in general to exhibit more conspicuously the nothingness, if not the infamy of his degenerate progeny. Do we find the descendants of Warwick and Marlborough leading on the British armies to victory; or those of Bacon, Boyle, Bolingbroke, or Oxford, pre-eminent in council or in parliament? Rather the other extreme is in these cases prevalent.

It would not, perhaps, be difficult to show, that the progress of nations, like that of individuals, is naturally arrested at a certain point of maturity, from which they afterwards fall by a regular decline.

It is remarkable that so little has been written directly upon this question, which is, perhaps, the most interesting in political philosophy. Our libraries are overrun with works upon the manner in which nations *ought* to be governed; but there are scarcely any upon the principles that *in fact* regulate their progress, and determine their condition, including the forms of their governments, at the different periods of their history. The work of Vico, which we have placed at the head of this article, is the only one of much importance upon this subject, and in this the author has done little more than propose the problem—his own solution being far from complete or satisfactory. The principal merit of his book lies, in fact, in the title, which proves that Vico had distinctly conceived the original and important idea, that the circumstances which regulate the origin, progress, and decline of nations, are susceptible of generalization, and may be stated and classed as a separate branch of philosophy. It may, perhaps, be permitted us to digress a little from the principles of our subject, and give a glance at the labours of this author, and, in a few instances, to compare the points brought forward by him, with those of others.

Vico was born in Naples, in 1670. He was the son of a book-

seller. His studies, in the first instance, were directed towards philosophy. This fatigued him, and he afterwards turned his attention to jurisprudence, in which he made great progress. Compelled, however, by pecuniary considerations, as well as by health, to seek some less precarious employment, he engaged himself as tutor in the family of the Bishop of Ischia, where he remained nine years. Under the roof of this prelate, he devoted himself intensely to study. Plato, Tacitus, Bacon, and Grotius, were his favourite authors. He subsequently returned to Naples, and married. He there obtained the Rhetorical Professorship, which he held in the University for forty years. He was anxious for a legal one, but did not succeed in the attempt. This disappointment, great as it was, did not abate his zeal, and though surrounded by many and great misfortunes, his aim was always to improve both himself and his pupils. He was finally named Historiographer to the King of Naples, but the nomination came too late to be useful: his mind, exhausted by the mortifications to which it had been exposed, gave way under their pressure, and he died in 1744, the victim of public injustice, domestic misfortune, and poverty.

Vico considers that, until the Second Punic War, little reliance is to be placed on the assertions of profane authors. Each nation, he says, making itself out to be the most ancient in the world, we are to judge from those general principles, which we know by experience to prevail, and which, from the nature of man may almost, *à priori*, be determined, of the reasonableness of the statements which are handed down to us historically, instead of resting our belief implicitly upon the uncertain traditions of early ages. Vico is opposed to the Stoics and Epicureans, and makes common cause with the Platonists, from their accordance with his views upon the doctrine of providence and the immortality of the soul; both of which he considers as what may be termed first principles in human nature. It was the opinion of Marsham, Spencer, and others, that the Egyptians, in their policy and religion, preceded the other nations of the world, and that their sacred rites and civil ordinances were mediately conveyed to different people as they arose, with some improvements by the Jews. This is not admitted by Vico, who, denying the pretended antiquity of the Egyptians, Chinese, and Assyrians, places, in this respect, in his chronological table, first, the Hebrews, then the Chaldeans, afterwards the Scythians, Phenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It is, he contends, because central countries are inhabited before those which are maritime, that the Chaldeans stand immediately after the Hebrews. There seems certainly to us some little contradiction between the position which he lays down as an incontrovertible one, and the fact, at least as far as the Hebrew nation is concerned, which hardly was a central people; but as Vico was extremely

orthodox in his views, he might not conceive a fact, which, with respect to the Hebrew people only, was contrary to his theory, as in any way impugning its general correctness, in cases where there was not, as in the Jewish people, a special and divine interference. Heeren, in his delightful work upon the Policy and Commerce of the Old World, when speaking of Babylon, and alluding to its first inhabitants, considers them to have been the people referred to in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, and one of the Semitic tribes. It is this same race which Vico calls Chaldean, but which is not to be confounded with the people which afterwards inhabited the land under that name, about six hundred years before Christ. The historical mythology of this people seems to have turned, in Heeren's view of the matter, upon the names of Semiramis, Ninus, Belus, &c., and to have been mixed up with several astronomical ideas; and he expresses what he thinks to be a probability, that before the rise of the Babylo-Chaldaic kingdom, there were several great conquerors, who were distinct founders of kingdoms, which are now known only as the great Assyrian monarchy. Universal history, with Vico, begins much in the same manner, the Chaldeans being the first great portion of the Assyrian monarchy. The different parts merged into one nation, under the government of Ninus, who made himself monarch through the power of the plebeians. The government, which was before aristocratical under Zoroaster, was thus destroyed; and this is said to explain the tradition of one king being killed by the other, and to account for the Chaldeans becoming a powerful and civilized people under Ninus, instead of supposing that, from an erratic and disorderly horde, a great and extensive empire could at once be formed and consolidated. Vico's views are, upon all occasions, strictly religious and conformable to the Scriptures. It is from the advantages which society derives from the fear of a superintending power that he conceives idolatry to have been necessary, and to have been the corrective of that brutality which existed amongst mankind after the deluge. He writes the history of the world from the general tendency of human nature, and assumes that the moral and physical formation of man prove the facts which he assumes. Society, in its development, having, according to this, necessarily followed certain laws, may be analysed with great correctness, and its history rendered sure and intelligible. All nations, pursuing Vico's opinion farther, whether barbarous or civilized, and however far removed from each other, have been constant to three things: they are found to possess some religion, to contract marriages, and to bury their dead. These principles emanate from the primary Cause of all things, and are the first step in the reasoning of the "Scienza Nuova." Despairing of the resources which nature does or can afford, man naturally seeks something superior to it; and this he finds only in the idea of Providence. This feeling of

religion leads to every other, and is consequently the foundation of society.

In investigating the histories and institutions of different nations as they have come down to us, Vico is naturally led to speak of Homer as the oldest Pagan writer, and as the founder of civilization in Greece; and after discussing the several points connected with what he terms his *Sapienza*, his country, and the time in which he lived, he comes to the subject, not only of what had been mentioned by Seneca as a question uselessly debated upon by the Greek grammarians, whether the Iliad and Odyssey were the production of the same individual, but whether these works are not the collective productions of centuries, and, as it were, a symbol, representing the Greek nation during a space of more than four hundred years, that is, from the time of the Trojan war until the reign of Numa. The alleged blindness of Homer, Vico considers to have arisen from the blindness of the rhapsodists, hence called ὅμηροι, who gained their living by singing in the different towns the Homeric poems. The Iliad was written in the early ages of Greece, when, as youthful nations according to Vico's principles are, it was distinguished by violent passions. The Odyssey was written at a later period, when reflection began to operate, and Ulysses was taken as the type of character, in the second instance, as Achilles was in the first. Ferocity, insolence, and barbarity distinguish the Iliad; luxury, pleasure, and voluptuousness the Odyssey. So striking a contrast was only explicable to Plato upon the principle, that Homer, in the transports of poetic excitement, was enabled to foresee what was to happen at a later period. All these views were started by Vico, long before the researches made upon the same subject by Heyne and Wolf; and it is curious to remark in the Prolegomena to Homer of the latter, how much would seem to be taken from Vico, if we did not know that the same question may be treated by two individuals in the same manner, and yet both manifest originality. We do not mean to pretend that there is an equal degree of research or learning in one as in the other. Wolf took a much more extensive view of the whole question, and brought to bear upon it his vast erudition, but the germ of his doctrine is to be seen in Vico. The morality of the Odyssey is superior to that of the Iliad, and the state of society totally different. Legislation seems to be beginning to develop itself, and relations to be established between different people, into which consent and reciprocal advantage enter, instead of mere force and spoliation. In the Odyssey, also, there is a much greater respect paid to women—a criterion at all times of advancing civilization. The question, whether the art of writing was known in the time of Homer—and which Wolf has decided negatively—is alluded to by Vico, and upon the same grounds rejected. Both writers conceive, that the silence maintained upon

this point is a proof that the art could not be known. It is not our intention in any way to detract from Wolf's merits in asserting the priority of Vico's opinions with respect to the uncertainty which regards Homer; nor, though we are about to compare his statements upon another subject, and those of Niebuhr, to say, that the latter has not proved himself a most original and philosophical historian and an excellent critic. But the leading outlines of both Wolf's and Niebuhr's opinions, were certainly seen by Vico; and though not pursued so far by him as by these critics, yet, if there be any merit in *their* scepticism, he ought to participate, to a certain extent, in the praise attached to it. Niebuhr has endeavoured to prove—and as he does not refer to any one from whom he pretends to have taken the idea, we are bound in fairness to suppose that he believed it to be original—that the government of Rome was an aristocracy or a kind of feudal government. Vico takes a more general view; for, instead of referring, as Niebuhr does, to the history of Athens and of some countries in the middle ages, quoting also Blackstone, to show the similarity between a vassal and a client, he writes, as we have before observed, what may be termed the universal history of mankind; and from first principles shows, that what happened at Rome will happen any where else in the same state of society; and that the world follows invariably general laws, from which there can be no exception under similar circumstances. Niebuhr says, it is the essence of this (the aristocratical) constitution, that the houses are conceived to have existed before the state, and to be the elements out of which the state is composed.

Vico says, as well as Niebuhr, that the kings of Rome were protectors of the plebeians against the nobility, and observes, that the plebs could only propose enactments, whilst it belonged to the senate to approve of them. In this Niebuhr differs from him, alleging, that what Cicero says of the curies, Livy says of the patricians, from which we suppose he means to infer (as far as we can understand the reasoning) that the plebs were not originally formed out of the clients, according to Vico's opinion, but were, in fact, inhabitants of the places conquered by the Romans. They were not, in Niebuhr's view, made up of the lower orders. The nobles of the conquered cities were to be found among them; as subsequently the Mamilii, the Papii, the Cilnii, the Cæcinæ, were all plebeians. He remarks, further, that it is one of the grossest errors, and which, in its application, leads us to form the most unjust judgments, to suppose that the plebeians proceeded from the clients of the patricians, and consequently must have been insurgent hereditary bondmen. Vico, on the contrary, asserts, that "Le repubbliche sursero agli ammotinamenti di queste famiglie di clienti, attediati di sempre coltivare i campi per li Signori, da' quali essendo fino all' anima malmenati, gli si rivoltarono contro, e da clienti così

uniti, sursero al mondo le prime plebi." Niebuhr wishes to prove that the *gentes* were not descendants from the same common root, nor were they in any way related; whilst Vico says, that the families were not composed of children only, but of servants also. We may observe that the Roman laws and language are favourable to Vico, for *familia* evidently comes from *famul*, and *paterfamilias* is the head of a house, and quite distinguished from a *pater* only. The patriarchs are, in fact, the older fathers, and *patria* is from *pater*. In Vico we read, " Con l' ordinamento de' Consoli annali non si cangiò in nulla il governo di Roma. Nell' interregno di Romolo, per la creazione de' Re, i padri accordarono alla plebe che esse gli elegessero, *deinde patres fierent auctores*, in maniere che l' elezione erano piutosto desideri o nominazioni di certi soggetti, le quali per venire a capo dovevano loro essere proposti da essi padri che i plebei nominassero perchè seguisse l' approvazione." Niebuhr pretends to prove, in order to reconcile Livy with Cicero, that the words *auctores patres* meant the patricians, and not the senate. It is remarkable enough, that in the book " De Republica," lately found, Vico is fully borne out in his opinion, and that *patres* were the senate. The following passage not only proves this, but also what Vico asserts in another place, that Brutus rendered the government still more aristocratical after having expelled the kings: " Tenuit igitur hoc in statu, senatus rempublicam temporibus illis, ut in populo libero pauca per populum, pleraque senatus auctoritate et instituto ac more gererentur, atque uti consules potestatem haberent tempore dumtaxat annuam genere ipso ac jure regiam. Quodque erat obtinendam potentiam nobilium vel maximum vehementer id retinebatur, populi comitia ne essent rata nisi ea patrum adprobavisset auctoritas." (De Rep. 32.) The proofs which Niebuhr collects to show, that the clients and the plebeians were quite different classes of persons, the former not being the stock from which the latter arose, but existing independently of each other, are not, in our opinion, so decisive as he seems to imagine. They only prove, that amongst the plebeians there were some which were not clients, and that the clients were ready to follow their patrons rather than their caste, just, as in our days, the tenant follows his lord rather than his fellow-tenant, when there is any difference between them. It may also be added, in vindication of Vico's views, that the clients and plebs, mentioned in the passages from Dionysius and Livy, belong to times very distant from those alluded to by Vico.

Our observations have extended farther than we at first intended, from the feeling that sufficient merit has not been given to Vico. Italy has many writers to boast of, but she has none whose mind is more truly critical, or whose learning is more exact, than his, whom the writer of the History of Italian Literature has not unaptly termed the " Dante of Philosophy." It was, as we have

before said, Vico's object in the work before us, to trace the history of mankind amidst the infinite variety of circumstances which the world presents; to separate what was particular or casual from what was general and permanent; and to show that there was one great history of mankind to be discerned in the variety of details which individual nations have handed down to us. Religion is the basis of society. Other sciences are helps, which contribute to ameliorate its condition, and facilitate its civilization; but they are wholly ineffectual without the aid of that influence which results from a belief in, and a reliance upon, a superintending Providence. According to Vico, there are in the history of the world three distinct epochs—one which is theocratic, another which is heroic, and a third which is human. The first is obscure, the second fabulous, and the last historical. Language corresponds with these divisions: it was first hieroglyphical or sacred, then metaphorical or poetic, and it is now clear and intelligible. It is to the earlier periods of history that Vico directs his attention, and to the investigation of our present condition. After the deluge, man degenerates into a brutal state; he becomes, from leading a savage and uncontrolled life, gigantic in stature, and grossly sensual. The thunder from above and the powers of nature overawe him. He seeks an asylum, and with this arises social life. The first fathers of families were like the Polyphemes of Homer—they were absolute, though submitting themselves to the power of Providence. In this way, the first government is a theocracy. These fathers of families are the early nobles or patricians. Those who still remain in a savage state recur to the society which is constituted, for protection and advice, and hence they become the dependents or vassals. Such a government is naturally aristocratical, and societies so formed are warlike; πόλις, πόλεμος—foreigner or stranger is synonymous with the word "enemy." As man gets more civilized, democratical take the place of monarchical feelings; but, nothing being fixed or immutable, popular governments, in their turn, become corrupt, and riches are made an instrument of tyranny instead of legal superiority. Hence we see in Tacitus, that after the Roman people had passed through the consular, decemviral, and tribunitian power, and were wearied with Cinna, Sylla, Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, they took refuge in the sole authority of Augustus. Domestic rule springs from divine legislation, then comes aristocratical power, and from its abuse the exaction of popular rights. These, in their turn, becoming licentious, the nation resolves itself again into monarchy.

Such are the general views which Vico developes, with no less solidity of reasoning than confirmative historical authority. A more complete and systematic survey of the field of history would probably afford much new evidence of their truth. When we contemplate, at one view, the succession of nations and races, whose re-

cords fill up the annals of the world, and endeavour to ascertain the relations in which each has stood to those which preceded, accompanied, and followed it in the order of time, far from perceiving the existence of a law of progress, by the effect of which every generation regularly surpasses the preceding one, and is surpassed, in turn, by that which follows it, we find, on the contrary, that the common principles of our nature develop themselves spontaneously in each particular community or race, according to the particular circumstances which affect their operation, and of which the influence of other nations and races is only one, frequently not among the most important; and we find, that each particular race and nation passes through its regular course of progress, maturity, and decline, without appearing to exercise any permanent influence on the character and fortunes of the species. It would be impossible, on an occasion like the present, to enter, in much detail, upon a survey of this description, but it may not be wholly unprofitable to cast a rapid and hasty glance over the mere outline of this vast picture.

The history of civilization divides itself, with slight exceptions, into three great branches, corresponding, in the main, with the three great divisions of the ancient continent—Europe, Asia, and Africa. The last of these sections is the one which formed the theatre of its first development. Scripture and the classical writers concur in attributing it to the Ethiopians—a people situated at the sources of the Nile, and on the territory which forms the modern Abyssinia—whose surface is covered with mountains and intersected with plains, over which rocks are majestically suspended in air, where impenetrable forests appear—where rises that branch of the Nile, which has long been regarded as the source of this prince of rivers—infested by hordes of Gallas and Sangalas, brigands of the Ethiopic race—but where the Abyssinian empire now holds the chief sway. There, abundant waters fertilize a soil, rich with fruits and verdure, peopled with animals of every kind, blest with all that can tend to afford happiness and prosperity, but, through the barbarity of the fierce and obstinate inhabitants, abandoned to neglect. When the indigenous people were become numerous in those regions, though much too rude and uncivilized to protect themselves from the ravages caused, during the rainy season, by the annual floods, they descended by the side of their torrents and rivers, and repaired to the plains of Sennaar. There they practised the art of building, which being brought to perfection, afterwards reared into existence the temples of Thebes and the pyramids of Gizeh. As their civilization increased, their numbers were multiplied, and the large valley, which had been the place of their asylum, no longer sufficing for so many families, they resolved to disperse, leaving behind them monuments of their long abode, and separating into tribes, which already spoke different dialects.

Some, who were shepherds, passing over the white branch of the Nile, remained in Africa, and spread themselves towards the west, where their children are now settled in Darfoor, Bornou, and Soudan, which is the basin of the Niger. Others of them, consisting of merchants and thieves, crossing the Red Sea, where it is rather narrow, towards the straits of Babelmandel, became Asiatics; and in that part of the continent of Arabia, from which they derived their name, or rather to which they gave theirs, in a course of unceasing wanderings they spread themselves from desert to desert, as far as the banks of the Persian gulf, and to the borders of the Euphrates, the Orontes, and the Jordan. A third family, following the occupation of agriculture, attaching themselves to the valley of the Nile, and advancing by degrees as far as the Mediterranean, became the Egyptians so celebrated in the history of the primitive ages. Between the Ethiopians and the people which at that time occupied the peninsula now called Hindostan, there was probably much communication, as appears from the similarity of their architectural monuments, and some other circumstances.

Egypt is, undoubtedly, one of the most remarkable nations that have ever flourished, and has, indeed, lately been pronounced by a powerful British writer, decidedly the most remarkable of all. Her history is nearly unknown in its details; but there is evidence enough remaining of the power, wealth, and high civilization which distinguished her at the period of her greatest prosperity. In proof of this, we need only mention the pyramids, and the ruins of cities and temples, that cover the banks of the Nile—monuments, that are so far from having been equalled or surpassed at any subsequent period, that we can even now hardly form an idea of the possibility of their construction. These magnificent ruins are, however, by no means the only records of the glory of Egypt. The text of Scripture, the works of the Greek and Roman writers, are filled with descriptions of her wonders, admiration of her wisdom, wealth, and luxury, and terrors of her power. The height of prosperity which she had attained as a nation, is the best proof that we could have of the excellence of her political constitution; while it appears, from the paintings and utensils found among the ruins of her cities, that the practical arts of life were carried by her to nearly the same degree of perfection as with us.

By the side of Egypt, and on the foreground of the same historical picture, Babylon figures with hardly less magnificence. The Greek writers, particularly Herodotus, have exhausted their eloquence in describing her splendid architectural monuments; and the details he gives us are of so extraordinary a character, that they have been regarded by some writers as fabulous, although, from the well-attested veracity of the Father of History, as to every point that came within his own knowledge, there is little doubt of their

correctness. Egypt and the kindred nations around her, were, in short, the civilized world of that primeval day. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time, Pythagoras, Homer, Solon, Herodotus, Plato, and the rest, made their noble journeys of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany, and Italy. The great law-giver of the Jews was prepared for his divine mission by a course of instruction in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. The colonies that gave the impulse to improvement in Greece—the founders of Argos, Athens, Thebes, and Delphi—came from Egypt, or her colonies; and for centuries afterwards, their descendants constantly returned thither, as to the source and centre of civilization.

In illustration of our previous view of the origin of Grecian civilization, we may mention, that in the sculptures and paintings preserved from ancient Egypt, in which the least details of battles are represented with so much fidelity as to convey an idea of the customs of the times, we do not see a single chevalier, that is to say, a man astride upon the horse; but, wherever this animal figures, it is attached to a car, upon which a warrior, with a javelin in his hand, is standing upright, assisted by a kind of coachman armed with a whip. During many ages, the horse was not employed in any other manner. Where the Ethiopic race has introduced it, the use of cars is a constant accompaniment. In the oldest of the sacred books of the Hebrews, if mention be made of formidable armies, nothing is said of cavalry, but cars armed with scythes are frequently mentioned. Homer describes his warriors fighting upon such cars, and of which we see a vast number in the plates of the French work "Commission d'Egypte." It is probable, that among the Scythians or Tartars, equitation had its origin. The Scythian made use of the spur; whilst the Egyptian and the Pelasgi, who borrowed their customs from the Ethiopic race, drove horses in carriages. Some wandering hordes of this Scythian race, penetrating in after-times, on horseback, into the north of Greece, produced there at first as much consternation as the Spanish cavaliers did, when they went to enslave the Mexicans; and from that circumstance arose the traditions, in which we are told how the Lapithæ were terrified at the attack of the Centaurs, in consequence of the strange appearance, and unusual species of the combatants.

Let us look now at what has occurred in Asia, independently of the influence of the African colonies, which overspread and civilized the south-western part of that continent. The scene of the social development to which we now direct the reader's attention, was laid in the central and south-eastern quarter, among a people whom we commonly denominate the Tartars, although that name does not seem to be in use among themselves. The details of its origin and progress are—as in the case of Africa—in a great mea-

sure unknown. The results are apparent in the vast and populous empires of Japan and China—especially the latter, which is doubtless in many important particulars one of the most extraordinary communities that have ever flourished, and of which the history and institutions are far too little studied by the political inquirers of the Western world. Improvement appears to have commenced in this quarter somewhat later than in Africa, and to have advanced by a slower progress. China, which had previously consisted of a number of independent nations, constantly at war with each other, was consolidated into its present shape at about the period of the Christian era, and from that time forward continued to advance in power, wealth and civilization, for at least a thousand years. The creation of that immense empire did not however exhaust the activity of the Tartar race. On the contrary, their habits of daring and restless enterprise kept in constant alarm, not merely the central part of Asia, which they inhabited, but the whole ancient continent—we may say indeed the whole world. Fresh hordes, successively emigrating from this quarter, or urged forward by those who actually did so, subverted the vast fabric of the Roman Empire. Before this catastrophe was finally completed, their spirit of expansion took an opposite course, and under the direction of Gengis Khan and his immediate successors, poured itself out over the kindred nations of their own stock in the south-east of Asia, and crossing the Himalaya mountains, burst, like a tempest, on the beautiful and then unwarlike regions of Hindostan and Persia. Among the results of this last and most violent effort of the development of the Tartar race, were—as we have reason to suppose—the emigrations of the Malays, which led to the establishment by them, in the New World, of the empires of Mexico and Peru.

What we know of the creeds, customs, and laws, of the two empires of the Incas and Mexico, the power of which has been too greatly exaggerated, is insufficient to enable us to judge exactly of the degree of civilization to which they had reached. This civilization was evidently modern and transplanted; and was known to have existed at their discovery about three hundred years ago. Its influence, however, had already softened the manners of men who continue to exist in a state of ferocity, and were even anthropophagi in their origin, as are at this day almost all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean.

The history of the Peruvians and Mexicans, was written in an age of ignorance and superstition, when sanguinary conquerors held the pen. The exaggerations and errors which have been piled up together by the prejudices of such narrators, have been adopted without examination, and as the basis of modern travels. We would not dare, upon such materials, to engage ourselves in researches, which the establishment of the characters primitively peculiar to the old inhabitants of the western shore of America might

require. By a fatality peculiar to the lot of the Malay race, its physical history is involved in obscurity wherever they have established themselves. From time immemorial, this race having been spread over archipelagos, distant from each other, it has been impossible to fix upon a period at which they settled there. An account of past events, to compose their annals from, has not been kept by any of their tribes, and the traces of their emigration are altogether obliterated. Neither mythology nor the remembrances of heroical times, nor a common system of religious creeds, nor other general circumstances, serve to guide us in the research of the origin of the Malay people. Isolated upon a multitude of spots over the globe, and having rare intercourse with themselves, there have been formed among this race varieties very strongly marked, between whom at this day scarcely any common traits exist; which being so imperfectly described, or perhaps merely indicated, should, before we attempt to characterize them methodically, be examined with care by scientific travellers.

Confining ourselves to treat of generalities which concern the race in question, we may remind our readers, in the first place, that it was not a little adventurous, even upon their being familiarized with the dangers of the sea, to pass from isle to isle, and from cape to cape, for more than two hundred and thirty leagues in longitudinal extent, as they must have done, without even taking possession of an acre of ground by the force of arms, in any country, however inconsiderable it might be, when it happened to be inland and mountainous. Accordingly, men from the centre, or the west of Madagascar, from the middle of Ceylon, from Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Timor, from the larger Philippines, and Formosa, do not belong in general to the race which are found on the south coast of South America; but besides that, this race is established on the coasts of all these places, and even of almost all the western isles of India, the islanders of the Laccidives and Moldives, of the Archipelago of Nicobar, of the least rocks of the seas of the Sound, of the archipelagos of the Moluccas, of the Marianas, of the Carolinas, of the Friendly, of the Society islands, of the Marquesas, of the Sandwich islands, and the inhabitants of New Zealand, make part of them, almost without exception. In vain has it been pretended, that they appear only a bastard race, descended from the Caucasians and Mongols, or from the Hindoos and Chinese. Whether these views prove more satisfactory than previous theories respecting the South Americans, must be left to time to decide.

But to return to the question of the state of civilization in Asia, we observe, that while a portion of the Tartar race was destroying the Roman empire, the East, inhabited by another portion of this race, was flourishing in the full enjoyment of the arts, the comforts,

and the luxuries that belong to polished society. The family of kindred nations which inhabited it, were governed by political and social institutions, differing, in many points of form, from those which we consider wise and liberal; but, if we may judge by their stability, well accommodated to the genius and taste of the people over which they were established—after all, the real test of the goodness of any government. Under the influence of these institutions, population increased with extraordinary rapidity, until it reached in China the astonishing height of more than three hundred millions. Wealth, the progress of which is chiefly dependent on the increase of population, accumulated in proportion, and the invention and cultivation of the elegant and useful arts followed in its train. The discovery of the art of printing, which was made by the Chinese, gave an impulse to literature; and books were multiplied to an extent nearly as great as Modern Europe now exhibits. Learning was the only passport to the political and civil departments of the public service. Poetry and polite literature became the ordinary occupation and favourite amusement of the youth of both sexes, as we learn from the novels and romances of the Chinese, in which the young men and women of the higher classes, when they meet together, instead of engaging in the sorts of amusement which are fashionable with us, commonly challenge each other to a trial of skill in making verses. While these flowers of fancy embellished the surface of society, the philosophy of practical life—the richest fruit of civilization—was maturing beneath it. Morality was founded on the solid basis of the natural affections, and sanctioned by the pure and sublime religion of Confucius, which was not yet superseded by the gross superstitions of foreign origin, that have since gained ground among the mass of the people. Respect for age and authority, devotion to the female sex, a graceful softness and polish of manners, were the general characteristics of society, and gave security and pleasure to the ordinary intercourse of life. Some departments of art and science were less cultivated. Painting, sculpture, and architecture were neglected, in the general enthusiasm for poetry: and the great attention and importance that were attached to moral and political philosophy, seem to have thrown into the shade the mechanical and physical sciences, which made but little progress. But notwithstanding these and any other deductions that may properly be made, it can hardly be denied, that civilization had attained at this time, in China and the neighbouring nations of Eastern Asia, nearly as high a point of perfection, though under a somewhat different form, as it has ever reached in any part of the world.

The prosperity of Asia, as it increased less rapidly, has also been somewhat more lasting than that of Africa; it has, nevertheless, been constantly declining since the period to which we have

alluded. The spirit of expansion and development has ceased to exhibit itself in this quarter, and the vast central plains of Tartary, which formerly sent forth swarms of conquering emigrants toward every point of the compass, is now nearly uninhabited. Three centuries ago, the Tartars occupied Moscow. Now the Russians have their permanent military posts close upon the great wall. The wealth and magnificence of China, though still remarkable, have evidently sunk very much since the successive conquests by Genghis and his descendants, probably by the effect of some unfavourable changes of constitution resulting from these events. Instead of extending her peculiar form of civilization throughout the world, this great empire has been compelled, for two or three centuries past, to act on the defensive, and to repel, as she best might, the vigorous inroads of the spirit of improvement developing itself under a different and, to her, hostile shape, in the remote region of Europe, from whence it throws out its ramifications over the habitable globe.

We will now take a hasty view of the condition of the American variety of the human species, whose ancient civilization can be confirmed only by the remains of cities and other ruins which are scattered over their continent, that attest a state of society of which no written records remain, but what must have ages since passed away.

The American race, probably cradled near the roots of the Alleghany and Apalachian mountains, peopled towards the north, the vast basin of the river St. Lawrence, as far as, or farther, than the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. Passing from the Floridas, and from isle to isle, in the south they occupied the eastern borders of the regions of Mexico, the Antilles, and what is called Terra Firma, with the Guianas, from the territory of Cumana, even under the line, always on a parallel with the coasts from which they were driven from day to day by Europeans. The Canadians, numerous small tribes who have been gradually exterminated by the admirable social state of North America, the natives of Yucatan and Honduras, the Caribbeans, and the Galibis, belong to this race.

To know whence and when these people could have penetrated into the countries in which Europeans have found them, has been much discussed—even those who wished to acknowledge them as the children of Adam, have had a considerable share in exterminating them. We can only compare the barbarity with which the Europeans, for a period of three hundred years, have treated these pretended brothers, with the cruelty with which, to replace their race, drowned in their own blood, they have transported to a land widowed of its aborigines, unhappy negroes from their's. From such horrors right-feeling hearts revolt; and when the naturalist acknowledges in what physical respects man and monkeys are alike,

should not the philosopher, in his turn, endeavour to find out by what characteristics drawn from morality, Europeans—exterminating Europeans—are in so many points of view like wolves, hyænas, and tigers.

This American race, which we must not seek in the mixture of whites and blacks of all races which have sprung up in the New World since its discovery, is now preserved untouched only in the vast solitudes of that continent, where it endeavours to shelter itself from our violence, and even, it is said, on some points of the windward islands. What we have heard from a multitude of travellers, who formerly visited either Carolina or the centre of the United States, or all the islands which form a long chain from the Floridas to Trinidad, or, in fact, the space comprehended between the Orinoco and the river Amazon, is absolutely adapted, in every respect, to the men who there inhabited a sinuous line of nearly twelve hundred leagues, from north to south, the breadth of which, however, except towards the northern lakes, seldom exceeded from one to two hundred leagues. These men are of a bilious and phlegmatic disposition, tall, well made, active, and stronger than those who are commonly called savages. Their extremities are not so slender as the people of Australia. The conformation of the head is tolerably proportionate, from which circumstance, their figure appears of an agreeable oval cast. Their forehead, however, is singularly flat, which has led old authors to believe, and modern ones from force of habit to repeat it, that this people deformed, during infancy, that particular part, by the application of small flat boards, tightly fastened together. The nose is long, prominent, and aquiline, "and if it is found flattened to the face," says Father Dutertre, "it is because that also has been compressed from infancy." The mouth is moderately wide, with the teeth vertical, and lips like those of Europeans. The eye is large and of a brown colour; the hair black, platted, thick, hard, shining, of middling length, and though falling upon the shoulders, does not form into curls. It is said that their hair never turns white or grey. The men are almost without any beard, and carefully pluck out the hairs, which grow upon several parts of the body, and which other races of men have in abundance. The colour of their skin is reddish, or rather of a molten copper colour. Among the females, who are condemned to the most painful labours—who are, in fact, reduced to the condition of domesticated beasts—the breast, though rather low, is well shaped so long as it has never given suck. Nubility developes itself at an early age among them, whether it be, that the women belong to septentrional tribes, or whether they belong to those which are situated near the equator. Instances of great longevity in this particular race have been cited.

It was principally the Canadians and Caribbeans, who, during the last century, furnished philosophers with a pretext for those declamations, in which the superiority of the savage, over man living in polished society, was so pompously established. We must not credit a word of what has been asserted in these fine productions, about the wisdom and the solemn treaties, which they were supposed to conclude between them, pipe in mouth, in exchanging the calumet of peace: we must not believe what was then said of such barbarians, naturally wanderers, hunters, brutal, idle, quarrelsome, anthropophagi, devouring not only the enemies whom they had vanquished in war, but even their own parents, and rejecting with horror (occasioned, perhaps, from the recollection of the injuries which it has done them) the means of civilization, wherever it has been attempted. Intemperate, thirsting after strong liquors, for which they are obliged to pay us, they do not even possess the industry necessary for composing them for their own sakes, while they live without religion, despising that of Europe, and imagining its mysteries absurd. The Colombians, however, believed in the existence of good and bad spirits, without the sort of sorcerers who so frequently, by means of jugglery, tyrannize over savage tribes, seeking in the elements of their gross superstitions, for that authority which is always the first established among men, and often extends its ramifications so far, that it is beyond the reach of philosophy to eradicate them.

The courage of the race which now occupies our attention, has been reported in high language, because prisoners of war, whom they devour, sing death-songs whilst their enemies are roasting them alive, and even under the bite of their lacerating tooth. If this be true, which may be doubted, it denotes a brutal insensibility of the physical powers, and not heroism. The Caribbeans and Canadians, we are assured, have great affection for their children; but panthers are equally attached to their offspring, as well as the most considerable part of men of the species of Japhet. In other respects, they go naked, having a small covering, made of vegetable stuff, or animal skin, fastened round the loins. In those parts where the winter season is most severe, they scarcely think of providing themselves a defence against its inclemencies, by covering their bodies with the spoils of wild beasts, of which they destroy a great number. They prefer giving up these skins to European merchants for brandy, and run the risk of perishing with cold, in preference to going clothed. It is not among them we must expect to find those brilliant head-dresses, those tunics and mantles, adorned with feathers, with which painters, in their unfaithful portraits, are in the habit of muffling up the American Indians. The American race know no other means of embellishing their persons, than by daubing themselves with rocou, which renders them more red than they are by nature. Bows

and arrows are their means of attack and defence. Divided into hordes, conducted by a chief, and regulated by simple customs, they have no established extent of domination. Agriculture is not only foreign, but hateful to them. Without mind, without energy, they have been everywhere deceived and dispossessed without difficulty. By the end of the present century, it is probable they will exist only in the records of history—that they will have disappeared from their natal soil, as the Guanches of the Canaries, and as the wolves in England.

We come, lastly, to the Caucasian race, by which Europe has been peopled; it is the one which we, who belong to it, have been in the habit of considering as essentially superior to every other. Whatever man has to boast of as noble, great or sublime (in the words of Herennius), was produced or matured in Europe. In natural abundance, beauty and variety, Asia and Africa are perhaps superior. But in everything that depends on human intellect, the people of Europe far surpass them. The first simple rudiments of mechanical science were perhaps derived from the Asiatics, but what an immense difference is there between the Indian hand-loom, and the steam cotton-mill; between the simple sun-dial and the chronometer which now guides our vessels on the boundless ocean; between the Chinese canoe, and the three-decker of Great Britain? Turning our eyes to that favoured corner of the world, where human nature as it were surpassed herself, what a difference between the Jupiter of Phidias and the Indian images! Between the Parthenon, and the Pagods of the Ganges! What can be compared to the magnificent Propylaia of Athens? Asia had no doubt chronographers, but never produced one who might be compared with Thucydides or Tacitus. Poets there were, but none equal to Pindar. Criticism they were utterly ignorant of. Practical philosophers were not wanting, but no Plato, Cant, or Newton ever arose on the banks of the Ganges. It is here, therefore, if any where, that we should expect a confirmation of the theory of perfectibility; and it is fortunate for the elucidation of the subject, that as respects this part of it, we have in our possession all the facts necessary for forming an opinion. It is, however, as it happens, precisely in this quarter that we find the strongest evidence of the visionary character of this system. Among the European nations of the old world, civilization passed through the natural course of progress, maturity, and decay, with equal regularity and greater rapidity than among the Asiatic or the African. The improvement of this race commenced at once in several quarters, among the Jews, the Persians, and the Greeks, about the time when civilization had passed its maturity, and was going to decay among the Africans: that is, about one thousand years before Christ. The Jews were a colony of this race, who emigrated into Palestine from the north-east, and

after an intermediate residence of two or three centuries in Egypt, finally established themselves in the former country. Their name will be forever memorable in the history of the world, as that of the nation through which it has pleased Providence to instruct a large portion of mankind in the sublime truths of religion. But their political importance does not correspond with the wide space they occupy in the domain of religious and moral philosophy. They were considerable, for a moment, under David and Solomon, but were almost immediately crushed by the still overwhelming greatness of the African nations, and never afterwards recovered their independence. It was, however, only seventy years after their subjugation, that the Caucasian race acquired, at the conquest of Babylon by the Persians, the ascendancy over the Ethiopics, which they have ever since maintained. From this time forward, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans figured successively as the representatives of the whites, and as the leading powers of the civilized world of that period. The Persians were almost immediately corrupted by the arts and luxuries of their vanquished enemies, and ran very rapidly through their short and comparatively inglorious career, which commenced with the conquest of Babylon, and finished with the flight of Xerxes. The Greeks acquired during their prosperity a peculiar glory, by striking out into a new and till then unbeaten path, which carried them forward to a new and peculiar degree of civilization, which was free from the crushing influence of despotism that then prevailed in the Asiatic and African nations. From what Asiatic lawgiver did the Greeks learn, that the punishment of death should be abolished, because either some more severe punishment must be found, or that of death is useless? Was the enchanting beauty of their architecture derived from the pyramids built by them, or from the vast and extensive but still Egyptian buildings of India? Their sublime sculpture infusing life, as it were, into marble—their perfect liberty both of speech and action—by whom were these taught to the ever unexampled Greeks? From what part of the enslaved and despotically ruled Asia and Africa did they imbibe their high and magnanimous sentiments, bowing and submitting to the will of the gods alone, and never to that of men? Any progress that had been made by nations prior to the Greeks in forming and establishing their political systems, may be traced to one of two sources; either to the will of one man, as in most monarchical governments of Asia, or to a system supposed not to have been formed by the reasoning powers of man, and therefore not subject to improvement, but fixed and ordained by nature herself, and therefore not susceptible of change or amelioration, as with the Egyptians and Indians. As beauty and wisdom, or deformity and folly, are always considered ordinances of heaven, so, according to this system, the relative situation of the "*castes*," the rights

and duties of every individual in the state, are to be regarded as derived from heaven itself. Man must not, therefore, demolish the heavenly ordained fabric, and construct another according to his daily experience, nor must he attempt to alter or improve the venerable and sacred laws of nature, in union with his own progressive improvement. In this manner alone can be maintained tranquillity, good order, and general contentment; while by the contrary system a perpetual and insatiable thirst for variety and confusion, the works of one day being destroyed by the next, must be the inevitable consequence. Both these were rejected by the Greeks in the progress of their civilization. The first, founded on slavish obedience and blind credulity they considered arbitrary, and such blind faith was by them called superstition. With regard to the second, they admitted that a social community is certainly the natural condition of man, but asserted that man is not placed in this world to be a mere passive agent, guided by the will of others, but to be free and independent. It is no doubt true that one plant cannot assume the form of another, but such a comparison does not hold good with regard to man. 1st. Because man is not subjected to the same physical laws. 2nd. Because the same difference does not exist between man and man as between one plant and another. Justice, wisdom, and virtue, are not the inheritance of any peculiar "*caste.*" On the contrary, every man has his share of them, and enjoys equal rights; and it is not by the conservation, but by the complete abolition of any such restraints, that the true laws of nature can be fulfilled, and the freedom of man secured. Thus alone can be obtained peace, order, and general satisfaction.

But the Greeks, like the Jews, figured on a theatre too limited in extent to allow them to obtain a durable political importance; and the greatest period of their prosperity, from the repulse of the Persians to the Roman invasion, falls within the compass of less than three centuries. It is accordingly among the Romans that we find the most enduring development of civilization that took place in ancient Europe; but even here its progress and decline were rapid, and marked by evidences that do not in the least favour the views of those who put their faith in the theory of a regular progress in the condition of society.

Such is the brief outline of the whole series of experiments on the fortunes of nations, of which we have any account, and of which the record may be considered as entirely made up and closed. Within four or five centuries, a new development of civilization has commenced among the race to which we belong, on the same field which was the theatre of the former one, and is now in a state of progress on the ancient continent, from which it has more recently extended itself to this. No conclusions can, of course, be drawn with propriety from experiments that are still unfinished, and we must leave

it to future generations to gather from the history of Modern Europe and her colonies, the political and moral lessons which it is fitted to teach. It is natural, however, for communities which are actually in a state of progress and expansion, to look with complacency on the present, and with brilliant anticipations on the future. Not having yet reached the limit of their own advancement, and not having it, of course, immediately before their eyes, they are tempted to flatter themselves that none exists, and that they are destined to furnish a splendid exception to the course of universal history. The delusion, by the effect of which the individual believes that his case will form an exception to the general laws that regulate the fortunes of his kindred and kind, however common it may be, is of too gross a character to require refutation. But having in this way adopted the notion that civilization, after reaching the point which it has now attained in Christendom, could not possibly decline, some persons have sought and assigned certain positive reasons for this belief.

It has been said, for example, that the art of printing must forever secure to us the knowledge, and of course the power and prosperity, which we now possess. But those who urge this argument forget, that it is not the loss of the arts which occasions the decline of nations, but the decline of nations which occasions the loss of the arts. The Chinese possess the art of printing as well as we;—nay, they possessed more than a thousand years ago, a late improvement of ours in that line—that of stereotype plates—which are the only types in use among them. Their system of characters is perhaps in theory more perfect than those in use with us. But the art of printing, with all the perfection to which they have carried it, has not prevented them from declining in civilization, after they had reached their period of maturity. We are told, again, that the superior correctness of our political principles, and the excellence of our forms of government, will secure us against the fate that has befallen our predecessors. But it should be kept in mind, that the real excellence of all political institutions lies in their conformity to the character and condition of the people; and that, if these undergo an unfavourable change, the very same forms that were before elements of strength and prosperity, become the fatal sources of weakness and destruction. It is lastly affirmed, that we enjoy in the religion of the Gospel a singular distinction, which will secure us for ever from the danger of political decline. But if the possession of Christianity, in the pure and perfect shape in which it was preached by Christ and his apostles, during the primitive fervour of the early ages, did not prevent the decay of civilization in Ancient Europe—did not prevent the utter ruin, within three or four centuries, of the Roman empire, by which it was in great part adopted—how can we expect that it should be with us a sure gua-

rantee of unalterable worldly prosperity? The Divine Author of this religion, in fact, declared that his kingdom was not of this world. However pride and patriotism may lead us to indulge in sanguine calculations of the prosperous and brilliant destinies that appear to be reserved for the communities to which we belong, it would be useless and puerile to pretend to disguise from ourselves and others, that they are still communities of men, that they are subject to the common law of humanity, and will pass with more or less rapidity through the same successive periods of development, maturity, and decline, that have made up the history of all the rest.

All experience, therefore, concurs with reason and religion in assuring us, that there are limits fixed by the physical and moral laws of our nature, beyond which improvement, whether in the case of individuals or communities, cannot be carried. Within the limits marked out by these laws, its possible progress may be said to be indefinite. This view of the condition of humanity will not, we trust, be considered as in any respect gloomy or discouraging. It leaves open, in fact, to the generous and patriotic citizen, a field of exertion as wide as the loftiest ambition needs to wish. Although analogy may perhaps suggest the sober reflection, that the long lapse of four thousand years, of which we possess the record, has probably exhausted almost all the possible combinations of circumstances, and that there is little reason to expect hereafter any better results than the best that have occurred already, we are yet at liberty, without elevating our hopes beyond the line of practical improvement, to aim at greater attainments than those that have illustrated the most celebrated names of ancient and modern times.

We have thus endeavoured to explain, though in an imperfect and summary way, the nature of the laws that regulate the progress and determine the limits of the improvement of society. It is, as we remarked at the outset, of high practical importance to all.

We shall therefore conclude this article by pointing out some of the principal circumstances in our situation, which render it probable that, within the limits assigned by the moral and physical laws of our nature, and the uniform experience of the world, we are destined to go forward in a career of example and prosperity, and to attain perhaps a higher point of civilization, than the most favoured communities of ancient and modern times.

The principle of the most important change for the better which we can imagine in the present condition of society, lies in the extension, to a much larger number of persons, of the facilities for the material enjoyments of life, and for moral and intellectual culture, which have hitherto belonged to comparatively few individuals. The most astonishing results have already been realized in this way

in some departments, particularly that of communicating information and instruction by the process of reading. To say precisely how much the productiveness of the labour formerly employed in copying manuscripts has been increased by the invention of the press, would be difficult, but to state it at a million times would probably be a very low calculation. Libraries, that would formerly have been considered treasures fit only for princes, are now within the reach of individuals of moderate fortunes, and of village societies. The more recent improvements in some of the other applications of labour are hardly less remarkable. The invention of the power-loom and steam-engine, with the supplementary machinery which comes in aid of them, has done nearly or quite as much to increase the productiveness of the labour employed in the manufacture of most of the objects necessary to the material comforts of life, as that of the press did for the dissemination of knowledge through the medium of books. Its practical result ought to, and under circumstances otherwise favourable, must in the end be, to render the use of these objects much more general than it has hitherto been in any community. These results are not yet fully realized, and there is perhaps no point towards which the efforts of benevolent individuals or associations can be directed with better effect, than that of enabling the poorer classes to obtain all the advantages in the way of food, clothing, and comfortable habitations, which the great discoveries alluded to are capable of affording them.

Another strong ground for a high, and at the same time rational hope of the rapid advancement of civilization in this country, is founded in the free and popular character of our political institutions. In many parts of the world, which are equally with us, or perhaps to a greater extent, in possession of the last and most valuable improvements in physical science—the political constitution of society is such, that the whole power and wealth of the community, with the means of material enjoyment and intellectual culture which they carry with them, are concentrated in the hands of a few persons, and that the mass of the people have not the same assurance as with us, of retaining and enjoying the fruits of their labour. Under these circumstances, it is obviously of no importance to them, whether the labour, of which they are not to enjoy the fruits, is more or less productive. Their only effort is to work as little as they can, and the advantages resulting from improvements in science, and their application to the arts, are hardly felt. With us, on the contrary, where every individual is completely protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, every augmentation of their amount operates as an equal addition to the wealth and happiness of the mass of the people, and they will of course seize with avidity the opportunity afforded by any increase in the productiveness of labour for realiz-

ing such an addition. The advantages resulting from improvements in science will of course be diffused very generally, and with great rapidity, and the condition of the body of the people must assume in the end an entirely different aspect, as respects the comforts of life and the state of intellectual and moral culture, from that which it wears under institutions of a different character. On the other hand, the same genial influence of freedom, which diffuses security, comfort, and intelligence through the body of the people, opens to the few gifted and lofty spirits who choose to enter on it, the field of honourable distinction, in every department of public and private life, upon much more inviting terms than can possibly be offered in other differently constituted communities, and thus encourages the progress of civilization in both its great constituent branches, one of which consists in the well-being and intelligence of the people at large, and the other in the high attainments of the smaller number of superior minds, who are fitted, by original powers and peculiar advantages of education, to give a direction to the thoughts and labours of the rest.

While, therefore, we retain in their purity our present political institutions, we are morally certain of continuing to make a regular and rapid progress in improvement; and should they be destined to a long term of existence, we have every reason to hope and expect, that we shall attain, under their influence, a higher degree of civilization than has yet been reached in any other country.

Our institutions are not the mere forms of free government, which are often united with the substance of tyranny, but rest on foundations which are laid broad and deep in the state of the community. When the diffusion of property and intellectual and moral culture keeps pace with that of political rights, as is the case with us, it is certain that the government has all the stability which belongs to its character, and can only be shaken by changes in the condition of the people, or by its own essential impracticability.

Again: we are in a great degree secured by our favourable geographical position and extent of territory, from the accidental danger of foreign invasion, and sudden domestic convulsions, which have proved fatal to the peace and prosperity of so many nations. When the body politic is bounded by the walls of a single city, or by the borders of a narrow territory, the slightest accidental circumstance—a single burst of popular feeling—the restless ambition of a single aspiring citizen, may overturn the government. But when the action proceeds, as with us, on a theatre extending over the whole United Kingdom, and is conducted by twenty-five or thirty millions of independent actors, the partial and local effect of sudden movements and single characters is lost in the general result, which is determined entirely by the operation of general causes.

Every effort we make for the diffusion of knowledge, and for the

extension of the influence of morality and religion, besides the immediate advantages which it is intended and fitted to produce to ourselves and our contemporaries, brightens the prospects of the country, and will improve the condition of our children and their descendants for centuries to come. From such efforts, the blessing of Providence is never withheld; and should they be generally made and perseveringly continued, so as to give a character to the moral aspect of the people, the success of our experiment is certain; and we shall continue to run a course of national existence, as long, as brilliant, and as fortunate as the transitory nature of human affairs will permit.

ART. XI.—*Journal of a Residence in Norway during the Years* 1834, 1835, *and* 1836, *&c. &c.* By SAMUEL LAING, ESQ. London: Longman & Co. 1836.

UNLIKE the majority of Journals which it is our lot to review, this is neither the production of a shallow or unreflecting mind, nor of one which has had little more prolonged time to collect materials and form opinions, than a steam or balloon race across the face or along the shores of a country might afford. Mr. Laing's habits are evidently those of close and patient thinking, and his observation and experience of no inconsiderable extent. It is something like new and wholesome food for the intellect of any person who takes an enlarged and kindly interest in the history of the human race, and who is regardless of the clime or the colour of the particular family described, to meet in these days a book like this, which treats of the most important aspects and concerns of a nation with an enlightened philanthropy, and in a manly, candid, and distinct manner. But the people of Norway have an especial claim upon the consideration of England, not merely because their condition offers many striking lessons and views for our instruction, but because we are bound—to use the energetic words of the author—both by treaty and by honour, to preserve their national independence, which was put into the most imminent jeopardy, when we were a party to a league against the modern Cæsar, which dealt with the nation in question, as the strong too often do with the weak. But whatever may have been the conduct of Great Britain, in the case referred to, Norway merits the study and admiration of all her neighbours, and chiefly of ourselves, and never more than at the present moment, when so numerous are the speculations regarding the forms of national government.

Mr. Laing, in reverting to the establishment of the present Norwegian constitution, remarks, that there is probably in the entire history of mankind not another instance of a free constitution, which has not been erected amidst ruins and revolutions—not cemented

with blood, but taken from the closet of the philosopher, and quietly reared and set to work, yet found suitable, without alteration, to all the ends of good government. The primitive character of the people, and the simplicity of their habits, forms, and notions of life, in part, no doubt, account for the well-working of the machine which has been contrived for them; but the chief reason of the apparent singularity now mentioned, must be, as stated by the author, that all the essential parts of freedom and liberal institutions were previously established in the country. "As far as regards property," says Mr. Laing, "these laws and institutions left nothing for the most liberally constituted assembly to legislate upon. As far as regards personal rights, the mild and enlightened administration of Denmark, although under an arbitrary form, had left few general grievances to be redressed. There was nothing in the condition of the people, the state of property, the civil or religious establishments, which did not fit in with a free constitution, in which legislative power was vested in the people. These had all emanated from the people in ancient times; and there being no hereditary privilege, or power, or property vested in any class of the community, had been handed down unbroken through ages." Upon such a foundation, it was not so difficult to build in a manner that was in strict conformity with it, as in many cases, when that which is cut and dry, and beautiful in itself, is erected in a situation totally at variance with the outline and details of the original structure.

We now proceed to follow the author in his instructive accounts of some leading features in the national constitution of Norway—of the manner in which legislation is conducted under it—of its effects on the community—and lastly, of some usages characteristic of the people.

The Parliament, or Storthing, of Norway has its sittings once every three years; but the simplicity of its organization and proceedings, and the sincerity of the members, are features in its history still farther removed from our English notions of such an assembly. The most extraordinary thing of all, is, that there is no ministerial party, no opposition party, nor partisanship of any kind, belonging to the Storthing. The following account contains other particulars, which must appear to our readers interesting singularities.

"Every native Norwegian of twenty-five years of age, who has been for five years owner or life-renter of land paying scat or tax, or who is a burgess of any town, or possesses there a house or land to the value of 150 dollars (30*l.*) is entitled to elect and to be elected: but for this last privilege, he must be not under thirty years of age, must have resided for ten years in Norway, and must neither be in any department of the state or court, nor on the pension-list, nor in the counting-house or bureau of any officer of state, or of the court.

"The present Storthing consists of ninety-six members, elected in the

way before explained. Each town and district elects as many substitute (suppleanter) as it elects representatives; so that in case of the illness or death of the one, the suppleant is sent for and takes his seat, and the constituency cannot remain unrepresented.

"The representative to the Storthing is allowed a dollar and a half per day during his attendance, and his travelling expenses. I was desirous to ascertain if this had any influence on the elections. I have heard this allowance objected to by sensible men; and the propriety of it has been under the consideration of former Storthings. The objection is, that a member, living up to his rank and station, may save money out of it. In the best hotels, twenty dollars a month is the charge for lodging, board, fuel, and every accommodation. In private lodgings he is suitably accommodated for sixteen or eighteen. Many of the bonder class who are returned to the Storthing live for half a dollar a day, and bring home a little capital saved in this trade of legislation."

We have heard persons recommend, in behalf of our own country, the principle of reimbursements to the representatives of the people; a principle manifestly so alien to our habits and associations, that however reasonable or promising in the abstract the suggestion may appear, is a dream which never can nor will be realized. But we were not before aware that the experiment has been in actual operation so near home as now described; nor should we have presumed that it would work well anywhere. But Mr. Laing thinks, that in the circumstances of the case, it does succeed and prosper; and he gives a reason for so thinking and so finding; it is this, that if the members were not remunerated in the way detailed, the body most familiar with the condition of the people and the country could not leave their homes to serve the public, without ruin to their private affairs.

Mr. Laing witnessed a Norwegian election, and gives a succinct and lucid account of it, and of the forms which regulate this portion of the public business.

"On Monday the 20th of August, the electors of our parish met in the parish church to choose their Valgsmænd, or election-men; and on the 30th of August, these Valgsmænd met at Sleenkjær as a centrical point for all the Valgsmænd of the different parishes of the amt or county, in number thirty-one, to choose the representatives to the Storthing. The minister and the foged each keep a list of electors; as age as well as property enter into the qualification.

"It is far beyond my competency to give an opinion whether this middle wheel of election-men is or is not good in a representative system. One hundred electors or under, at the election meeting, choose one from one hundred, to two hundred, two, and so on. The number of election-men depends therefore on the number of electors who choose to meet; but in case of sickness, written votes are taken. We had 270 electors, and therefore send three election-men. A very great number of qualified voters did not meet, as the hay crop was not all carried in. From what I see in the newspapers, one-fourth at least of the qualified voters over all Norway did not attend. There is a danger, therefore, in the working of this middle wheel,

that it may deaden the interest in public affairs, from the want of direct communication between the representative and constituent. To travel ten or twenty miles from a bare sense of public duty, perhaps at a busy season, and without the assurance even of adding one election-man to the number, for 101 voters would send as many as 199, is too much perhaps to expect from public spirit. Yet it is an effectual preventive of bribery and undue influence in any shape. The election-men meet in ten days. It can only then be known how many representatives they can elect; for that depends upon their own numbers."

Every week, the president and speaker and the secretary of the Storthing are elected. The Storthing also choose what is equivalent to our House of Peers from among themselves, being, in the present assembly, twenty-four in number. In these the deliberative functions of the legislative body are invested. They form a separate house, called the Lagthing, and have also presidents and secretaries by the week. In the present Storthing, there are eight persons in civil offices, five in clerical functions, two lawyers, and nine bonder or peasants.

There is evidently no such formed party as in our parliament. Some members are more constitutional than others: but government, having no means of returning even a single member to Storthing, there is no ministerial, and consequently no opposition party. It is considered a defect, and, practically a hindrance to business, that government has no member in the Storthing to bring forward and support its propositions, and who, being instructed in its views, might be able to give the information on points of public business which is often required. There is a proposition from government to the present Storthing to remedy this defect by giving a seat and right of speaking, but not of voting, to a counsellor of state in each of the houses of Storthing. This is approved of by some, as a measure absolutely necessary for the despatch of business. Others think it contrary to the representative principle that a member not elected by any part of the community should take part in the deliberations, and influence the resolutions of a constitutional assembly.

"Neither the president nor the members wear any peculiar dress. They do not, like the members of the French Chambers, enact a scene of a free constitution in theatrical costume. Those members who, as public functionaries, have uniforms, or happen to be decorated with orders, have in this Storthing, as a matter of taste or propriety, laid aside these distinctions by common consent, when officiating in the higher capacity of representatives. The appearance of the assembly resembles very much that of a meeting of gentlemen in one of our Scotch counties. Some traveller tells us that he saw the bonder sitting in the Storthing with red night caps, and clad in homespun clothes of the fashion of the sixteenth century. This is not the truth. Whatever they may wear in their own valleys, in Christiana they dress like other members of the Storthing. The representatives belonging to this class look like the respectable farmers one sees on a market-day at Haddington or Edinburgh. In the Storthing no member wears his hat. The greatest decorum and propriety of manners are observed. There is not even the coughing or scraping down of an unmercifully tedious

speaker, which legislative assemblies of higher pretensions allow themselves to practise. There is, however, seldom occasion for it, as members seem to speak only when they have something to say. The style of speaking is altogether business-like, and to the point. It is not oratorical, but rather conversational."

The manner in which their parliamentary proceedings are conducted is in excellent keeping with the particulars now stated.

"There is a great and rather amusing simplicity sometimes in the mode of procedure. I saw in the newspaper one morning, that a royal proposition was to be presented to the Storthing by a counsellor of state. I repaired to the gallery to see the ceremony. A deputation of six members was sent out to receive and usher in the royal messenger. The counsellor of state, in full court dress, enters through the folding doors, and walks up to a table placed for him on the floor of the house. After a bow to the president, and another to the members, he reads an open letter under the royal signature, with the great seal attached to it, authorising him to appear before the Norwegian Storthing and deliver this special proposition, which he lays upon the table. He then retires through the folding doors, repeating his bows. The proposition was one relative to the distillery laws. The Storthing, on resuming, merely ordered the royal proposition to be referred to its standing committee of trade and manufactures, as materials for the report upon the distillery laws, which that committee had to prepare. It seemed not to enter into the head of any one that a proposition delivered with so much form ought to be referred to a special committee, or be ordered to be printed, or be treated in some way or other ceremoniously. The simplicity struck me; for it was simplicity, not rudeness or intentional disrespect, because a day or two before I had remarked that a member had presented a paper, not a petition, to the house, containing propositions on the same subject—the distillery laws—from a peasant in Hedemark. The member, saying he adopts the proposition as his own, was sufficient to give the same effect to this paper as to that containing the royal propositions. It was ordered, precisely in the same way, to be referred to the committee. The result of this simple way of doing business is, that the plan of his Majesty's ministers with regard to a new distillery law, and that of the peasant of Hedemark, will be weighed and made use of exactly according to their merits."

One of the most simple and primitive forms than can be thought of, is to be found in the Norwegian method of summoning the people to a public assembly. A *budstick*, or message-stick, like a constable's baton with us, having the royal arms on it, and made hollow, with a head to screw on upon one end, and an iron pike on the other, is the symbol of authority. When it is used, the object, time, and place of the required meeting are written on a piece of paper, which is put into the hollow of the budstick. The stick is placed in the hands of the nearest householder to the office or the court-house of the district, and this householder is obliged, within a certain time, to carry it to the next to him, and so on, till it

again reaches the last, who must replace it in the proper office. There are certain penalties for neglect or disobedience on the part of any one who is called upon to act in this system of telegraphic dispatch, which, in a country so circumstanced, as respects means of communication and the residences of its inhabitants, could not be amended. There are fixed places for the budstick to rest for the night. It cannot be carried after sunset, nor before sunrise.

Primogeniture, as respects the law of succession, is unknown in Norway; and Mr. Laing is of opinion, that in a country where land is held, not in tenancy merely, but in full ownership, its aggregation by the deaths of co-heirs, and by the marriage of female heirs, among the body of landowners, will balance its subdivision by the equal succession of children. Such, according to his statement, is the fact with regard to the country he describes; but the fact is not more striking, than the reason alleged for its doing well is worthy of consideration and attention. What is better, however—this state of the law and of the usage in question, is far from being incompatible with what should be the object of all laws, viz. the welfare and happiness of the community—as the picture now to be introduced testifies.

"If there be a happy class of people in Europe, it is the Norwegian bonder. He is the owner of his little estate: he has no feu duty or feudal service to pay to any superior. He is the king of his own land, and landlord as well as king. His poor-rate and tithes are too inconsiderable to be mentioned. His scat or land-tax is heavy, but every thing he uses is, in consequence, so much cheaper; and he has that which renders the heaviest tax light—the management of it by his own representatives, and the satisfaction of publicity and economy in its application. He has the satisfaction of seeing from Storthing to Storthing that the taxes are diminishing, and the public debt paying off. He is well lodged; has abundance of fuel; and that quantity of land in general which does not place him above the necessity of personal labour, but far above want or privation if sickness or age should prevent him from working. He has also no class above him; nobody who can look down upon him, or whom he or his family look up to either to obtain objects of a false ambition, or to imitate out of a spirit of vanity. He has a greater variety of food than the same class in other countries; for besides what his farm produces, which is mostly consumed in his housekeeping, the Fjelde, the lakes and rivers, and the fiords, afford game, fish, and other articles. He has also variety of labour, which is, perhaps, among the greatest enjoyments in the life of a labouring man; for there is recreation in change. His distant seater, his woodcutting for fuel, his share of the fishery in the neighbouring river or lake, give that sort of holiday work which is refreshing. His winter toil is of the same kind; as steady agricultural labour in the field is out of the question. It consists in making all the implements, furniture, and clothing that his family may require; thrashing out the crop, attending to the cattle, distilling his potatoes, brewing, and driving about to fairs or visits. The heaviest part of it is driving wood out of the forests, or bog hay from the Fjelde. He has no cares for his family because he knows what their condition will be after his death. He knows

that his wife succeeds to him, and as long as she lives unmarried the only difference made by his death is, that there is one less in the family. On her death or second marriage, he knows that each of his children has a right to a share of his property; and according to their number he makes his arrangements for their either living on the land as before, or dividing it, or for being settled in other occupations and taking a share of the value when it comes to be divided."

Mr. Laing witnessed and describes the particulars of a royal visit made to Norway, in the summer of 1835, by the king of Sweden. It contrasts, in a flattering manner, as respects his majesty and the Norwegians, with George the Fourth's visit to Scotland. Carl Johan's progress was without ostentation, and without military escort. He came and bore himself with the dignity, the kindness, and the familiarity of a father, and was received with the characteristic affection, and the most simple tokens of regard which the people could devise.

"There was no unreal representation; no false exhibition; no lawyers dressed like Highlanders, or tradesmen in bag-wigs and swords. The bonder came out on their best horses and in their Sunday clothes to escort the King from station to station; and there was not besides even a single dragoon. Their wives and children lined the roads, and erected numerous triumphal arches of fir branches of great simplicity and good taste; and of more effect, from being the thought and work of the moment. The sovereign, on his part, walked out among them without military attendance, or suite, but a few civil functionaries; shook hands with them; begged them in broken Norse 'to make room for their old father,' when they pressed in upon him too closely; and really appeared, and was, a father walking among an affectionate and kind-hearted people. How different all this from the puppet-show at Holyrood-House! The reality of every thing, the total absence of pretence and attempt at effect, was honourable to the character of the nation and of its sovereign.

"What must have been the feelings of this monarch at Stikkleslad! He came a mile or two out of the road to visit the field of battle. He stood on the very spot on which, on the same hour of the same day of the same month—three o'clock in the afternoon of 31st August—eight hundred and five years before, King Olaf was slain by his subjects. He stood on the little eminence, surrounded by the descendants of the very peasants who fought and vanquished that prince: their priest, aged eighty-two, who has consequently lived through more than one-tenth of the immense interval of time, gave the King his blessing on this very spot. In human existence there have been few such moments. The King was sensible of it, and with peculiar good taste went first to the mansion of the old priest, and exchanged his travelling dress for a suit of uniform—probably an old and favourite one—and then repaired to the spot where a monarch fell, who, in the earlier part of his career, was not unlike himself in talent and character."

The custom now to be described, at one time, though it might assume certain varieties of form, in different places, prevailed in

other countries besides Norway. It is only in these, unfortunately perhaps, exploded.

"On getting up from table, each person goes round the whole company, and shakes hands with every one, with the complimentary phrase, 'Tak for mad'—thanks for the meal; or 'Wel bekomme'—may it do you good. This form is universal. The infant is taught to make its bow or curtsey to its mother, and say, 'Tak for mad.' The husband and wife shake hands, and say, 'Tak for mad' to each other. In a large party it has the appearance of a dance around the table—every one going round to pay the compliment. I have observed, that it is paid to the smallest child at table, as gravely and ceremoniously as to grown people. In the treatment of children, they seem not to make that difference which we do between the child and the grown-up person; and which divides life often into two parts, little connected with each other. The children seem, from the first, to be treated with consideration and respect, like grown persons. They are not, on that account, little old men and prim little ladies; but are wild, romping, joyous creatures, giving as small annoyance or trouble as children can do. 'Tak for sidste' is another exploded form of politeness, still universal here. It means, 'thanks for the pleasure I had from your company the last time we met.' It is a compliment of recognition, which it would be extremely rude to neglect. The common people give tak for sidste to the Swedish peasants of Jemteland, who have come across the Fjelde, and whom they have certainly not seen since the preceding year's snow; and then, possibly, only in taking a dram together. A labourer never passes another at work, or at his meal, without a complimentary expression, wishing him luck in his labour, or good from his meal. In addition to these, perhaps not altogether useless, forms, there are the ordinary inquiries after friends at home, and compliments and remembrances sent and received in due abundance."

Mr. Laing describes minutely, private parties and models of living in Norway, but without committing that offence against delicacy, which similar details are apt to incur in many other countries; for he says, that the mode of living is there so simple and uniform in every family or party, that the description of one may serve for all. As our extract upon this head is a long one, it must be the last which we formally introduce.

"You are invited by a list carried round by a man on horseback, and, opposite to your name, you put down that you accept, or decline. You are expected about four o'clock, long after dinner, for which twelve or one is the usual hour. The stranger who will take the trouble to come early will be much gratified, for there is nothing on the continent so pretty as the arrival of a sledge party. The distant jingling of the bells is heard, before any thing can be seen through the dusk and snow; and sound rapidly approaching, is one of the most pleasing impressions on our senses. Then, one sledge seems to break, as it were, through the cloud, and is followed by a train of twenty or thirty, sweeping over the snow. The spirited action of the little horses, with their long mains and tails, the light and elegant form of the sledges appearing on the white ground, the ladies wrapt in their furs and shawls, the gentlemen standing behind, driving in their wolf-skin pelisses, the master of the house and

the servants at the door with candles, form a scene particularly novel and pleasing. Coffee and tea are handed round to each person on their arrival; and the company walk about the room and converse. It appears to me that there are never any of those dismal awkward pauses in company here, nor of that reliance on one or two good talkers, or hackneied subjects, such as wind, weather, and news, which characterise our ordinary society in England and Scotland; every body seems to have something to say, and to say it; and conversation does not flag. This arises, probably, from the temperament of the people, and the total absence of pretence in their character; that is, of wishing to appear more or less important, more or less rich, more or less learned, or more or less any thing, than they really are. After the party is all assembled, the mellem-maaltid, or middle repast, is brought in. This is a tray with slices of bread and butter, anchovies, slices of tongue, of smoked meat, of cheese; and every one helps himself as he walks about. The gentlemen generally take a glass of spirits at this repast, which is a regular meal in every family. The gentlemen then sit down to cards. I have not seen a lady at a card-table. The games usually played are boston, ombre, shervenzel, which seems a complicated sort of piquet, and three-card loo. The stakes are always very small. Those of the elderly gentlemen, who do not play, light their pipes and converse. The younger generally make out a dance, or have singing and music, usually the guitar, with an occasional waltz or gallopade, or polsk, a national dance, much more animated than the waltz. Nor are handsome young officers wanting, in moustaches and gay uniforms, who would not touch tobacco or spirits for the world, and seem to know how to act the agreeable. Punch is handed about very frequently, as it is not customary to drink any thing at or after supper. The supper is almost invariably the same. A dish of fish cut into slices, is passed from one guest to another, and each helps himself. The lady of the house generally walks down behind the company, and sees that each is supplied. After the fish is discussed, the plate is taken away, and one finds a clean plate under it; the knife and fork are wiped by a servant, and the next dishes begin their rounds. They consist always, in this district, of reindeer venison, capercailzie (the male of which is as large as a turkey, the female so remarkably smaller that it passes by a different name, Tiur or Tiddur signifying the male, and Roer, the female); also black cock and ptarmigan. These are cut into pieces, laid on a dish, and passed round; and the dish is followed by a succession of sauces or preserved berries, such as the moltebeer, which is the *rubus chamæmorus* of botanists, the ackerbeer (*rubus arcticus*), the tyttebeer (*vaccinium vitis idæa.*) These are such very good things, that there is no difficulty in acquiring a taste for them. A cake concludes the supper. The lady of the house scarcely sits down to table, but carves, walks about behind the chairs, and attends to the supply of the guests."

There are numberless instances of information in these volumes that are equally important and interesting, or lightsomely cheerful, with any we have quoted. The state of the church of Norway, for example, would at all times be a theme for deep reflection; but to England, at this moment, when so many speculations are afloat

regarding ecclesiastical government, it offers salutary suggestions. The religion of the church in question, as all know, is Lutheran, and is also part of the state. But it may not be so generally understood, that there is no dissent in the country, or that the clergy are on the same footing as any other class of the community, and in no ways more connected with the state than the other citizens. They are often sent to the Storthing as representatives, and having no separate views as clergy, a unity of worldly interests tends to prevent dissent. But Mr. Laing instances another feature, which is well worthy of being imitated, and which, unquestionably, assists greatly, not merely in purifying society, but in binding the people together, and conferring on the institutions of religion high honour. This is the great consideration in which the rite of confirmation is held; not being a mere ceremony, as it is practically in England, where the bishop and the parish priest know little of the character and attainments of the parties admitted into the church. But in Norway, there is a strict and continuous system of instruction and examination as to both qualifications, which is, to use the author's words, in common life, equivalent to taking a degree in the learned professions, being, in fact, a certificate of capacity for discharging ordinary duties and trusts. Something not unlike this ordeal and testimony prevails at this day, in the west of Scotland, and other parts of that kingdom, but not to the same extent; for Mr. Laing says, it is an ordinary occurrence to see advertisements to the following effect—"A *confirmed* shop-boy wants a place;" "Wanted, a *confirmed* girl, who can cook;" and the not being confirmed, would be held equivalent to not having a character at all, for any thing it was good for, either owing to conduct, or want of ordinary capacity.

From the foregoing extracts and abridgments, it will at once be seen, that Mr. Laing's Journal possesses no common-place character, and that it is calculated to convey varied and pleasing instruction to men in power, on vital questions of government, as well as to every one who studies to improve his heart and his head.

ART. XII.—*The Old World and the New; or, a Journal of Reflections and Observations made on a Tour in Europe.* By the Rev. ORVILLE DEWEY, late of New Bedford, U. S. 2 vols. London: FOX. 1836.

IT would appear, that in the course of about ten months, commencing in June, 1833, our American journalist traversed a considerable portion of England, Ireland, and Scotland; that he sped to France, Belgium, parts of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and thence back to France and England again. Now, had it been with the hope of furnishing anything new, in the shape of an Itinerary,

that he published these volumes, it would require little foresight to presume, that such a well-beaten track as he has sketched, and one so rapidly galloped over as it has been by him, could afford the English reader nothing in the way of novel description worth publishing. But it is not on account of his descriptions of scenery, localities, cities, towns, and inhabitants, that the Rev. gentleman's journal possesses a high degree of interest, but because it is the production of a citizen of the United States of America, who has made many of the ordinary appearances in Europe, and such as force themselves upon the attention of every stranger, the subjects of reflection, comparison, and suggestion, in reference to the institutions, customs, and character of his own country. It is in this view that the work is chiefly to be regarded and valued.

At the same time, Mr. Dewey is a lively and enthusiastic writer. He is one of those Americans who has an eye and a taste for entering fully into the antiquities and venerable associations so abundantly presented in the Old World. He is also an enthusiastic, probably extravagant admirer of democratic institutions as they exist in his native country. It is true, he exclaims, on setting foot upon the English shore—upon stepping from the unstable element to the "sure and firm-set earth,"

"Here is the birth-place of my language, of my mind's nurture—the world where my thoughts have lived, my father-land—and yet strange and mysterious as if it were the land of some pre-existent being!

"The Old World!—my childhood's dream—my boyhood's wonder—my youth's study—I have read of the wars of grim old kings and barons, as if they were the wars of titans and giants—but now it is reality; for I see the very soil they trod. They come again over those hills and mountains—they fight again—they bleed, they die, they vanish from the earth. Yet other crowds come—the struggling generations pass before me: and antiquity is a presence and a power. It has a 'local habitation.' Its clouded tabernacle is peopled with life. Who says that the earth is cold and dead? It is written all over—its whole broad surface, every travelled path, every wave of ocean—with the story of human affections."—vol. i, pp. 19, 20.

But with all these recollections and warm imaginings, America, as is its due, has his heart of hearts, and his happiest anticipations, which he is ready to defend and eulogise, through good and bad report, not always, as it appears to us, without paradox, without a knowledge, or an acknowledgment of the whole truth. Too many of his alleged facts, with regard to Great Britain, for instance, are taken from the most superficial observation, or rather, we presume, from the most vulgar authorities or one-sided reports. And yet, he seems, from the parties he frequently names, to whom he had access, to have enjoyed not a few peculiar opportunities of arriving at a tolerably accurate state of information as to the practical working of our ancient institutions and habits of thinking.

The truth is, however, that England is not to be studied and understood in a month or a year; certainly not by one inordinately enamoured of republicanism; still less by a citizen of a republic which has not weathered the breeze and the storm, for a hundred years; and least of all by an American of the United States, who, from the very circumstances of speaking the same language as the English do, and having his ideas and associations of a kindred character, yet very different, is apt to presume (not to allude to certain inveterate national jealousies) that he sympathizes with his elder brethren in every thing, and can instantly appreciate their character. We are not sure indeed, that the Rev. author does not sometimes manifestly over-estimate, and on other occasions mis-state the facts and the fair conclusions as regards the condition and prospects of his own country, with which he should be well acquainted. But we do not think he errs from any other cause than an over-sanguine disposition, and a fearless declaration of his real convictions; or that the decided character of his theories affect the warmth of his practical and cherished charities. Nay, there is a liberality in many of his opinions—those, for example, connected with creeds, rituals, forms, and establishments of religion, which not merely appears conscientious, but latitudinarian.

In rapidly going through these volumes, we shall be able, we think, to exemplify our opinion of them, and at the same time afford our readers various interesting specimens of observation, anecdote, and reflection on the part of the author. In approaching Liverpool up the Mersey, Mr. Dewey, amongst the first of his observations, took notice of the various shades of green that carpeted the fields on the banks of the river; whereas in his own country, one deep green pervades the whole. He soon after speaks of his reception on landing, and adds some happily conceived and expressed remarks.

"One of the first things that strikes the American stranger as he lands on the shores of the Old World, is the attention and deference he receives from those classes of the people whose business it is to minister to his comfort—from innkeepers, proprietors and drivers of coaches, waiters, porters, &c., servants of all descriptions—from those, in short, the breath of whose life is in the civility of their manners. It is a strong bond for civil behaviour doubtless, this necessity of getting a livelihood, and especially in countries where a livelihood is hard to come by; and it *may* cause civility to degenerate into servility: still were it not to be wished that something of the *manner* at least could be learned in *our* country? Not that any class among us should entertain a sense of its relation to any other class that would be degrading to it; the very contrary. There is nothing that is more incompatible with a just self-respect, than the manners of a churl. No man really respects himself who is guilty of discourtesy to others. The waiter who brings me my dinner, and stands behind my chair while I eat it, very commonly shows in his frank and easy bearing, as much self-respect as

I myself can feel. And the coachman who, when I ask him to give me a seat on the box with him, touches his hat as he answers, seems to me a far more respectable person than the stage driver of our country, who often answers with a surly indifference, as if he did not care whether you sat there, or sat anywhere at all. Both the coachman and the waiter are looking to you for a gratuity, it is true, in payment for their attentions. But it is a fair compact; and degrading to neither party. And for my part, I am as willing to pay for civility as for my dinner. One would like to buy not only his dinner, but some reasonable chance of digesting it; and that is hard to do when one has to digest slovenliness, negligence, and ill manners besides."—vol. i, pp. 23—25.

Seldom do we read the journal of an American traveller in this country, without finding near the commencement of the work, a hearty testimony to the style and excellence of our stage-coach establishments. The horses clothed in plated harness, highly burnished, and stepping out with the ease of a cat; and the charioteer, who is such a well-fed, well-dressed, comfortable, and substantial looking sort of personage as to convey to the passengers the most perfect sense of security—are sure to become the themes of admiration and description. And so it is with our present traveller. But to proceed—let us observe what kind of feelings were entertained by him on visiting Eaton Hall.

"I shall not undertake any minute description of this estate and seat of the Marquis of Westminster. But conceive of a sort of township of land fifteen or twenty miles in circumference, under the most perfect cultivation, and laid out in the beautiful style of English country-grounds—broad lawns intersected by smooth roads and gravelled walks, with noble clumps and winding belts, and majestic avenues of trees in every direction—the gardens and ornamental grounds alone employing sixty or seventy men the year round; conceive of an immense Gothic building of hammered freestone in the centre of this domain, spreading four hundred and twenty-five feet—about twenty-six rods—in front; enter this building, and survey the magnificent apartments, some of them fifty feet long and thirty-five feet in height, with gilded ceilings and painted windows, and filled with gorgeous furniture of every description; visit the chapel, large enough to accommodate a small congregation, and where daily prayers are said, during the residence of the family; go to the stables and outhouses—a little village by themselves; and then pass through the garden, filled with hothouses and conservatories, enriched with rare plants, blooming with flowers, and laden with fruits enough to supply a village; and then take into the account, that this is but one of the seats of its wealthy owner, and you may have some idea of the princely state of the Marquis of Westminster.

"From the moment that you set your foot on this magnificent domain, every thing reminds you that you have come within the fairy circle of wealth and taste, elegance and luxury. You enter, by a pretty Gothic lodge, two or three miles from the castle. You are borne on, upon a smooth and winding road, with not one pebble to jar your carriage wheel: the edge of it as accurately defined by the bordering, smooth-shaven green sward, as if the thing were done with scissors; a fine belt of trees accom-

panying it on either side, at the distance of twenty or thirty feet, and only interrupted here and there, to open to you the view of an almost boundless lawn, covered with herds of cattle and deer. When I was going through the garden, the immense quantity of fruit led me to ask the gardener, who accompanied me, what was done with it; 'for,' I said, 'you cannot possibly eat it at the castle; do you sell it then?' The man drew himself up, and said, 'Oh no, sir, nothing is sold from this garden.' 'Well, then,' I said, 'what *is* done with it?' 'It is sent in presents to my lord's tenants,' was the reply. A very pleasant way, doubtless, for my lord to make himself agreeable to his tenants! There must be something good and grateful in a relation that leads to acts of kindness like this. And the corresponding deference and gratitude of the tenantry may doubtless, in a certain state of society, have their uses, and proprieties, and beauties."—vol. i, pp. 29—32.

But what are the reflections, does the English reader think, that immediately follow this fine description?

"But is there no danger of servility on the one hand, or of tyranny on the other? And do not fixed conditions like these of lord and tenant necessarily tend to prevent, in the lower classes, the fair expansion of character? I certainly do not believe in the expediency of such a state of social relations; and yet, when I have seen those in our country—they are not the many—whom *fee simple* and freedom have taught to respect nothing, but their own importance, I have thought it had been better for them to have been tenants of an English landlord. If men will not reverence any thing higher, then let them reverence a Marquis of Westminster."—vol. i, pp. 32, 33.

Here we have American ideas ingrafted at once upon a truly English stock, and the fruit that would arise therefrom, until become American all over, would be bitter or sour in the extreme. The question is not which condition, as regards master and servant, is theoretically the best. Indeed, no theory is worth a fig, which has not a practical regard to the circumstances of the case. But the question should be, which condition is productive of most good, or most real happiness. Let us try and find an answer in what our author elsewhere says, when comparing the conditions of English and American servants; we do not mean the slaves of the Southern States, but the domestics in the Northern.

"The higher and the lower classes, as they are called, sustain a less happy relation to each other in America than they do in Europe. Domestics are less happy, as a class, in America than they are in Europe. Does any one ask why? I answer, because, in Europe, and wherever aristocratic institutions prevail, servants look upon their state of life as a permanent condition. In America every domestic is hoping to rise to a higher place in society. Hence he is restless and uneasy. Hence dependence is a thousand times more galling to him than it is to the European servant. He must be a dull observer, who does not see, I had almost said in a thousand forms of pride, petulance, jealousy, carelessness, unfaithfulness, and unhappiness, this grand difficulty attending

the condition of the American domestic. Is the situation of the American householder, employer, man of wealth, compared with the European, any more fortunate and happy? On the contrary, the grand difficulty of the country, so far as comfort, both mental and bodily, is concerned, lies in the state of domestic service. There are exceptions, of course; but the general want of fidelity, attention, kindness, and respect in domestics, is a source of perpetual annoyance in almost all the families in the country. It is to be added, that there is less skill, less accomplishment, less heartiness, in the duties of any situation, where the occupant regards it with disgust, and is determined to escape from it as soon as possible.

"It is easy to spread this general comparison into all the shades and details of the social relations. Those who are beneath, where all are free to rise, are looking to the situations above, not as places never to be reached, but on the contrary, as prizes to be contended for. The sight of splendid dwellings and equipages, therefore, is likely to awaken, in many bosoms, envy and irritation, rather than kindness and deference. On the contrary, those who are above, look upon their inferiors in station as aspirants and assailants, rather than as friends and supporters. In this state of things, all the offices and relations of life are apt to become less kindly. In a country where there are no fixed and impassable distinctions, no protecting barriers of caste or coterie, men are apt to fear intrusion, or else to fear lest they be thought intrusive. Hence, I think, the proverbial distrust and coldness of our manners. And hence, I fear, a want, to some extent, of real heartiness, confidence, and enthusiasm in society."—vol. ii, pp. 330—332.

To be sure, the author considers that this state of freedom tends to the greatest ultimate good, although it appears a backward or round-about path to such an end. But we do not dwell upon his paradox; it is to the acknowledgment made of the comparative happiness of the servants in the two countries, which is too plain to require farther notice from us. But then, says the Rev. gentleman, "In America every domestic is hoping to rise to a higher place in society. Hence he is restless and uneasy." Does he mean to insinuate, that the same hope, exertion, and realization are banished from England; or that the Marquis of Westminster himself would not be the first man in the kingdom to hail the highest advancement in society of the gardener, who expressed to Mr. Dewey such a hearty testimony to reciprocal good will, about the fruit referred to. Would the Marquis be chagrined, did he find in after-years, a son of any of his tenantry, or of his gardener, a bishop, or the lord chancellor of England, and having a seat in the upper House of parliament by his side? All the world, and the author as perfectly as any one, must answer, No! What sense or purpose is there, then, in talking about American domestics being more unhappy than those in England, because they hope, have a chance, and are anxious to rise higher in society? The inference and the premises are connected in no manner of way, and in no sense.

Indeed, we suspect that there is a more intolerable domination on the part of masters, and a viler servility on the part of domestics, in America, than there are in England. Nay, it appears from our author's statements, that there is a most galling spirit of aristocracy in the former country; and especially must it appear such, when the aristocrat has none of those commanding and venerable associations connected with his name, which in the Old World are chiefly regarded.

"In a country like ours, it is time that some of the old maxims of feudal societies should be done away. The horror of being thought poor and dependent, the dread of being confounded with inferiors, the contempt visited upon the necessity of labour, the scornful reference to certain trades and occupations which infects even our literature, should give place to higher maxims. Make any occupation contemptible, and you take the most direct way to make those engaged in it reckless and vicious. Does not observation verify the remark? Those incognito female working establishments—so to call them—which are known in some of our cities, are a libel on virtuous industry. I do not so much blame those who desire to spread around them this shield against the absurd maxims of society. The wrong lies in that spirit of society which creates such establishments. They stand in a civilised and Christian country, like the guarded old feudal castles—relics of barbarism."—vol. ii, pp. 344, 345.

We need not pursue this subject farther, excepting to declare it to be our deliberate opinion, that no trade is treated as contemptible, unless originally or necessarily contemptibly associated; and that there are certain professions, as well as grades in life, which, so long as they are held in high respect, prove that mankind are guided by certain natural motives, feelings, and principles, without which society would become degraded, worthless, and intolerable.

Our author's observations upon Ireland are such as a hasty glimpse of a wretched population necessarily suggest. We come to Scotland—to Edinburgh, which he declares surpassed all that he had ever heard or imagined of it, in point of grandeur and imposing romance. He is not, however, over accurate in the following notice, when using the terms *philabeg* and *kilts* as synonymous; neither, in his disparagement of the Highland dress, will every one join.

"To-day, however, I saw a relic of the past in a very grotesque attitude; a Highlander in full dress—yes, the wild, fierce, haughty Highlander—playing on a fiddle! a street beggar, asking a few pence to keep him from starving. He was dressed in the philabeg or kilts, and hose; and I am surprised to find that there are some Highland regiments, in the English service, who are dressed in this manner. I have seen some of these soldiers, both here and in Glasgow, parading about in this dress—which, to describe it, is very like a petticoat hanging from the waist halfway down the leg, a hose coming up halfway on the calf—so that the person is naked

from above the knee down to the middle of the calf. It appeared very uncomfortable, and scarcely decent. When George the Fourth visited Scotland and held levee at Holyrood, he appeared in this costume. A picture of him is shown in the audience room."—vol i, p. 70.

Like many of his countrymen, Mr. Dewey is a great admirer of Sir Walter Scott's character and works. He seems familiar with them, and to have conducted his excursions, when in Scotland, chiefly on the principle of lighting upon as many localities rendered famous by the great magician's wand, as time would allow. The following anecdote and description will be acceptable to our readers.

"I am tempted here to give you an anecdote, which has been mentioned to me since I came to Europe. An American lady of distinguished intelligence had the good fortune to meet with Scott frequently in Italy, till she felt emboldened to express to him something of the feeling that she entertained about his works. She told him, that in expressing her gratitude, she felt that she expressed that of millions. She spoke of the relief which he had brought to the heavy and weary days of languor and pain; and said, that no day so dark had ever risen upon her, that it was not brightened by the prospect of reading another of his volumes. And what, now, do you think was his reply? A tear rolled down his cheek: he *said nothing!* Was it not beautiful? For you feel that that tear testified more than selfish gratification; that it was the silent witness of religious gratitude.

"I must pass by the well-known and often-described beauty of Melrose Abbey, three miles from Abbotsford, and ask you to go on with me a few miles farther to Dryburgh—the place where 'the wreck of power' (intellectual) is laid down to rest. If I were to choose the place of his body's repose, from all that I have ever seen, it would be this. The extent, antiquity, and beauty of the work: the trees growing within the very walls of the abbey; the luxuriant shrubbery waving from the tops of the walls and from parts of the roof here and there remaining; the ivy, covering over the work of ghastly ruin, and making it graceful—hanging from 'the rifted arches and shafted windows,' and weaving festoons from one broken fragment to another; the solemn umbrageous gloom of the spot; the perpetual sound of a waterfall in the neighbouring Tweed—all conspire to make this spot wonderfully romantic; it throws a spell over the mind, such as no other ruin does that I have seen. Conway Castle is more sublime: Melrose Abbey is more beautiful in its well preserved, sculptured remains; but Dryburgh is far more romantic. What place can be so fit to hold the remains of *Walter Scott!*"—vol. i, pp. 86—88.

Mr. Dewey says, there is a striking resemblance between the character of the people of Scotland and New England. We do not know whether he is very happy in his comparison, but we quote it for the consideration of both nations.

"The energy and vehemence of the Scottish character, the *pervervidum ingenium Scotorum*, is universally acknowledged. *Fier comme un Ecossais*, is a proverb. And yet the Scotch are accounted a singularly wary and cautious people; reserved in manners, exact in speech, guarded in communication, and keen and close in the transaction of business.

The Scotchman has the singular fortune to stand as a proverb for the most opposite qualities, and I suppose that they really exist in him. The same qualities are found in the New England character. The Yankee —'it will not deny'—is sharp at a bargain. He is cold in manners. The deep reserve of a New England boy, especially if living retired in the country, perhaps no one can understand who has not experienced it. It seems as if his heart were girded with a stronger band than any other, and certainly such as is not natural or befitting to the ingenuousness of youth. I do not wonder that the result of a cursory observation has been, to pronounce the New Englander a being, to whom 'nature has given a double portion of brains and half a heart.' And yet nothing could be more untrue. The New England character is, in fact, one of the deepest excitement and enthusiasm. The whole history of the people proves this, from the Landing at Plymouth to this hour. Every species of enterprise, political, commercial, literary, religious, has been developed in New England to a degree, I am inclined to think, unprecedented in the world. All America is filled with the proofs of it. And private life in New England will exhibit the same character to all who become intimate with it. The two races whom I am comparing have also had the same fate of general misconstruction and opprobrium. The Scot is regarded, on the south side of the Tweed, very much as the Yankee is, south of the Hudson. I will not inquire into the causes of this; but it certainly seems a very hard case on either hand. A people in both instances, industrious, virtuous, religious, almost beyond example—carrying popular education to a point of improvement altogether unexampled in the world, till the Prussian system appeared, and furnishing far more than their respective quotas to the noblest literature of their respective countries—would seem to have deserved more respect than has been awarded to Scotland and New England."—vol. i, pp. 88—90.

All true Englishmen—those, we mean, whose sympathies and prejudices, if you please, cannot be disjoined from our venerable institutions and customs—will be pleased with the author's testimony to the character of English churches and cathedrals. Fine and imposing specimens of architecture humanize and elevate the ideas of a people; they answer a purpose kindred to that of literature, poetry, and painting. Accordingly, "the churches of a country are a part of its religious literature."

"There is a sanctity and venerableness about many of the English churches, and even those of the humblest order, which nothing but time, indeed, can give to the churches of our country, but which time will never give to them, unless we learn to build them with more durable materials than wood or brick. There is something in these churches which leads you instinctively to take off your hat when you enter them—a duty, by-the-by, of which your attendant is sure to admonish you, if you fail of it —and I would that the practice were more common than it is among us. The sentiment of reverence for holy places, is certainly gaining ground upon the old Puritan and Presbyterian prejudice on this head, and it must grow with the increasing refinement of the people. But still, there are too many churches, especially in our country towns, which are in a state

of shameful disrepair, and of abominable filthiness; and which are constantly trampled under the feet of the multitude, at every election. Indeed, the condition and use, and, I may add, the architecture of a church, cannot fail to have a direct effect upon the sentiment of religious veneration: and I trust the time is to come, when (with reference to this last point) the construction of churches among us will be given into the hands of competent architects, and not left to the crude and ambitious devices of parish committees. It costs no more to build in good proportions than in bad: and the trifling expense of obtaining a plan from an able architect (not a mere carpenter) is unworthy to have any weight in a matter of such permanent importance to a whole community. The churches of a country are a part of its religious literature. They speak to the people; they convey ideas; they make impressions. The Catholics understand this, and are erecting, I believe, more fine churches in America, in proportion to their numbers, than any other denomination among us.

"I confess that if I could build a church in all respects to suit my own taste, I would build it in the solemn and beautiful style of the churches of England, the Gothic style; and I would build it in enduring stone, that it might gather successive generations within its holy walls, that passing centuries might shed their hallowing charm around it, that the children might worship where their fathers had worshipped from age to age, and feel as if the spirits of their fathers still mingled in their holy rites."—vol. i, pp. 93—95.

From the above extract, our readers will easily believe us, when we say, that the author has a great tolerance for the external pomp of religious services and ceremonies, as witnessed in foreign parts; that he extends great liberality towards those who spend the Sabbath as the people do in continental Europe; and that on the subject of recreations in general, he might count relationship with the practical philosophers of Paris. But the most interesting portions of his work are to be found in those speculations which he pursues, as to how far all such European customs would suit the genius of his countrymen, and how much benefit might be derived from certain practices if transplanted to America, and from certain influences if there infused. With a single exception, however, we do not now mean to extract anything from his pages, that falls not within the shores of our sea-girt island; and this exception regards one sort of scene as beheld in Paris. The author's reflections upon it are exceedingly striking.

"I have visited, to know for myself what they are, the *hells* of Paris. These are the great gambling-houses. The thing that struck me most in them, was the apparent absence of every thing like what the name imports. The scene is marked with entire decorum and modesty in the air of the women, and composure and gravity on the part of the men; and yet the company consists of the most vicious persons of both sexes. So far is this decorum carried at Frascati's, that servants were in attendance in the antichamber, who took our hats, over-coats, and over shoes, as if we were

to enter an ordinary party. This was to me the most instructive feature of the scene: for after all, I suppose it is true, that hell is not found so much in physical horrors, in lurid flames and frightful countenances, as in smooth-faced, decorous wickedness: not so much in groans, and shrieks, and imprecations perhaps, as in soft words and fair pretensions. In short, where hell is, does not appear to the outward eye, and, perhaps, it never will. But who, from the silent depths of the soul, with the eye all spiritual, has not perceived things worse than any outward form can show, or scene exhibit, or words express?"—vol ii, pp. 225, 226.

But let us to Old England again, and near to the spot where we lately left Mr. Dewey, that we may hear what he has to relate of one of the richest minds that ever showered its treasures upon the country. Mr. Wordsworth is the person alluded to, with whom the author had several interviews, and some of whose impressive discourses, as given in conversation, he has preserved in the present work. In justice to Mr. Dewey it should be mentioned, that he excuses himself for inserting details of private society in this case, contrary to his general rule, because the conversations quoted relate to one of the very subjects, the discussion of which occasioned the publication of these volumes—because the sentiments attributed to Mr. Wordsworth are his well-known sentiments—and because the exposition of them is not likely to prove offensive to that distinguished person himself.

Mr. Dewey states, at the outset of this part of his work, that he was disappointed in the appearance, at first, of the poet. But as soon as the subject of politics was started, Mr. W. entered into it with such a flow and flood of discourse as left no doubt of his identity.

"Mr. W—— converses with great earnestness, and has a habit, as he walks and talks, of stopping every fourth or fifth step, and turning round to you to enforce what he is saying. The subjects, the first evening I passed with him, were, as I have said, politics and poetry. He remarked afterward that although he was known to the world only as a poet, he had given twelve hours' thought to the condition and prospects of society for one to poetry. I replied that there appeared to me to be no contradiction in this, since the spirit of poetry is the spirit of humanity—since sympathy with humanity, and with all its fortunes, is an essential characteristic of poetry—and politics is one of the grandest forms under which the welfare of the human race presents itself.

"In politics Mr. W—— professes to be a reformer, but upon the most deliberate plan and gradual scale; and he indulges in the most indignant and yet argumentative diatribes against the present course of things in England, and in the saddest forebodings of what is to come. The tide is beating now against aristocracy and an established religion, and if it prevails, anarchy and irreligion must follow. He will see no other result; he has no confidence in the people; they are not fit to govern themselves—not yet certainly; public opinion, the foolish opinion of the depraved, ignorant, and conceited mass, ought not to be the law; it ought not to be

expressed in law; it ought not to be represented in government; the true representative government should represent the *mind* of a country, and that is not found in the mass, nor is it to be expressed by universal suffrage. Mr. W—— constantly protested against the example of America, as not being in point. He insisted that the state of society, the crowded population, the urgency of want, the tenures of property in England, made a totally different case from ours. He seemed evidently to admit, though he did not in terms, that hereditary rank and an established priesthood are indefensible in the broadest views of human rights and interests; but the argument for them is, that they cannot be removed without opening the door to greater evils—to the unrestrained license of the multitude—to incessant change, disorder, uncertainty, and finally to oppression and tyranny. He says the world is running mad with the notion that all its evils are to be relieved by political changes, political remedies, political nostrums—whereas the great evils, sin, bondage, misery, lie deep in the heart, and nothing but virtue and religion can remove them; and upon the value, and preciousness, and indispensableness of religion, indeed, he talked very sagely, earnestly, and devoutly."—vol. i, pp. 105—108.

The next evening, our author visited the poet. The conversation that is stated to have occupied them, is too good to be mutilated, even as given in the pages before us, although, no doubt, the fervour and the spirit of the actual conversation are thereby, in a great measure, lost.

"The conversation very soon again ran upon politics. He thought there could be no independence in legislators who were dependent for their places upon the ever-wavering breath of popular opinion, and he wanted my opinion about the fact in our country. I replied, that as a secluded man and accustomed to look at the *morale* of these matters, I certainly had felt that there was likely to be, and probably was a great want of independence—that I had often expressed the apprehension that our distinguished men were almost necessarily acting under biasses that did not permit them to sit down in their closets and examine great political questions and measures, in a fair and philosophical spirit. Then, he said, how can there be any safety? I answered, as I had frequently said before, that our only safety lay in making the people wise: but I added that our practical politicians were accustomed to say, that there was a principle of safety in our conflicts, in the necessarily conflicting opinions of the mass—that they neutralised and balanced each other. I admitted, however, that there was danger; that all popular institutions involved danger; that freedom was a trust, and a perilous trust. Still I insisted that this was only an instance of a general principle; that all probation was perilous; that the greatest opportunity was always the greatest peril. I maintained, also, that think as we might of political liberty, there was no helping it; that in the civilized world, the course of opinion was irresistibly setting towards universal education and popular forms of government; and nothing was to be done but to direct, modify, and control the tendency. He fully admitted this; said that in other centuries some glorious results might be brought out, but that he saw nothing but darkness, disorder and misery in the immediate prospect, and that all he could

do was to cast himself on Providence. I ventured to suggest that it seemed to me that all good and wise men had a work to do. I said that I admitted, friend to popular institutions as I was, that the world was full of errors about liberty; that there was a mistake and madness about popular freedom, as if it were the grand panacea for all human ills, and that powerful pens were needed to guide the public mind; and that the pen of genius could scarcely be more nobly employed. But he has no confidence in the body of the people, in their willingness to read what is wholesome, or to do what is right; and this, I took the liberty to say, seemed to me the radical point on which he and I differed. I told him that there were large communities in America in whom I did confide, and that I believed other communities might be raised up to the same condition; and that it appeared to me that it should be the grand effort of the world now, to raise up this mass to knowledge, to comfort, and virtue—since the mass was evidently ere long to rule for us.

"After this conversation, Mr. W—— proposed a walk to Grassmere Lake, to see it after sunset; and in that loveliest of all the scenes I ever witnessed on earth, were lost all thoughts but of religion and poetry. I could not help saying, with fervent sincerity, 'I thank you, sir, for bringing me here, at this hour;' for he had evidently taken some pains, pushing aside some little interferences with his purpose, to accomplish it. He said in reply, that so impressive was the scene to him, that he felt almost as if it were a sin not to come here every fair evening. We sat by the shore half an hour, and talked of themes far removed from the strife of politics. The village on the opposite side lay in deep shadow; from which the tower of the church rose, like heaven's sentinel on the gates of evening. A single taper shot its solitary ray across the waters. The little lake lay hushed in deep and solemn repose. Not a sound was heard upon its shore. The fading light trembled upon the bosom of the waters, which were here slightly ruffled, and there lay as a mirror to reflect the serenity of heaven. The dark mountains lay beyond, with every varying shade that varying distance could give them. The farthest ridges were sowed with light, as if it were resolved into separate particles and showered down into the darkness below, to make it visible. The mountain side had a softness of shadowing upon it, such as I never saw before, and such as no painting I ever saw approached in the remotest degree. It seemed, Mr. W——said, as if it were '*clothed* with the air.' Above all, was the clear sky, looking almost cold, it looked so pure, along the horizon—but warmed in the region a little higher, with the vermilion tints of the softest sunset. I am persuaded that the world might be travelled over without the sight of one such spectacle as this—and all owing to the circumstances—the time—the hour. It was perhaps not the least of those circumstances influencing the scene, that it was an hour, passed in one of his own holy retreats, with Wordsworth!"—vol. i, pp. 108—112.

If it were for nothing else than the feeling and, no doubt, the fidelity with which the author has detailed the burden of his conversations with Mr. Wordsworth, we could not but take a deep in-

terest in his present work. But his liveliness, and earnestness, even when we think he is ingenious rather than sound, or deeply acquainted with mankind, and talkative rather than argumentative, are always engaging. And then he touches upon so many important subjects, in which all mankind are concerned, and so often constitutes some fact, as observed in Europe—though it might have escaped a common-place tourist—the text of a lengthened speculation, that the reader cannot but be either instructed by him, or induced to reflect for himself. For example, when at Oxford, the healthy appearance of the students, and of all classes there and throughout the nation, led him to treat of the contrast with the inhabitants of America, who, he is tempted to say, are a nation of invalids, in comparison.

To climate, the author attributes something on the subject of health, as experienced in America, when compared with its condition in England; also to the circumstance, that all thinking in the former country is brought into immediate connection with the actual interests of society. But farther—

"I am inclined, also, to impute something to our modes of living. The Bonapartean style of dining doubtless prevails among our busy citizens, more than the physician would advise. The silent and awful celerity with which our meals are dispatched, is not altogether a steam-boat or stage-house horror. But this rapidity of eating does not arise, I imagine, from any peculiar voracity of the American *genus*. We are a very busy people; and as such, I think, we arrange our times of eating very unadvisedly. Dinner in our cities at present is unfortunately in a state of transition, from the old customs of the New World, to the new customs of the Old World. It has now arrived at the hour of three or four o'clock. It will be far better for health, when it has fairly reached the destined goal of six or seven; when the merchant or the student shall come to his dinner as the grand family *re-union* of the day—'all studies solemnly defied,' all cares locked up in the counting-room—when he shall actually *eat less* because he has *more time*, (the physician can explain that)—when there may be some chance of enlivening and elevating that humble but necessary occupation, with sprightly or grave discourse—and when it may be followed, not by a hasty walk to the warehouse, or an anxious retreat to the study, but with those domestic or social engagements and recreations which will promote digestion, cheerfulness, refinement, virtue, and happiness, altogether.

"I must add a word upon our modes of dress. With a climate twice as trying as that of England, we are, on this point, twice as negligent. Whether there is actual violence done to the form in the absurd attempt to make it genteel, I will not undertake to decide; but certainly the bust of an English woman shows that it never was, and never could have been subjected to those awful processes of girting, which must have been applied in many cases to produce what we see among us. At any rate, the fearful prevalence of consumptions in our country, is an admonition of our duty on this subject of dress, that ought not to be disregarded. And espe-

cially in a country where no limits are set to fashionable imitation—where a man is very liable to mistake upon the door-step, his domestic for his wife or daughter—this is a subject that comes home to every family, whether low or high, and comes too in the most palpable forms of interest—in the suffering and expense of sickness, and in the bitterness of bereavement.

"But consumption and death are not the only alarming forms in which the subject of female health presents itself. Let any one look at the women of America, and, with all their far-famed delicacy and beauty, let him tell me what he thinks of them, as the mothers of future generations. What are the prospects of the national constitution and health, as they are to be read in the thousands of pale faces and slender forms, unfit for the duties of maternity, which we see around us? Let any one go with this question to their nurseries, and he will see the beginning of things to come. Let him go to the schools, and he will turn over another leaf in the book of prophecy. Oh! for a sight at home, of the beautiful groups of children that are constantly seen in England, with their rosy cheeks and robust frames!"—vol. i, pp. 151—154.

The admonitions conveyed in these paragraphs, one can hardly suppose are to pass unheeded; at any rate, he who offers them has performed a weighty duty, especially to the fair sex, both in America and England—for the latter country is far from being guiltless of the follies stigmatized.

Were we now to follow Mr. Dewey closely, we should soon overtake him in his discourses and declamations about the church establishment in England, the claims of the dissenters, the voluntary principle, the effect of church establishments in general, and in his Utopian prognosticatings about America on these serious topics. We do not know, however, that there is anything very novel in his statements here; at the same time, we are convinced that his knowledge is exceedingly defective as to the practical effects of a church establishment in England, while he appears to have no real acquaintance with such an institution as it operates in Scotland. But we pass on to our last extracts, which form a portion of a long dissertation upon the justice and expediency of an aristocracy, as the order exists in this country, and upon the prospects of republicanism.

"If any one can doubt about the essential injustice of this system, let me ask him to go back in his thoughts to the origin of society. Let me ask him to suppose that he, with a thousand other persons, all standing upon terms of equality, were about to reconstruct society, or to establish a colony on some distant shore. Suppose this company assembled, at the commencement of their enterprise, to form a civil constitution. At this meeting they all stand upon a level. Now imagine ten of these colonists to propose that they should be made earls or lords; that they should be made an hereditary branch of the legislature, with a negative upon the wishes and interests of all the rest; and that in order to secure their permanent respectability, they should be permitted to hold their estates in entail. A

proposition very palatable and pleasant to the ten, doubtless; but could the rest of the company listen to it? I put it to the veriest tory in the world to say, whether, as one of that company, he would listen to it. I put it to him to say, whether he would consent that lots should be cast, to determine on whom the mantle of nobility should fall.

"It would be amusing—for seriously the case never can be contemplated—to consider the arguments with which the ten would support their proposition. 'Good people!' they would say,

> 'Order is Heaven's first law, and this confessed,
> Some are, and must be, greater than the rest.'

Society cannot be constructed without its base, its columns, and its Corinthian capitals; *we* propose to be those capitals. You want objects to reverence; we offer ourselves to be those objects. We propose that your sons shall reverence our sons, and so on, in successive generations, to the end of time. Not that our sons will certainly be any better than your sons; they may be worse; their situation will be likely to make them worse, because they will be more independent of public opinion than yours; but then the great point will be gained—your children will have *something* to reverence; they may even learn to hold the splendid vices of ours in respect!—but then, the great essential point will be gained. Besides all this, the institution we recommend will be an indispensable restraint upon the popular will. You cannot be trusted with the care of your own interests; we propose ourselves and our successors as a house of lords to hold you in perpetual check.' Now if all this would be ridiculous in a new construction of society, what is there in the consent of ages to make it any less absurd? Does the perpetuity of folly make it wisdom?"—vol. ii, pp. 273—275.

"There is one view of the tendency to republican forms of government, which invests the whole subject of modern politics with a completely new character. THAT TENDENCY IS IRRESISTIBLE! Be it good or evil, encouraging or alarming; be it wisdom or folly—wisdom in which all good men should rejoice, or folly which all wise men should execrate—*it cannot be helped.* The progress of reform in England is not more certain in fact, than it must have been certain in foresight, to every thinking men, ten years ago. There are principles, concerning whose operation one may safely speculate in his closet. He who does not see, that knowledge, having once gone down among the people—which it never did before—will *never* turn back; and he who does not see, at the same time, that the spread of intelligence *must* sooner or later break down the entire system of unjust favouritism, whether in church or state, knows nothing of human nature. It is often said that the horse, if he *knew* his power, would not suffer himself to be driven and worn out in the service of another. Does not all the power in the world lie in the people? Are not the people beginning to learn and feel this?"—vol. ii, pp. 303, 304.

"But with us in America the question is not about tendencies. The result to which the whole civilized world is advancing, is, in our country, fully brought out. We have adopted the free system; and our main concern is with its practical working. The Old World has other and

complicated questions to consider; old and new ideas, institutions, and claims, are mingling and clashing in the conflict of European politics; but to the New World is presented only one question, How shall the system we have actually adopted be made to work well?"—vol. ii, pp. 306, 307.

We deny that these doctrines are self-evident or universally correct. We deny that they are at this moment generally acceded to in this country. Does the author think, that while the people of England are eager for reform, some on one scale and some on another, that any large proportion of them would at this moment brook the idea of a republican form of government being introduced? If he does, he has read the mind of Great Britain differently than we have done. Indeed we do not think, that in the above passages he has written or thought in a style worthy of himself—much less of any one who regards the character of the people of the British empire, or the circumstances and history of a nation of more than a thousand years' standing. Does Mr. Dewey imagine that communities are to be modelled to any given form, however beautiful to contemplate by an artist, or a theorist, like a piece of potter's clay? Assuredly not. What time may accomplish—what the gradual reforms which the wisdom of the aggregate mass of the people in our peace-deserving and peace-loving country may bring about, it is not for us to predict. But were it possible to transplant the whole of the American form of government, and its accompanying institutions into England, within the period indicated by the author, we feel assured that the contemplation, if entertained by the mass of the nation, would be considered as the most alarming that ever threatened the country.

But the truth is—neither is the assertion contradicted, while, on the other hand, it is confirmed by many of our author's statements and admonitions—America is at this moment as much convulsed as our own country. Political speculations, dissensions, and partisanship on vital questions, array the people against one another. Take for example, the question of slavery, which in an eminent and menacing degree, is a bone of contention between the Northern and Southern States; a question, however, which Mr. Dewey discreetly passes over, with scarcely the most distant reference to it. We believe, in short, that the people of Great Britain are more secure, and better assured of the empire's stability and prosperity, than are the best informed of our transatlantic brethren, with regard to the American Union. England has withstood the flame of many a political conflagration, but phœnix-like she has not only survived but come out of the fire with new life infused into her bosom; nor has all the eloquence, labour, or ingenuity of our talented, patriotic, and prognosticating author, convinced us that his country can at this moment lay the same flattering hope to its soul.

ART. XIII.—*The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, Bart.: now first published entire from the MSS. &c.; and Extracts from Family Correspondence and Papers, with Notices, and a Genealogical Memoir.* By the REV. DANIEL PARSONS. London: Longman & Co. 1836.

PORTIONS of these papers have been for a considerable time before the public, and have been so highly prized as to excite a very general and anxious desire to have the whole in a continuous and accurate form. But although their most interesting and valuable materials have thus been previously extracted, the authenticity and completeness of the present work render it one of the most valuable of those diaries belonging to bygone times that our literature possesses. It may not exhibit such a depth of meditation and gracefulness of mind as has been bequeathed us by Evelyn; nor the garrulous liveliness of Pepys; but as a faithful portraiture of the true English character as maintained among the most respectable and high-minded of the gentry during the reign of Charles I., whether in the field or by the fireside, it affords one of the best lights of history that exists. Especially has this publication delighted us, inasmuch as it gives a striking picture of what were the every-day life and domestic habits of our forefathers nearly two centuries ago.

Our readers who are familiarly acquainted with the history of the Civil War at the period of the Revolution, are aware that Sir Henry Slingsby was one of Charles's most loyal and active adherents, and that he was beheaded on the 8th of June, 1658—having been entrapped into joining the plots of Ormonde and Rochester, with a view to his destruction. The biographical preface to the present volume informs the reader, that this staunch royalist was born in 1601; that he was a commoner of good estate, and descended of a family of the first class. His property lay in Yorkshire. There is also an account given of his entering at Cambridge, of his marriage, and other family and personal matters of less interest, though all affording subjects for reflection to the student of history and the antiquarian. In 1638 he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and at this period his Diary commences. Though a retired and grave character, he appears, about the date of receiving his title, to have taken up arms; for he thought that "'being a soulgier is a commendable way of breeding for a young gentleman, if they consort ymselves wth such as are civil, and ye quarrell lawfull." He represented Knaresborough in the parliaments of 1640, and voted among the fifty-nine against the bill for Strafford's attainder. For a time he had afterwards to lead a hide-and-seek style of life, but in 1644 recommenced his Diary, when the civil war was at the extremity of its fury.

After this brief and hasty outline of the character of the work,

and of the history of Sir Henry, we shall proceed to extract from it some of the most curious and novel notices which it contains; first, having recourse to the Diary, and secondly, to the Family Correspondence and Papers. Some passages from that portion of the Diary which treats of household and private matters, are, as before stated, particularly worthy of notice. Here follows an exceedingly clear and distinct account of furnishings and housekeeping; the sketch of Francis Oddy is not less a speaking picture.

"Edward Horsely a Painter in York is now painting ye lodging chamber above ye new Parlour, in colours sutable to those hangings I have bought to hang it wth all. Ye hangings I bought of Peter Pope in Bednall Greene, as also those yt are in ye with-drawing Roome to ye new Parlour, wherein ye 9 Muses are. Those in ye Lodgin chamber are calfe skins silver'd, & wrought upon wth a large flower in blew worstett: they come short of ye ground having ye breath of a pannell of wainscott below ym & a frieze & cornish above ym. The chimney piece is paint'd answerable in blew and sylver. There is above ye door yt goes into ye inner chamber a head carv'd in wood like a Roman head, wch I caused to be made for him yt keeps ye chambers & hath charge of ye Wardrope, as a remembrance of him yt hath so long & faithfully serv'd. This man Francis Oddy was servant to my father many years & since hath served me: my father at his death (who dy'd at Nunmounton at my Nephew George Marwood's house ye 17 of December 1634) did recommend this man Francis Oddy unto me having had good experience of his fidelity and diligence, & even such I find him hitherto. He serves me in ye way of an upholsterer wn there is need to furnish ye Lodgin rooms and dress ym up: he serves me for a Caterer to bye all mannor of provisions for ye house, & to keep ye wine cellar. He is of very low stature, his head little, & his hair cut short, his face lean and full of wrinkles, his complection such yt it shows he hath endur'd all wethers: his disposition not sutable wth ye rest of his fellow Servants wch doth either by diligence breed envy, or else thro' plain dealing Stir up variance: & having a working head is in continual debate. The stair case yt leads to ye great chamber & by stepts higher into ye painted chamber was furnish'd ye last year by John Gowland. Ye stair is above 5 feet wthin ye sides in wideness: ye Posts 8 inches square: upon every post a crest is set of my especial friends & of my brother-in-Laws: & upon yt post yt bears up ye half pace yt leads into ye paint'd chamber there sits a blackamore cast in led by Andrew Karne a Dutchman, who also cut in stone ye statue of ye horse in ye Garden. The blackamore sits holding in either hand a candlestick to set a candle to give light to ye staircase."

At one time the number of domestic servants kept by Sir Henry, is said by him to have been sixteen men, and eight women. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that "Our charge is much every year, being well accommodated wth good faithfull diligent servants, so yt at least I spend every year in housekeeping 500*l*., if ye demeane grounds wch I keep in my own hands be reckon'd according to ye rent it would give, and ye charge in getting it; wch yet serves not ye house with corn, but (I) am fain to buy." There can be no

doubt of his having been a good master, a good landlord, and an able agriculturist; although, as regards the latter capacity, he would make a poor figure at the present day. His philosophy would also be at fault, if we are to judge from the statement that follows. After describing an agricultural process, viz. that of "burning ye swarth they mean to plough, ye ashes whereof by experience they find to yield a greater increase of corn yn any other manner of lime," he adds, that it is "a course of husbandry never heretofore used in this latter age, in ye end whereof this world must be consumed wth burning, but sure it may be ye cauce of so great winds as we have had this whole year yt hath done so much harm, both by sea and land."

Sir Henry must have been a grave and religious man, as the following particulars testify with a touching simplicity. Who but a good, a humane, and a pious man would have thought of employing his pen and reflections in this manner?

"The 1st of October dy'd an old man of my sister Mettcalfs, yt came wth her wn she came to see us before we took our Journey to London; he sickn'd upon a cold he took by being upon ye Grass at ye Ferry side, & by a surfeit of eating Plumbs; my son Henry was sick in ye house at the same time of a double Tertian wch held him 3 weeks. It is strange to see how loath by nature every man is to dye, tho' it is decreed yt every man must dye, & no means to avoid it, & seeing yt that this life is but a Pilgrimage or passage to a better life; & yet every man loves his Inn rather yn his home & will suffer any dis-commodity here, rather yn depart hence to purchase a place in heaven; I did ye more wonder at it, to see this poor man while he lay sick so much talk of & desire to be at his own house; tho' I do think he lay better here yn at home, & had all things both of dyet & Physick better yn if he were at home; & yet we never talk of nor desire heaven, tho' it be never so much for our advantage & our best home."

Sir Henry was no stranger to domestic affliction, it would appear; and the features of character, together with the devout reflections which crowd into his pages, are charming. While every sketch places before the reader an individual, and every meditation a lesson, the writer's full-length portrait receives a touch, till at last it is brought out to the most perfect proportions. How much of sedateness, comely maternity, and family thrift is conveyed by a few notices regarding Lady Slingsby, interspersed in the Diary! We hear, in one place, that she was of a "timorous and compassionate nature;" in another, mention is made of the "Altar cloath of purple colour, wrought with stripes of worstett, which was her own handiwork." But the close of her life, her character as it was thereupon drawn up, and the testimonies of his conjugal love, cannot—must not be abridged. After stating that on leaving Lord Fauconberg's for London—for advice, we presume, in behalf of Lady Slingsby—on which occasion "I had my coach robb'd, and all ye

lining, fringe, and lace, taken out, upon all saints day at night," these mournful particulars are communicated:—

"After tryal made of Mr Cleter physitian, whom I sent for from Newcastle, being physitian to my neece Fenwick & commend'd to us by her; but after a weeks tryall he return'd, having given him six pieces for his pains of coming; but little good in point of cure. The 31st of December my dear wife depart'd this life, after she had endur'd a world of misery; her many infirmities at last turning to a consumption. The loss of her by death is beyond expression, both to her children, & all yt knew her; but chiefly to my self, who hath enjoy'd happy days in her company & society wch now I find a want of; she was a woman of a very sweet disposition, pleasant & affable; and wn any thing mov'd her to anger, or yt she conceiv'd any injury done to her, she would easily forgive, & be ye first yt would offer termes of reconsilement; and tho' she was passionate, it was not lasting but soon passed over; she was exceeding timerous, & fearfull, wch made her apprehend many dangers to her self; she would say she was not affraid to dye, but of ye pains of Death; & to her physitian she would say, she desir'd nothing to prolong her life, so she could have any thing to ease her pains; so it happen'd to her as she fear'd, for certainly she dy'd a very painful death, having ye use of her speech & senses & memory to ye very moment she dy'd; now wt loss is to be compar'd to my loss? but ye Lord hath sent it me for not valuing so great a blessing in a wife; & I will now comfort my self in this hope yt ye Lord hath taken her unto himself, & hath carry'd her to ye bosom of Abraham & possess'd her of his everlasting kingdom, & given her an inheritance wth his saints in light; where is light and no darkness, joy, & no sorrow, peace, & no war, felicity and happiness wthout misery; to wch place I hope in God I shall once be brought, to enjoy life eternal wth Christ Jesus & all his Saints: she would always be calling to have some part of ye Scripture read unto her, & chiefly ye Psalms, & ye night before she dy'd she said by heart some part of ye 103 Psalm; her chief worldly desire was yt my daughter Barbara might have a portion set forth: wch yn I did, in case I marry'd, by a deed, which I seal'd to, & gave my brother John Belasyse to keep. Ye house we lay at was mounsier Sabastian's in Covent Garden, next house to ye gate at ye west end, yt goes into ye new church yard: and I bury'd her upon ye altar steps, unto ye south side next my Lady Savils in ye Parish of St. Martin's church, wch had both our first meeting and our last parting; I marry'd at London in anno 1631 ye 7 day of July, & lived ye first year in St. Martins lane, and so kept my first Christmas in St. Martins Parish: so is our lives & purposes dispos'd of by God Almighty as we have no time but ye present to lay hold on."

In so far as the Diary is concerned with the public troubles and events of the period in which Sir Henry lived, the reader cannot expect much novelty. It must be admitted, however, that there are some remarkably happy and lucid descriptions—that of the battle of Marston Moor, for example; and also that in his sketches of character, our best historians would find corrections, as well as finishing touches. But we shall confine ourselves to a few notices

concerning the situation, the conduct, and the character of the king, at various times. Here we have him at Oxford.

"It concern'd ye King to chuse one of trust & care, being for ye Security of his person: yet would he not transmit all ye care to ye governour, but would himself once or twice a week take horse, and go about ye town, to view both wthin & wthout ye works, & be among his ordinance where they stood upon their carryages: he kept his hours most exactly, both for his exercises & for his dispatches, as also his hours for admitting all sorts to come to speak wth him. You might know where he would be at any hour from his rising, wch was very early, to his walk he took in ye Garden, & so to Chapple & dinner; so after dinner, if he went not abroad, he had his houres for wrighting or discourcing, or chess playing, or Tennis."

As the King's cause became more and more desperate, the plight both of him and his followers, was frequently far from enviable.

"In our Quarters we had little accommodation; but of all ye places we came to, ye best at old Radnor, where ye King lay in a poor low Chamber, & my Ld of Linsey & others by ye Kitching fire on hay: no better were we accommodat'd for victuals; wch makes me remember this passage; wn ye King was at his supper eating a pullet & a peice of Cheese, ye room wthout was full, but ye men's stomacks empty for want of meat; ye good wife troubl'd wth continual calling upon her for victuals, & having it seems but yt one cheese, comes into ye room where ye King was, & very soberly asks if ye King had done wth ye cheese, for ye Gentlemen wthout desir'd it. But ye best was, we never tarry'd long in any place, & therefore might ye more willingly endure one night's hardship, in hopes ye next night might be better. And thus we continu'd our march, untill we came to Chester, where we found my Ld Byron in command in ye town, & ye enemy in ye subbers, & so close yt it was some hazard to ye King to pass ye bridge. Now our horse quarter'd about 3 miles off, except only ye Kings lifeguard, and my Ld Garrards horse, both wch were drawn into ye town, & preparations made ye next day to have a Sally; but while they were busy to carry out ye Dung yt baricadod up ye gate yt led to ye suburbs, a messenger came yt brought ye King word, yt Poynze had ingag'd Sr. Marmaduke Langdale to fight: & a little after we heard yt we had taken some colours of ye enemys, but yt ye King must send supplys, by reason yt ye enemy increas'd by yt assistance they had from neighbouring Garisons wch flock'd to ym; whereupon ye King sends forth both my Ld of Litchfeild and Ld Garrard wth those yt were in ye town; but before they could joyne, our horse was beaten; & in ye view of ye town, and of ye King; who at ye very same time was in one of ye towers of ye wall, looking over to see our men & theirs in ye suburbs exchange some bullets one wth another. We took it first for ye enemy till some came wound'd & brought us ye sad news yt our horse was rout'd, many taken, & my Ld Litchfeild slain. Here I do wonder at ye admirable temper of ye King, whose constancy was such yt no perills never so unavoidable could move him to astonishment; but yt still he set ye same face & settl'd countenance upon wt advers forturne soever befell

him; & neither was exalt'd in prosperity nor deject'd in adversity; wch was ye more admirable in him, seing yt he had no other to have recourse unto for councell & assistance, but must bear ye whole burden upon his shoulders; wn as ye General of an army, if it be destroy'd, hath recourse to those yt employ'd him, which will somewhat ease his heart's greife, & supply ye Loss by new Levies: & [by] this accident I never found him mov'd at all: tho' ye loss was so much ye greater by my Ld of Litchfeilds death, his kingsman, & whom he lov'd so dearly. But this makes him look ye nearer to his own safety, & therefore gives order for his march ye next day wth those horse yt came safe to ye town; wch we left wthout all hopes of releif, to make conditions for ymselves for [the] storm, if they durst attempt no more."

In another place this sincere and characteristic notice of the King is found:—"I never observ'd any great severity in ye King, us'd either toward ye enemy wn he had him in his power, or to ye Soulgier in his own army, except only at Wing, a house of my Ld Canarvan's where he command'd to be hang'd upon a sign post, a Soulgier, for stealing a chalice out of ye church."

Sir Henry has evidently been an encourager of education, and one, too, who entertained enlightened views on the subject. The ornamental, as well as the solid branches, fell under his directions and approval. Thus, we find him sending "violl stringes" to a son at Cambridge University; giving twenty-six shillings and eightpence to Mr. Hearne for "4or mounthes teachinge of Mrs. Ellen Slingsbie to dance at York;" and eighteen (pence?) "ffor a booke boughte fore Mr. Willm. Slingsbie, called the 'Italian Scholmaister.'" The family letters and papers, however, contain some of the most curious notices, as to education and many other matters, that are to be met with in the volume. These documents open long before the birth of the writer of the Diary; while a number of them concern other members of the family, before he was of age to consider of such things. We now quote, as an example, one of the most interesting, valuable, and illustrative papers that can any where be found. It will take up more of our space than can well be afforded to it; but it is so excellent, as to deserve the consideration of every parent, instructor, and pupil. It is dated 31st March, 1610; and is headed, "Instructions for Mr. Snell for the Guidinge of his Pupil Willm Slingsbye;" Henry Slingsby the elder being the author of the code.

"*For Religion.*—FFirste that he learne the principles of religion. That he use the practice and service of God by daylye prayre besides at night when he liethe him downe and in the morninge when he risethe. That when occacion maye be offered he resorte to the service sermons and Sacramte of the reformed Churche. That he doe not too hastelye meddle wth the sacramt till his understandinge be a litle bettered in point of religion: That he never faile to give God thanks bothe before and after meate if emongst his owne private companie then publiquely if emongst strangers

then private to himself. That he spend some tyme in readinge of the scriptures and other books teachinge good life and doctrine. That the Sabothe be religiouslye kepte and wholy spent in prayer and other good Christian and religious exercises.—That all this be. p. formed in Frenche when he shall be able soe to doe.

"*For Scoler Learninge and Frenche.*—That next vnto religion he first applye his latinge that he maye have some senee of the congruitye thereof and maye a litle understand ordinary thinges when he shall reade them in latinge whilest Frenche is wantinge and that for lacke of language he cannot converse abroad it will be lefft wearisome to him to labor his latinge diligently. Of bookes for his first labors. I doe most approve the wise sainge of Cato and the moralitie of the fables of Easoppe after them Terence. Theise well applyed and pfectlye learned wth the principles of learning will I thinke be sufficient for one yeares labor. A litle well understood and well imprinted in his memory will be muche better then a supficiall runnings thorought of moe or better Authors but my opinion is there neyther are nor can be better Authors. That from his first landinge in ffrance yow doe not speake anithinge to him but either latinge or in ffrencht excepte when yow shall have occacion to give him some holesome precepte wch cannot be understood by him but in English. That he doe not spend too much tyme in sleepe for that dothe but corrupte the bodye dulls the will and loose a great deale of tyme wch might be better imployed in learninge somethinge or other that is good: Ffor his studye in ffrench it maye be in diuers kindes somtymes ancient somtymes modern histories and somtimes other kindes of learninge as occasion shall serve for most bookes are translated into ffrench of what kinde soever yett wth this pviso his speciall care be to gayne his latinge: That when he shall well understand French it will not be imptinent to goe to the papists sermons when he cannot have meanes to goe to the ptestante: That he studye the Mathamatikes: That when he shall have competent language he doe not soe muche as meditate any thinge to him self but in ffrench of this he will finde greate use and pfitt: That he doe not converse wth Englishe but verye rarely except in ffrench and that more comonlye by writinge than psonal discourse.

"*For Healthe.*—That he for his healthe walke and take the aire often and that all his learnninge be not sitting but somtymes Walkinge and by way of familiar discoursinge wch will be lesse wearisome and happilye more pfitable: That somtymes he take some coolinge possette to keepe his blood and liver in good temper: That he take heede of fruites and esspecially grapes for they breed the bloody fluxes and are verye daingerous for young psons. That he temp his wyne well wth water. That he take heed what companie he keepes in too familiar a fashion for the frenche are of an ill conversacon and full of many loathsome deseases: The Dutche have a falte worse then that bothe for soule bodye thrifte and reputation.

"*Extraordinarie Learninge.*—That he apply well his writinge: That he learne his weapon: That he learne to dance: That he learne to ride.

"*Advises of Observation.*—That he keepe a iournall of his travell and therein set downe, viz. FFirst what townes, or villages he passeth by: What faire churches Castles or houses he seeth in his waye or any other thinge worthie notes. Whoe be the governors of the Townes Castles

and provinces. What other great men be there adioyning. Of what religion linage and kindred they be of and there matches, wth their brothers Sisters and Children. That in the places where he dothe not come he gather the names of the princes of the blood, the great Duke's and Potentates of the Kingdome there religion matches and alliance. The gouerment and places of habitation of all suche princes and great psons: The great townes courtes of pliament universities and great rivers of all the kingdom: The townes of trade and merchandize wth Englande and what comodities are exchanged in everye severall place: That he be not altogether ignorant of all places and rivers of note throughout the whole worlde and somwhat more pticulerlye throughout Europe: That he keepe a pfect and playne note of all his expenses and send me once a quarter at least a coppie both of his iournall and expenses wch he must keepe for himself in 2 severall bookes faire written: That he keepe well in one of his books the names of all suche marchantes as he hath coreaspondence wth all and the postes and messengers by whom he passes and receaves lres the townes streete and there distincte habitacons that his directions beinge soe made maye be playne to euery bodyes understandinge. That all his lres be directed to London to Mr I Phillip Bourlemache over against drapshall not far from the Exchange and from thence to be sent to Mr John Coghill near Blackwell hall and from him to Thomas Scoley at Wafefeilde: That once every 14 days he read over theise Articles."

There is a good deal of curious correspondence with the female branches of the house, on theological subjects, throughout the volume; but those entries which exhibit the kind and degree of expenditure in a knightly family at the periods indicated, will particularly engage the attention of antiquarians. Here are a few of them.

"*ffebr:* 1612.—Baron Snigge.—To Mr. Barron Sniges geven him for his favore in yor business in the Exchequere, xli.

"Apparell.—ffor a paire of Spanishleather Showes, iij^{s} vj^{d}; ffor a paire of blacke sylke Rossis, iij^{s}.

"Chardges.—ffor my goinge by water from the old swane to Westminster, iiij^{d}; ffor a search in the Roles for the Copie of an Indenture, xvj^{d}; ffor Henry Wildons goinge by water, iiij^{d}; ffor yr goinge by water from the old Swane to Westminster & from thence backe againe, ij^{s}; ffor mendinge and dressinge of the Jacke in yor kitchinge in yor house in St. Martines Layne, ij^{s}.

"Bookes.—The 17: for bookes bought, viz. for the historie of prince moris his histories iii^{s} vi^{d}, newes from Virginie, the Epithalamie or Nuptiall poems of the mariedge of the La: Elis: & the vowe of teares xviij^{d}, and for Sr ffrancis baccons booke of Assaies xviij^{d} in a, vi^{s} vi^{d}; The 18: bought more in Powles church yearde, 2: set of songe bookes viij^{s} Mr Smith his Sermons vj^{s} vj^{d} & the Accedence of Armorrie ij^{s} vj^{d} [sent to Allne & ffoston], xvij^{s}.

"Chardges.—ffor 2: pounde of Candles, x^{d}.

"Woodd.—ffor one hundredth of faggetes, ix$_{s}$.

"Clocke & watche mendinge.—ffor a new case & the mendinge of yor watche, v^{s}; Paid likewise for the mendinge of my La: sheffeilde's clocke, viij^{s}.

Julij: 1613.—Chardges.—To a boy to walke yor horsis at Richmonde, ijd; ffor ferriley over at putney, iiij; To a power woma for openinge a gaite in yor waie to Eslington, ijd.

"Charges.—The: 29: at Bountingforth in dyet viz: Loyne of mutton ijs Cople of chickens xiiijd Butter & Eges vjd breade and beare ijs iiijd in all, vjs; ffor hors-meat their for 4or: horsis viz: for hey viijd for gress xvjd in pvinder 8 peckes at 8d: vs: iiijd in all, vijs iiijd; To the chamberlayne in Rewarde vjd to the Osler iiijd, xd.

"*Nov:* 1614.—Chardges.—The 27: in dyet at Supp at London at the flower de luce in ffetter laine viz Loyne of mutton ijs a pullit ijs iiijd breade & beare xvjd Cheese ijd, vs: xd."

It is unnecessary for the purpose of diversifying the nature of the matter which we select for our journal, or for that of exhibiting the character of the publication before us, and of recommending it, to extract more of its contents. Though these may have formed a a worm-eaten, unheeded and decaying bundle, for many years past, they are now within the reach of all; and that they will amply reward a careful study, cannot be questioned by any one who considers whence the lights of history are derived, or how much more faithful is that picture which has been drawn from the breathing subject of it, in the confidence of secrecy, and the warmth of unpremediated sincerity, than any which labour expended under the eye and the prejudices of the world can produce.

NOTICES.

ART. XIV.—*A Concise System of Mathematics, in Theory and Practice, for the use of Schools, Private Students, and Practical Men, &c.* By ALEXANDER INGRAM. Third Edition, revised, enlarged, and improved, by JAMES TROTTER. London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1836.

WE have formerly spoken so well of this volume, that we have little or nothing to add on its reappearance. Indeed, "Third Edition" is an announcement of far more value than any general praise which a short notice can convey. At the same time, while it deserved in its former condition the character of being one of the most comprehensive, condensed, and practical systems of mathematics which is anywhere to be found, and unrivalled as a work to be put into the hands of students of mensuration, Mr. Trotter has greatly added to its value by his revision, and especially by an accurate set of stereotype tables, comprising logarithms of numbers, logarithmic sines and tangents, natural sines and tangents, areas of circular segments, squares, cubes, &c. The volume is illustrated by three hundred and forty wood-cuts.

ART. XV.—*Popular Geography: a Companion to Thomas's Library and Imperial School Atlases.* By ROWLAND BOND. London: J. Thomas. 1836.

THE particular features in this handsome and well-filled volume are such as cannot be found in any other publication in a compressed and cheap form.

It is not an Index, but a Companion to the specified Atlas, avoiding minute topographical arrangements, and dealing in descriptions of the various terrestrial phenomena most remarkable. The causes of these phenomena, their effect upon the natural productions of the earth, and upon the whole of animated nature, especially upon the human family, are the subjects principally illustrated in these pages, in which a tone of close investigation and scientific reasoning is as successfully maintained as the popular spirit and the limited bounds of the work can afford. Unlike most school books, the manner in which physical and political geography is here treated is engaging, and, we believe, admirably calculated to accomplish that which it is intended to do.

Art. XVI.—*First Progressive Latin Exercises, adapted to the Orthography and Etymology of Hiley's Latin Grammar; to which are added, Exercises on the Most General Rules of Syntax.* By R. Hiley. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1836.

Like all Mr. Hiley's works, the present, we think, is extremely well adapted to assist the junior pupils who study his "Elements of Latin Grammar." Such helps as this would have been of great service to ourselves some thirty years ago; but neither we nor our contemporaries had such advantages. There is to be a second volume of these Exercises, which, of course, will carry the pupil gradually and progressively forward according to the order of the Grammar, to which the work is intended as a companion. A glimpse at the contents of this publication will satisfy any one who has any knowledge of the language, the acquisition of which it is intended to facilitate, that it is both plain and practical; at the same time, that it is level to the capacity of all boys of ordinary abilities, and who may bestow upon it ordinary attention.

Art. XVII.—*Progress of Russia in the East.* London: Murray. 1836.

This is an able pamphlet, giving, in a lucid and concise manner, a narrative of the amazing progress which Russia has made since the time of Peter the Great down to the present moment, in extending her dominion, especially in the East, and of the means by which she has effected that progress; suggesting to England, and earnestly urging, at the same time, certain methods and measures by which such an aggrandizing systematic policy may be checked. One or two passages may be quoted, which will exhibit the drift of the author, and the conclusions to which he comes. "The avidity," says he, "with which Russia has sought, and the pertinacity with which she has clung to every acquisition of territory, even when it could be maintained only at the cost of large pecuniary sacrifices, shows that she values these acquisitions with reference to some other considerations than the mere intrinsic worth of the property acquired—that she regards them as a means, not as an end; and the position she has secured to herself by her treaties with Persia and Turkey, affords unequivocal indication of a preparation for future encroachments." The author argues that

this contemplated end is not an exclusively military superiority over England, but such an advanced station and position in Asia as will act as a countercheck upon our commerce with Persia, and our authority and possions in India; and that the only way in which this purpose can be thwarted, and peace preserved in Europe, is by England maintaining the integrity and independence not only of Turkey, but of Persia.

The following passages are striking and arousing, because they contain nothing but the truth. "A reference to the map will show that Russia has advanced her frontier in every direction; and even the Caspian Sea, which appeared to present an impediment to her progress, she has turned to advantage, by appropriating it to herself." After specifying a number of these acquisitions, the writer goes on to say, that every portion of them, "except, perhaps, that in Tartary, has been obtained in opposition to the views, the wishes, and the interests of England." One fact is particularly important, as will instantly appear from the sentence we next quote. "The (Russian) regiment that is now stationed at her furthest frontier post on the western shore of the Caspian, has as great a distance to march back to Moscow as onward to Attock, on the Indus, and is actually further from St. Petersburgh than from Lahore, the capital of the Seiks."

The knowledge which the writer of this publication is master of, as respects the policy and history of Russia, and the ability with which he communicates that knowledge, furnish another, among the many strong proofs which have lately been exhibited, that Russian deceit and spirit of aggrandizement are no longer hid or misunderstood. England is opening her eyes and ears to the truth, and in this, we trust, there is security.

ART. XVIII.—*Finden's Ports and Harbours of Great Britain, with Views of the most Remarkable Headlands, Bays, and Fishing Stations on the Coast.* Part I. London: Tilt. 1836.

THE scenery of the British coast is beautiful and greatly diversified, furnishing an infinite number of subjects admirably fitted for pencil representation, and for producing the most striking effect. In the prospectus of the work before us, the reader is informed that the artist has travelled

> "All along the indented coast,
> Bespattered with the salt sea foam;
> Where'er a knot of houses lay,
> On headland or in hollow bay."

And when we join this statement with the name of that artist, we cannot but feel that these views will form one of the most desirable of the class of publications to which it belongs.

The part before us contains views of Tynemouth Priory and Lighthouse, with the life-boat in the act of saving the crew of a vessel that has struck upon the rocks on which the light-house is built—of Tynemouth Castle, and a vessel on the rocks—of Cullercoats—of the Entrance to Shields Harbour—and of Berwick Bridge, besides a letter-press description of the places represented in the engravings. We need hardly say that the plates are beautiful, yea, splendid specimens of art, even when compared with the numberless works of the kind which have lately been published; and all for two shillings and sixpence.

ART. XIX.—*Graphic Illustrations of the Life and Times of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Part III. London: Murray. 1836.

THIS part contains portraits of Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq., the author of "The Scribleraid," and certain essays in "The World,"—of the Hon. Topham Beauclerk, an eccentric character—and of the Rev. Thomas Warton, author of "The History of English Poetry," beside other able works. There are also Landscape Illustrations of the actual localities of the Doctor's life, and plates containing fac-similes of the autographs of some of his personal friends. Catherine Clive's house and hand-writing—Thomas Davies's—and Kettle Hall in Oxford, are the specimens in the present part of this interesting publication, which, whoever possesses a life of the celebrated moralist and lexicographer, will do well to purchase, especially if it be the variorum edition published by Mr. Murray. We have only farther to add, that the portraits, and the other illustrations, as well as the typographical notices contained in this part, are beautiful specimens of art, and fully equal to those that embellish the former portions of the work.

ART. XX.—*The Cavaliers of Virginia, or the Recluse of Jamestown. An Historical Romance.* 3 vols. London: Newman & Co. 1836.

THE story in these volumes is fixed at the period when Charles the Second had just been restored to the throne of his fathers, and when some of our colonies were torn by the contending factions which alternately bore sway under the Roundheads and Royalists. Jamestown, the then capital of Virginia, was particularly distinguished by these occurrences at that time, whither many of both parties had at different times repaired. It has even been reported that one of the regicides secluded himself for a season near that town, and this supposed circumstance is here taken advantage of. Hence, the Recluse is made a principal character, and most potent agent throughout. But whatever may be the historical materials which have suggested to the writer a subject for romantic embellishment and illustrations, matters little, for there is neither consistency of character in the actors, probability in the circumstances, unity in the conception, nor power, brilliancy, or verisimilitude in the composition of The Cavaliers of Virginia. It seems, in short, to be the production of one who has visited that part of the world in reality; who has read some of the most popular of the Waverly school of romances, but who has first of all been too familiar with the beauties of the Minerva press, ever to rise above their tediousness and feebleness.

ART. XXI.—*The Shakspeare Gallery, containing the Principal Female Characters in the Plays of the Great Poet.* Part I. London: Tilt. 1836.

THE spirited publisher of these portraits has hit on a happy idea in the present instance; for surely if the heroes and heroines of other authors have been thought worthy of pictorial representation, and if they have generally been popular publications, the female creations of the immortal and unmatched dramatist must be doubly interesting. Search the world through, and the pages of every other writer, still an equal number of dis-

tinct and clearly defined female characters will not be found, when compared with the imaginings and personifications by Shakspeare. The mine is exhaustless, whether sweetness, beauty, or majesty be considered.

The first number contains portraits of Viola, in the Twelfth Night, illustrated by part of a scene in that play—Beatrice, in Much Ado about Nothing—and Anne Page, in the Merry Wives of Windsor. Even these three characters and portraits exhibit a wonderful variety, and yet each is perfect in itself, in so far as the poet's delineation goes; while the representations by the artists, of Shakspeare's conception, are worthy of his muse, which our readers will readily believe, when informed that they are executed under the superintendence of Mr. Charles Heath.

ART. XXII.—*A History of British Quadrupeds.* By THOMAS BELL, F.R.S., F.L.S., &c. Part III. 8vo. London: Van Voorst. 1836.

FROM what has been published of this work, we predict that it will be one of the ablest, and the most pleasantly written, connected with natural history, that exists in any language. The felicitous ease and elegance of the style, together with its simplicity and dash of tender feeling, confer upon the performance a character not inferior in these respects to White's "Selborne;" while the science and the research brought to its elucidation are greatly superior to what is exhibited in that popular production. The history of the mole, which occupied a considerable portion of the previous part, is finished in the present, besides other articles of almost equal interest. But as a specimen of the manner of the work, we copy a description of the architectural powers, and civic stratagems, so to speak, of the mole; taking our extract from the previous part, on account of the distinct and perfect representation which it furnishes.

"The district or domain to which an individual mole confines himself may be termed its encampment. Within its limits, or at least in immediate communication with this district, all the labours of the animal are pursued. It consists of the habitation or fortress, from which extends the high road by which the animal reaches the opposite extremity of the encampment, and of various galleries or excavations opening into this road, which it is continually extending in search of food, and which constitute, in fact, its hunting-ground. The fortress is formed under a large hillock, which is always raised in a situation of safety and protection; either under a bank, against the foundation of a wall, at the root of a tree, or in some similar locality. The earth, of which the dome covering this curious habitation is composed, is rendered exceedingly strong and solid, by being pressed and beaten by the mole in forming it. It contains a circular gallery within the base, which communicates with a smaller one above by five nearly equi-distant passages; and the domicile or chamber is placed within the lower and beneath the upper circular gallery, to which last it has access by three similar passages. From the chamber extends another road, the direction of which is at first downwards for several inches; it then rises again to open into the high road of the encampment. From the external circular gallery open about nine other passages, the orifices of which are never formed opposite to those which connect the outer with the inner and upper gallery; these extend to a

greater or less distance, and, according to De Vaux, return, each taking an irregular semicircular route, and opening into the high road at various distances from the fortress. Such is the very hasty description of this most singular structure: and nothing surely can be imagined more admirably calculated to insure the security or the retreat of the inhabitant than such an arrangement of internal routes of communication as this. The chamber communicating beneath directly with the road, and above with the upper gallery—this with the lower by five passages, and the latter again with the road by no less than nine—exhibit altogether a complication of architecture, which may rival the more celebrated erections of the beaver. Another very important part of the encampment is the high road, which has been termed by the Continental naturalists, 'the passage'—a name which affords no distinctive idea of its nature or use. It differs essentially from all the other routes and excavations, both in its construction and use. It extends from the fortress to the extremity of the domain in nearly a direct line, forming, in fact, the main route of communication between the fortress and the different parts of the encampment; and the alleys which lead to the hunting-ground, or quarries, open into it on each side. Its circumference is larger than the body of the mole, though not large enough to admit of two individuals passing each other. The walls are beaten by the frequent pressure of the animal's sides against them, until they become very smooth and compact: in fact, this road is principally formed by the compression of the earth which surrounds it, rather than by actual excavation; and hence the unfrequency of mole-hills over it compared with the number which are observed in connection with the alleys and the quarries, in forming which the earth is removed out of the way by being thrown up on the surface. In some instances, the same mole forms a second, and even a third road; but this is generally done in order to extend its operations to a new and more productive district. In other cases, many moles are known to employ one road, though they never intrude upon each other's hunting ground."

ART. XXIII.—*Remarks on the Present State of Agriculture, in a Letter addressed to his Constituents.* By CH. S. LEFEVRE, Esq., M.P. London: Ridgway. 1836.

MR. LEFEVRE was Chairman of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Agriculture during the last Session of Parliament. To correct some misstatements and misconceptions which have gone abroad respecting the draft of the Committee's Report, of which he was the author, he has put forth this pamphlet, explanatory of his views upon the subject, together with his comments upon the various suggestions offered to the Committee. It has been with much satisfaction that we have read the whole Letter. The statements and reasonings which it contains are plain, forcible, and interesting. They are also of an encouraging character to the British farmer, if he will but follow the author's advice. From the Honourable Gentleman's representation, we are convinced that the inquiry which the Committee instituted, and the evidence they published, have been falsely accused of being barren and useless. It appears, at least, to establish one most important and wholesome truth, viz.

that the farmer must look to the exercise of his own prudence, skill, enterprize, and ingenuity, far more than to any direct legislative enactment, for an amelioration of his condition. The following sentences are also worthy of remark, and they happen to be in perfect accordance with our own knowledge. "The evidence which the Agricultural Committee received from Scotland is abundantly sufficient to prove, with what success the cultivation of the soil can be carried on, even at low prices, by an improved system of management; and I alluded to it, not for the purpose of drawing an invidious distinction between the farmers of the two countries, but to show with what beneficial results capital and skill can be applied to land, especially where the occupying tenant is relieved from the payment of tithe in kind." After the insertion of a table, exhibiting a comparison between England and Scotland as to rent, burthens, expenses, quality of land, and produce, which supports the foregoing statement, the author adds—"Although the rent paid by the Scotch farmer appears, in some instances, to bear a higher proportion to the quality of the land than that paid by the English farmers, the difference in the cost of cultivation is far more remarkable, in favour of the former; and it will be seen, by an attentive perusal of the evidence given by all the Scotch witnesses, that they turn their attention to the breeding, fattening, and general management of stock, to a much greater extent than is usually done by the English farmer. The productive powers of the land are increased by the additional quantity of manure thus raised, and it suffers less exhaustion by the less frequent recurrence of the grain crop; and to this circumstance their comparative prosperity may, in a great measure, be attributed." Where the same practice prevails in England, it is attended with an equally favourable result. We advise every British farmer to consider of these, and the other statements and suggestions, contained in this judicious Letter.

ART. XXIV.—*The Act for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales. With an Analysis, Explanatory Notes, and an Index.* By J. M. WHITE, Esq. Fellowes. 1836.

MR. WHITE was the solicitor employed by his Majesty's Government to attend upon the progress of this Bill through both Houses of Parliament, and must therefore be reasonably expected to be particularly acquainted with its details and purport. He has, with the view of making its provisions plain and intelligible to ordinary readers, put forth this edition of it, accompanied by a concise and lucid Analysis, besides many appropriate Notes, thereby consulting the benefit of the country, and no doubt his own interest; for, we should think, there is not one person in the kingdom to whom the question of tithes comes home, that will not, in the course of a few weeks, put himself in possession of this small and cheap work. We had intended to go into the subject, not for the purpose of impugning the measure—for we consider it a healing and most beneficial one—but that its leading features and spirit might be made speedily and extensively known. Finding, however, that it would be impossible to abridge Mr. White's Analysis and Notes, or to substitute any remarks in their place equally pertinent and valuable, we can only recommend his little volume to universal acceptance.

THE

MONTHLY REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1836.

ART. I.—*Adventures during a Journey Overland to India, by Way of Egypt, Syria, and the Holy Land.* By MAJOR SKINNER, 31st. Reg. Author of "Excursions in India." 2 vols. London: Bentley. 1836.

MAJOR SKINNER is one of the most cheerful, light-hearted, and adventurous travellers that ever journeyed through strange lands. His elasticity of spirits, vigour of nerve, and strength of bodily frame, entitle him to the character of a chieftain among his tribe. He can also, after a day or a week's extraordinary exertions and fatigue, when hungry, wet, and badly sheltered, take the limber pen in hand, and wield it like a perfect clerk. He is, in short, a delightful writer, as well as an amusing and instructive informant. There is not a dry or trashy paragraph in all the work; for though he has much to detail that would appear to be frivolous and feeble in other hands, the uncommon talent which he possesses of throwing with right good-will and confident strength the whole zest and breadth of his soul into whatever he speaks of, elevates the trifle, and renders it a suitable ground upon which to lavish his spirit and reflections. He also avoids becoming wearisome, by stating just what he readily and naturally feels on the occasion, and no more, and by then passing on to another topic, chosen with equal happiness for the exhibition of his character, and its own description. He thus is one of the most natural, easy, and, no doubt, fluent of writers; nor is it within his power to be unengaging, whatever may be his theme, or whatever the amount of his information regarding the point discussed, because the reader cannot fail of discovering, from what the Major says, much of the man, which, so long as the "proper study of mankind is man," is sufficient to uphold the character of any book.

The gallant author not only enjoys the enviable art of picturing himself to the life—though altogether unintentionally—but his self-portraiture exhibits a disposition and principles that are of themselves excellent, and that have for their support the best and most lasting foundations. His vivacity is never in bad keeping, because

it always goes hand in hand with plain common sense; and whenever, in the course of his wanderings among the scenes which excite a Christian's most solemn and affecting associations, both as regards the history of our race in this world, and our hopes as to the world to come, he delivers himself with the earnestness, the profitable reflections, and the becoming sympathies, of a firm and practical believer in divine truth. But we must not longer tarry on the threshold of these charming volumes; for, we are sure, that by saying little ourselves, and drawing copiously from the author, our readers' pleasure and benefit will be most effectually insured.

Major Skinner, like a man of unaffected manners and modest bearing—which are natural allies of true talent—commences his Journal without dedication, preface, or formal introduction, and at once informs the reader, that he arrived at Marseilles on the 8th of December, 1832—a good preparative halting-place for a visit to the Levant and more eastern parts. On every side, in so busy a mart, he heard Turkish, Arabic, Greek, French, English, and Italian, and sometimes all these languages from the same pair of lips; so that, had there been no other objects calculated to prepare the traveller for the mysteries to be encountered in his farther progress, in that most important matter, viz. of intelligible intercommunication, here was a school superior to any nearer to his native land, for initiation. The author says, that these universal linguists and interpreters display great skill in addressing a stranger at once in his mother tongue. He himself could no sooner show his face in a bureau, than some attaché of the establishment would receive him with a "How d'ye do, Sir?" before a word had been uttered to lead to a detection.

From Marseilles the Major took a passage for Alexandria, in a small vessel under the charge of a captain who was known by the title of "un bon enfant," but who, instead of being a good fellow, turned out a cowardly and savage brute. His character and manners are sketched after the author's happiest manner, so that a painter or novelist might work, and finish a perfect picture from the outline. But we pass on to Egypt, where the Major, though he had remained six months, could not have exhausted the subjects to which his pen would have been devoted; and thence to Caifa, which he reached after a most perilous voyage, in the midst of a dreadful storm. But nothing disconcerts him; he is in his element when exposed to annoyances that would prove unendurable to most men, or to disasters that must have been fatal to one possessed of less buoyant spirits, and muscular vigour, than his own. Let us see how he commenced his travels in Syria.

"January 17.—When the day dawned it was still raining most bitterly: we were fortunate enough to get a boat from a brig near us, for there was none belonging to the schooner, and I accompanied the binbashi to

the shore. We went merrily on till within a short distance of the land, when a heavy swell rolling in cast us upon a ledge of rocks, and swamped the boat. A little more water was of no consequence to people already so drenched, so we floundered out of the sunk boat, and waded through the surf to the beach. Thus began my travels in Syria, but my water expedition I soon discovered was not yet at an end.

"Caifa, or, as the Arabs call it, Haifa, is a walled city, and has one small gate towards the sea, into which I could scarcely pass, on account of a river of three feet deep that rushed through, bringing wood and even stones with it. When I saw the state of affairs, I took off my trousers and shoes, that I might make a more comfortable, if not respectable entrée to the town, and packing them up in my dripping cloak, strode boldly forward. Having accomplished an entrance, which was by no means an easy feat, I found myself in the midst of what appeared to be a pretty little lake, nearly up to my waist; all around was the accumulated rubbish that the river I had met on its way out of town had brought here to deposit. This seemed to be a court-yard, but the only building standing in it was a high tower, at the base of which was a door leading into a dark chamber, where I was delighted to take refuge. It turned out to be the guard-house; two Turks were dozing over a large pan of charcoal at one end of it, while the Egyptian soldiers were stretched on the floor at the other. I crept in, and endeavoured to dry myself; but the charcoal was too much for me, and I was glad to escape to the door, where I sat shivering in hope that some change might take place in the weather.

"After an hour of suspense, I was relieved to perceive two men with long beards, in the Hebrew dress, creep from beneath the corner of a shed which was yet supported by a tottering pole, the rest of it having already given away. They saw me, and approaching with evident pleasure exclaimed in Italian, 'God be with you, signore!'—'And with you also!' cried I; 'Pray, tell me, is not this Caifa, and where are the houses?'—'There are no houses in Caifa,' said they; 'they are all washed down by the rain that has lasted here for several days. Ecco!'—pointing to the river which was sweeping with increasing force round the gable of a house at the end of the principal street—'you see, do you not?'—'What am I to do then?' thought I. 'Pray,' I continued, addressing the Jews, 'how many hours' journey is it to Acre?'—'Oh,' replied the Hebrew, 'you need not go there, for there is not even a shed left standing. Ibrahim Pasha has destroyed the whole city.'—'Then, gentlemen,' I exclaimed, 'what fortune has brought you here, for you could scarcely have fixed upon a more unlucky spot?' 'E lei!—and you, signore!'—they answered, and looking at me with something of a waggish expression, seemed to wait for an explanation."—vol. i, pp. 60—63.

The two Jews were merchants, who had, during the night, been wrecked in the Gulf, and lost all their goods, and who had passed the intervening period in the hovel from which they now emerged. Their interview with the Frank, who, from being partly clothed after his country's fashion, and partly naked, must have been any-

thing but a picturesque apparition, was brief, for he immediately set forth in quest of new adventures.

"After scrambling over a few ruined huts, I turned into an open space that seemed to lead to the principal battery, upon which six guns were mounted. I stood here for a moment to decide upon a fresh direction, when a little old man, spying me from the door of a tumble-down hut, made towards me with all the speed he could, calling out to me in Italian, 'Wait, sir, wait; I want to speak to you.' I hailed his voice with joy, and walked towards him. He was a shrivelled old creature, of nearly seventy years of age, with a thin white beard, and dressed in a costume half Syrian and European. When I came close up to him, 'Bene, signore,' said he, 'come va la Christianità?' and, crossing his arms, drew himself up as I imagined to enter the lists of disputation, for I construed his address into the question of 'How goes on Christianity?'* 'Is there anything new in it?' he continued; 'come, let us have it.'

"The notion that I was expected to stand in the midst of the rain, with my trousers like a hood thrown over my shoulders, to enlighten this old gentleman upon the schisms and new-found miracles of the church, set me off in a fit of laughter, that, added to my ludicrous appearance, had a most strange effect upon him. He soon forgot his interest in Christianity; and conceiving, I imagine, that he had fallen in with a madman, began to shuffle away as quickly as he had come towards me before. I called him back, and learnt from him that for fourteen days it had been raining incessantly; and that a small river, which flows from Mount Carmel, had broken its bounds and swept through the town, causing the mischief that I had seen. 'However,' said he, 'the consul's house is still standing,' and he pointed towards a square building with a long pole upon it. 'For what nation is he consul?' I asked. 'For all Christianity,' replied my old informant. 'Then,' thought I, he must have a tolerable share of philanthropy; and, as I am, I will assail him.'

"The water was knee-deep in the court-yard in which his house stood, and, breaking prettily against the steps that led up to it, made a little cacsade with which a cockney would have been proud to ornament his garden. A general barking of dogs gave the alarm, and brought a crowd of singularly dressed people to the top of the ladder, for it was no better, that I was scaling. An elderly woman, and two very pretty girls, had risen suddenly from some domestic office, and smiling, beckoned me to enter. They were dressed in the Syrian costume: the bosoms of the young ones were bare, and their black tresses hung nearly over them; their complexions were beautifully fair, and if it had not been for the deep line of antimony on their lower eyelids, which contrasted so unpleasantly with their white skins, I believe I should have stood gazing at them all the day long, for I was so confounded to find in the midst of so much desolation such pleasing objects.

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* "'La Christianità,' Christendom is the name given to Europe by the Christians of the Levant."

"I was ushered into a small room by the old lady, amid the unsuppressed laughter of her two daughters, and stood, 'sans culottes,' in the presence of the universal representative. He was a modest-looking young man, and the brother of the young ladies, and had fallen into his present office by the death of his father during the siege of Acre. He was miserably lodged, poor youth! but he could not have been better attended, for his only handmaidens were his two pretty sisters. They were engaged as I entered in the delicate office of skinning a wild boar, and the fragments of the beast were strewed about the floor over which I passed: the operation was awhile suspended to regale me with a portion of its flesh fried, which was soon served by the eldest of the damsels, while the second brought in a flask of Cyprus wine."—vol. i, pp. 64—67.

Everything, for a little time, promised well in this hospitable mansion. The traveller was receiving a minute account of the casualties of the night before, which had amounted to the loss of an old woman, and a couple of donkeys; "but more may have been destroyed," continued the consul, "for, except mine, I do not think there is a safe house in Caifa." But just at the moment when this gratifying confidence was uttered, plump into the midst of their savoury mess, came about a yard square of the plaster of the roof, which in a twinkling sent the householders into the court-yard, to avoid greater damage.

We cannot, in so far as the reader's interest is concerned, but congratulate him that the gallant author chose the most inclement season of the year for his journey through Syria and the adjacent parts; for though he was thus exposed to the most formidable obstacles and dangers, which snow, rain, and winter hurricanes could present, we could not otherwise have had a greater number of curious adventures, treats, and amusing incidents, from his pen. But to return to Caifa, for a moment;—the untravelled reader will naturally wonder how a town which is described as a walled city, should be so situated as to become subject to a river's devastations, or how that river could summarily do the damage described. Nay, the author elsewhere in these volumes informs us, that the snow in that country has the power of demolishing a town in a night; in a country too, where there are some of the most ancient and imposing specimens of architectural art. But the apathy and degradation of the people are to be accounted for; for these forbidding and degenerated conditions could only exist in a nation subject to the Turkish influence. It is impossible, says the Major, to conceive the extent of the curse of such a power in the parts described. "The villages are mere burrows; the roofs and walls of the huts within them, grown over by grass, give to their dirty inhabitants as they come from them, the air of persecuted wretches that had taken refuge in the holes of the earth. In the commoner towns the stones are piled loosely up in their building, without much care for preserving

the perpendicular; heavy coats of mud over reeds, or such sticks as would be used to prop up peas in England, compose their roofs."

The storm, during which our author arrived in Syria, raged for many days; but he found a hearty reception in the convent which occupies the promontory of Mount Carmel. Here he was admitted to all the privileges, except that of celebrating mass, while he enjoyed more indulgences than the fathers themselves. The convent is designed as an asylum for Christian travellers, and has one wing set aside for that purpose, into which even "errant damsels" may be admitted without endangering the sanctity of the place. We quote some notices respecting the inhabitants of this hospitable mansion.

"Immediately after matins I am visited by the superior, and we walk up and down my room in very edifying conversation, till coffee, and most excellent bread, baked in the convent, make their appearance. Padre Camillo has lived a great deal in the world for a man who belongs to so austere an order as that of Mount Carmel. He was some time at Bagdad when Mr. Rich was resident there, and takes great delight in speaking of him; but, although in many respects an intelligent man, his ideas of the Church of England are the queerest that can be imagined. He could not comprehend the sort of being an English bishop was, and could scarcely credit that we believed in the Trinity. As I endeavour to soften his feelings with regard to our heresy, he breaks out into passionate exclamations, standing with his hands clasped in the centre of the room, and grows sometimes most eloquent in his prayers for our return to the Roman fold. 'To be so near it, and not of it,' he says, 'is dreadful:' but, interrupting himself in his rhapsodies, he assures me that he does not mean to take the advantage my confinement beneath his roof gives him to beat me, but promises that before I quit Jerusalem I shall be fully convinced of my errors.

"At twelve o'clock we adjourn to the refectory, where a most plentiful dinner, under the auspices of Fra Mattèo, awaits us. A very long grace is chanted by the monks, which concluding by a benediction to all those within the pale of the church, perplexed them a little, on recollecting that I could not be entitled to its advantages. I was standing on the left of the superior, with great gravity trying to follow the meaning of their thanksgiving, when I perceived the sudden dilemma. The monks looked at each other to take counsel in this strait, when Padre Julio, a good-natured indifferent old man, with a solemn low tone ended his mumbling by saying, 'e lei signore'—'and you too, sir.' This became the form on all occasions during my stay; and I felt quite satisfied with the supplementary blessing.

"Padre Julio has been forty years a recluse of Mount Carmel. It has been always his duty to perform mass at Caifa, where there is a little chapel and cell for him to sleep in. Every day in all weather he walks up to dinner on the mount, and returns in the afternoon to the town: he is upwards of seventy years of age, and a native of Malta. He has had the advantage of being several times imprisoned, and was once,

under Djezzar Pasha, led out to be beheaded, but escaped by a miraculous intervention that had the effect of softening the butcher's heart, although I did not comprehend the nature of it. He is merry and healthy, and seems to think very little about the time or manner of his death. He possesses as few of the attributes of a hermit as I ever met with; but his brother Emanuel, who is soon to succeed the present superior in his office, is a most rigid recluse: he never has a smile on his lips, and scarcely ever a word. I should have thought he never suffered his mind to wander from divine contemplation, if he had not one evening, when looking towards the ocean, burst into loud and enthusiastic admiration of Columbus and all early navigators. He seemed to have read every voyage of discovery down to the death of Cook, but of more modern events he was singularly ignorant. He told me that the only recreation he ever allowed his mind was in the perusal of books of travels, of which he possessed the earliest, translated into Italian. He had the greatest possible rage for following the steps of those he so much venerated. But what could he do—a poor monk? I was astonished, for I had set him down as the very pattern of a hermit, and fancied that during his frequent absences he might have been ruminating in some cave of the mountains. But, thus cribbed in a convent, his heart has all his life been beating to lead him into distant lands—a most unfortunate predilection; his journeys having extended no farther than from Malta to Carmel, where he means, I conceive, to die."—vol. i, pp. 85—87, 89—91.

Elijah is held to have been the first of all hermits, and many are the spots around Carmel that are sacred on his account, and that of others celebrated in Holy Writ. The point of the sacrifice of Elias, for example—"The Fount of Elias," &c., are shown by the monks, and many miracles in modern times recorded in connexion with such places. But there is not a spot in all these regions which the author visited, that has not been consecrated by the memory and imagination of the reader, as the scene of extraordinary events and deeds; while many of them engage the author's happy delineation. We must therefore proceed with him in his journey, without lingering long at any one post. It is proper, however, before going farther, to state that he engaged in Egypt a youth, whom he calls his squire, to be his attendant to the East. Hassan was a staunch believer in the Mahomedan creed, but one of the shrewdest and most faithful lads we ever heard of—a squire quite worthy of such a chieftain. Their mutual esteem was strong and lasting. Hassan, however, entertained a thorough contempt for Christians in general, which the conduct, appearance, and trifling superstitions, as well as legends of the professed believers in the cross, whom our travellers met with in the East, must have tended greatly to increase. But excepting his squire, and a guide, with horses or other necessary cattle, as means of conveyance, the Major neither possessed nor sought for state or protection. He trusted to his equanimity and vivacity as the best guarantees of safety with the wild people among whom he travelled, and on no occasion exhibiting either the weapons of war, nor a reliance

upon such appeals, nor a distrust of even the wandering Arabs. And by so conducting himself, he escaped the formidable encounters described by most adventurers in the regions described. Others have written, to use his own words, of their dragomans, firmans, and escorts; "but my case, I am convinced, is better secured without them." "I am to find my way to the neighbourhood of Delhi, and this I may consider my first step towards that city; and here I sit, dining on bread and water, under a blanket that is shaking in the wind, and threatening a flight from the sticks that hold it." As a specimen of many of his midnight lodgings, although it is much more favourable than others, we quote his account of one spent in a village, not far from Nazareth.

"The best house was that of a Christian, an acquaintance of the monks, and I went to it. In the centre of the floor was seated a very pretty woman, nearly lost in the smoke which rose from a fire by her side. Had she been old and ugly, I should have started from her, as from a witch engaged in her unholy incantations. All about her had the aspect of 'a deed without a name.' A large caldron was simmering upon the hissing wet logs, into which she was throwing the ingredients of some not ill-omened smelling mess. A naked child was lying asleep at her feet, as if ready to be popped into the pot. When we disturbed her, she rose hastily, and brushing her dark locks from a really fine countenance, welcomed us with a good deal of grace to her fireside. It was just dusk, and rain had begun to fall. There was but one room, I perceived; and no outlet for the smoke, which grew thicker and thicker.

"The husband soon came in, followed by a herd of cattle, and goats and sheep that bleated most emulously. Our chamber was elevated about four feet above the ground, and at the edge of it was scooped a manger, where the provision for the night was thrown; and in the passage below it, within the door, all the beasts were huddled. The kids and the lambs, however, were suffered, as a special indulgence, to frisk all over the place. The master was happy to see us, and ordered a kid to be slain for the occasion.

"The party now began to increase. More children ran in; and a solemn Turk, on his journey, arrived to partake of the hospitality. In about an hour the dinner was prepared, and to work we all went, eighteen in number. The host, being a Christian, had a large bottle of wine in the house that he had lately brought from the convent of Nazareth; this was uncorked to do honour to the feast. The smoke, however, had nearly blinded me; and I sat with a bandage round my eyes, very much to the amusement of the more practised ones about me. I peeped from beneath it every now and then to dip my hand into the dish, and caught a misty glimpse of my companions. The Turk thought it proper to withdraw from the neighbourhood of the wine-vessel, which was a most capacious one, and sat aloof.

"When dinner was at an end, came coffee and conversation, and I was most completely put to the question. I was obliged to describe my birth, parentage, and occupation; to tell the names of all belonging to me, and draw little pictures of their beauties. The woman of the house

was most intelligent, and took great interest in my narrations; but in the East women are seldom more than listeners. I did not hear her own voice much.

"The party now gradually lessened; each spread his carpet, and threw himself upon it, till at length we were all stretched in a row, with our heads to the wall; the lady first, then the master, and so on to the Turk, who had the outside. I came next to the children, with a calf tied to a pillar between us; a few kids were lying at our feet. The cows munched audibly all night, and the goats hiccuped without interruption. Sleep, therefore, was hopeless, and I rolled about in envy of all in the place, until daylight came to my relief.

"The moment it peeped into the room, up rose the good dame to bake cakes; and her three daughters, Sarah, Husnee, and Satafie, scrambled away, after having most piously crossed themselves, to milk the cows, who had already begun 'to sniff the morning air,' and were butting with all their might at the door. This commotion brought us suddenly to our legs; the door was at length opened, and out we all rushed to the youngest kid of the family. The court-yard was covered with snow, which had fallen during the night; and, having no desire to paddle about in it, I returned to the house, where new milk and barley-cakes awaited us. The master, whose treatment of us had been truly Christian and truly Arab, resolved to guide us to the banks of Kishon, and over the sacred mount."—vol. i, pp. 111—114.

All this is picturesque and primitive enough; but there is not a page in the work which contains not a portion of narrative of equal or surpassing interest, and as felicitously given. These Adventures really furnish a humanizing sort of reading—an excellence in a book of travels not often attained. But we must not saunter, when we have such a guide. Soon after leaving the hospitable roof, where Sarah, Husnee, and Satafie's assiduities were so early in the morning witnessed, we find the Major making for the black tents of a tribe of Arabs. On riding into the camp, an old man came up to the traveller, and said at once, "Will you eat?" and, of course, nothing but peace and good-will were here exhibited. The women, however, were "particularly ugly," though hospitable, while the men are generally handsome. A tall bony woman, in a loose blue shift, that concealed few of her beauties, presented a bowl full of fresh butter, on the top of which some of her stray black hairs were "sprawling like rivers over a map;" another brought hot cakes, and threw them at his feet. They buttered their cakes by rubbing them every now and then into the bowl. Sweet milk and butter milk ended the meal; and thus the author, as he himself esteemed it, fared sumptuously.

The Arab method of binding the ewes to be milked, and of churning, is expeditious and simple. The author says, that opposite each tent two lines of them are drawn up, standing face to face. A rope being fastened firmly round the neck of the first of the file, is then passed round that of every other, until secured to the stump

on the other extremity, drawing them so closely together, that each looks over the shoulders of its opposite neighbour. The women stand ready with their bowls, and to work they go, finishing the affair in less time than it takes to drink one of the bowls out. Close to the milking ground is a triangle of wood, in which hangs an ox-hide, having at each end of it two small sticks for handles. When the milk is put into the skin, two women draw it backward and forward between them, and in this way the sweetest butter the Major ever tasted is churned. The following extract affords a lively account of certain other particulars, descriptive of Arab character and manner of life. Our travellers are accosted by a single Arab, who carried a spear in his hand, and in his girdle a hatchet. He was coal-black, and of a most formidable height.

"'Peace be to you!' said he, striding into the midst of our little circle, and then pausing, as if doubtful whether we merited such a salutation. 'Upon you also be peace! Whence come you?' replied my spokesman. 'From there,' continued the Arab, pointing in a careless manner with his chin, which seemed to say, 'That's enough for you to know;' and, sitting down at my feet fixed his eyes for some moments upon me.

"Breaking silence at length, he began a cross examination of Hassan in a blunt tone, that showed, in his own estimation at any rate, he was the greatest man of the party. 'What do you do with that Frank?' said he to Hassan. 'He is my master,' was the reply; 'what should I do with him?' 'He is an infidel?' 'What do I know? He is an Englishman.' 'God is merciful. Is he a fool or a dervish, that he sits here at the close of day? Where is he going?' 'Inshallah, to Jerusalem,' answered Hassan; 'and if you can show us a ford over the river, you shall be well rewarded; and that will be more to the purpose than asking questions here.' 'Wullah, you say well,' cried the Arab; 'I came across the river this morning. Let me see what I shall have, and in an hour I'll show the ford.'

"The bargain was soon struck; for I was so pleased to escape from the necessity of lodging where he had found me, that I promised him a sum beyond his hopes. 'Emchi,' said he, the moment he heard it, 'let us be gone;' and, instantly mounting, we prepared to follow. But, too much delighted with his good fortune, our guide was anxious to have it at once in possession, and turning suddenly, demanded payment before he set out. I was not in a humour for dispute, and, in spite of the entreaties of the Christian and the doubts of Hassan, I paid him all without condition. He now strode away without uttering a syllable, or deigning to satisfy our curiosity about the part of the river to which he meant to lead us.

"In an hour, however, true to his word, he brought us to it. There was a small island in the midst of the stream, past which it ran at a great rate, and the Arab declared the water was much more rapid and higher than in the morning. I saw but little chance of reaching the other side, and was not over-pleased to perceive our sulky leader seat himself by the bank, and, lighting his pipe, resign himself quietly to smoke. 'You may go over if you like,' said he when I addressed him, 'but I don't think

you'll reach the other side. God is merciful, and we shall see.' 'You promised to take us over,' was the answer from my side, 'and an Arab never fails in his word.' 'God forbid,' continued he; 'but I cannot swim across, and have no horse.'

"I proposed that he should ride mine, and try the ford, and we would wait until he came back. He at once agreed, and, leaping upon him, rode into the stream. The current, however, was too strong; the horse was swept away, and the Arab, being thrown off, had some difficulty to regain the bank. He exerted himself to recover the horse, who landed safely a little lower down, and, bringing him up to me, put the money that I had given to him into my hand, saying, with the same blunt manner, 'I can't take you across; there is your money.' I urged him to keep it, as he had accomplished for us all he could do. He was nevertheless positive, counted out the piastres, and, in placing the last in my hand, 'There,' said he, 'an Arab never fails in his word. You cannot cross to-night. If you like to follow me, I'll show you where you may rest;' then, without waiting for an answer, walked away. I was so delighted with the unexpected change in the character of this man, who was one of the most forbidding-looking fellows I ever saw, that I willingly followed him, resolved to mistrust an Arab no more.

"Before dark, we reached an encampment of black tents, situated in a hollow among trees. Before we had entered it, our friend had slipped away. As I was about to make my debut in an Arab camp, Hassan, afraid that I might betray ill manners, whispered to me, 'On no account ask hospitality. We must take it as a matter of course.' With perfect confidence, therefore, I rode up to the best-looking tent of the tribe, and, dismounting, established myself within it. The women and children were all employed in driving in the animals, and I sat for some minutes without being perceived.

"At length the master of the adjoining tent came in, and, observing that I was a Christian, merely said, 'Good evening!—you are welcome,' and instantly ordered a fire to be made. A large hole was dug at the mouth of the tent, and in a very few minutes we had a famous blaze. I spread my carpet in front of it, and awaited the dinner that I had overheard our host order. His family occupied the next division to the one wherein we were seated, which I found was destined for the young of the flocks. The lambs and the kids were brought in, and tied to pegs in the ground; some of the smallest being allowed to go loose and play about. The goats and sheep were driven to some distance; and the constant barking of the dogs showed that they were well watched. A partition of reeds, covered with cloth, divided us from the women and children, who were chattering away and making cakes at a great rate.

"The hour of dinner at length arrived. The men knelt at the mouth of the tent, and prayed for some minutes, while the women brought in messes of milk and hot cakes. My share was half a dozen of the latter, and a large bowl of sweet milk, to which I did ample justice. I was so well pleased at the turn affairs had taken under the auspices of the black Arab, who might have been one of the good genii of the river for aught I could discover, for I could learn nothing about him in the camp, that I

was as much satisfied with my country fare as if I had feasted from the turtle that I had seen on the sea-shore.

"It rained very hard all night, and, with my feet to a log of wood that had been thrown on the fire before we prepared for rest, I slept so soundly, that I did not notice until day broke the strange bedfellows with whom my travelling had brought me acquainted. The kids and lambs that had been left loose had collected together upon my blanket, some underneath, and some above it. One had perched like the nightmare upon my breast, and another had taken possession of my pillow so completely, that I must have rested my head frequently upon it during the night. The ewes had just been milked, and, loosened from their tether, rushed into the tent to recover the young they had been deprived of during the night. I was nearly swept away in the confusion of recognition; and, apprehensive of punishment from the anxious dams, in case I had ignorantly overlaid any of their noisy progeny, I hastily rose, and left them to enjoy their maternal raptures undisturbed."—vol. i, pp. 158—164.

The author declares that he never looked upon a place of so melancholy an aspect as Nazareth. The snow and the rain had here done much damage, as in other villages and towns. The inhabitants seemed to be frozen, and sat without energy in their door-ways, suffering the streams to wander as they listed. Our travellers made for the convent, and reached it after much toil, on account of the miserable state of the street or way that led to the "hospice." The vesper service was being performed, and while the organ's deep sound, accompanying a full choir, echoed among the hills, all else around was still as death. The monks were all upon their knees, with their arms stretched, in the manner of the Franciscans, towards heaven. They were immovable in prayer. The contrasted effect of such a scene with the cold and the deep snow from which the author had just escaped, must have been most striking. Instead of inclement skies, bitter winds, and bleak sights, here were devoted attitudes, bald heads, and long beards of men doing homage to the Saviour of mankind, whose history upon earth is irrefragably so closely associated with the despised town of Nazareth. The notes of the organ, the odour of incense, and the handsome building itself, together with many indescribable sources of emotion, as now witnessed by our traveller, must have been affecting in the extreme. One extract must suffice in regard to the sacred spots in this locality.

"A little before midnight, the monk proposed to guide me to the Grotto of the Virgin, and I followed him through the silent galleries of the convent, and through a most mysterious passage into the church, which is at all times lit up. We descended into a blaze of light from the suspicious way through which we wound. The sanctity of the grotto, over which the church was built by St. Helena, arises from its being the identical spot where the Virgin Mary received the annunciation. The

place where the angel stood is pointed out by one pillar, while another indicates the hallowed ground on which the Virgin stood. The monk detailed to me very minutely, and with much apparent belief in the truth of all he told, the miraculous and holy characters of the places round. He made me observe the smoke in the grotto, for it was the kitchen of the Virgin's house, and was the only apartment allowed to remain behind, as there the annunciation had taken place, the rest of the dwelling having been whisked off to Loretto; the often told tale of the broken pillar, the upper portion of which is supernaturally fixed in the rock above; with the blindness of the Turk whose avarice called forth the miracle, to save the money, I conceive, to the convent, and to add brighter lustre to the spot. He also pointed out, while we stood in the grotto, the precise spot where St. Helena took her breakfast when she gave her superintendence to the building of her church. Lamps were burning over all the altars, and the monk, as we walked past them, swung incense from the silver censers that were standing ready upon them.

"The stillness of the place, the soft light, the fragrance of the incense, and the seeming piety of the minister to heighten their effect, had an air of solemnity in them that was very impressive; although the mysteries of the spot could scarcely have inspired any sense of true religion."—vol. i, pp. 132—134.

Major Skinner's sketches of the manner of life of the monks, and the observances of the devotees that throng to the many sacred spots about Nazareth and the Holy City, are remarkably spirited and graphic, sometimes highly amusing, on other occasions impressively serious. He has no sympathy with mere mummery or superstition, or any purely external token of devotion. It was the silent and speechless homage of the heart—the sublime emotions and reflections of the soul, which he experienced. The first morning after his arrival in Jerusalem, he set out to visit the oft-described spots of sacred fame in and around the city, choosing one of the attendants of the convent for his guide. But he adds—

"If on common occasions a cicerone be the greatest possible plague, how terrible are his chattering interruptions in such scenes as these! I was not prepared for the careless volubility of my guide, who gave me no time for thought in the zeal with which he dwelt upon the idle details with which his head, and the heads of all attached to the convents, are filled."—vol. i, pp. 203, 204.

Still, with equally proper feeling, he admits, that the faith of those who undergo so much as pilgrims to Jerusalem, is of too interesting a nature to speak of lightly; and that the spectacle which their kissing of pavements, pillars, and stones, presented to him, was far from tempting him to shock their feelings by an appearance of doubt. But the descriptions by other travellers, of the Holy City, have been so minute and numerous, that we go on towards Damascus, whither the author next directed his steps, passing over all notice of many scenes of striking interest between these two places, which are among the principal cities of the Eastern world. The

following general observations are, however, too important to be left out of our pages.

"The positions for cities throughout Palestine are well defined by nature, which has given no space for them to swell out, as the towns of Europe are able to do. Such as they are to-day, I conceive they must have been at the time they poured out their multitudes under all their kings to fight against Israel; and no wonder it should have so perplexed commentators and travellers to reconcile the population with the circumscribed means of providing for it. The manners and habits are probably but little altered in the present day from the remotest periods. Throughout the East, in every hut, in every paltry village, now, there are more people crowded together than would after our own customs occupy a long street; and the larger houses in towns contain each nearly numbers sufficient to constitute a small parish. Yet the population of cities was the least part, perhaps, of a nation whose people, being pastoral, lived as the Arabs of the desert at this moment do. A chief from a town on the Euphrates to-day could call his thousands about him to fight in defence of the faith at a very short summons."—vol. i, pp. 274, 275.

There is one renowned plain, too, the history of which is forcibly recalled to mind by Major Skinner's particular notice.

"How well is the plain of Esdraelon calculated for the monstrous gatherings and destructive battles that have from the first taken place upon it! When we stood by the village of Endor, we looked over the scene most probably of the overthrow of Sisera. From before us came Barak into the valley; and this very ground shook 'with the prancings of their mighty ones,' so beautifully recorded in the Song of the inspired Deborah. Here too is to be fought the great battle of Armageddon on some day not very far off, as modern prophets, I believe, have settled. Close to this village, in our own days, General Kleber with a handful of men opposed twenty-five thousand Turks, until a small reinforcement in the evening enabled him to beat them off. It seems to have been destined for the arena of great battles."—vol. i, p. 279.

The above extract intimates that our author has a true perception of the propriety and beauty of Scriptural expressions. Indeed, he takes frequent opportunities of noticing the forcible meaning and descriptive power of the language of the Bible. For instance, he declares, that since he has seen so much of the Oriental costume, and has worn it himself, he can more fully understand certain scriptural notices and epithets. Again, he says, "How often while the bleak wind I have mentioned is moaning over the dreary waste, particularly in the depth of the night, have I thought of the beauty and justice of the expression of the 'howling wilderness!'"

Major Skinner found, that since Ibrahim Pasha had taken Damascus, a great change in the behaviour of the Damascenes had been effected towards the Franks, who might now walk in their proper dress through the city, without molestation. He himself, however, was on more occasions than one made the subject of contempt and ridicule, on account of his costume and manners. The veiled Turkish

damsels would even mutter, as he passed them, "God is merciful," thus seeming to call for protection from his ill-omened aspect. It must have been no easy affair, however, to traverse and thread his way among the streets of Damascus. He says—

"The streets are narrow, without any particular marks in them, and have a large door at each end, which is always closed at sunset, or very soon after, as a protection against thieves, and, I have read somewhere, wives: I proved, however, that a very small bribe will open it at any hour of the night, for there is always a gate-keeper at hand. The houses present no more than mud walls, with an ill-built latticed window at a considerable height. They are sometimes constructed on arches that hang across the streets, making it quite dark. Wooden rafters, too, when the arch has not been turned, are visible frequently from below, and render the way still more gloomy.

"No town, however, can be better supplied with water; numerous fountains are in the streets, and in the court of every house there is also one, or even two or three. Within, the houses are very magnificent. Their airiness is exceedingly delightful; balconies, with gaily painted chambers opening into them, hang over the paved court, in which the fountain plays beneath the shade of orange and lemon trees. Elevated recesses, gilded most richly, and spread with rarest carpets, form the lower rooms. When lounging upon softest cushions in the most voluptuous 'far-niente' manner, the Turks enjoy the fragrance of the blossoms and the refreshing patter of their 'jets d'eaux.'

"In such a climate there is real luxury in this mode of whiling away the hottest part of the day. To complete the soft-sounding picture of such an existence, I will add, that they sip from cups of porcelain iced sherbet made of violets or roses. Who would not wish to dwell in Damascus? or who, on being forced to quit it, would not sigh for 'the pleasant banks of the Pharphar?'"—vol. ii, pp. 29—31.

The Major's entire account of Damascus tends much to qualify the impression left by this single extract, though the picture is deeply interesting. Another renowned city became the next point of his destination, viz. Bagdad. The journey through the Desert thither, and thence to Babylon, is described, perhaps, in the most enlivened manner of any thing in these volumes. The accidents, adventures, and escapes of the travellers, the various portraitures introduced, and the spirit which animates the author on every occasion, whether of suffering, fear, joy, or compassion, communicates to the whole a fervour and gladsome humanity of character which cannot be too much admired. There has not been a work published since the present year set in, which will leave a greater number of satisfied and delighted readers than Major Skinner's Adventures during his Journey Overland to India. We have not, by any means, culled the most interesting passages; but after the extract now to be introduced, we believe that we have given specimens of his details upon a sufficient variety of subjects, to tempt every one of our

readers to desire a particular acquaintance with all that he has written. This last extract describes a visit to the site of Babylon.

"I found that I could not stand directly across to the tower, which, like a rock above the sea, rose in the midst of a waste of water. The river had risen and had met the waters of the lake. I continued for some time parallel to the river, resolved upon reaching the tower, by rounding, if possible, the ocean that divided me from it. How desolate was Babylon! My miserable party—two riders and a guide on foot—were all that moved upon its site, excepting here and there the water-birds that flapped their wings over the lake.

"I reached at length a long ridge of sand that ran from the river-side nearly to the mound on which stood the tower; it was fifteen or twenty feet above the plain, and I was able to ride upon it. In some parts it formed a double bank with a shallow hollow between. I could perceive nothing beyond it to the southward: it may be six or seven miles from the town, for I had been two hours on the journey; and though no antiquary, as I have said, I determined in my mind that I was passing along the walls of Babylon. Many fragments of bricks were lying among the sand, some marked with the character I noticed in Hillah. All was barren around; although at some distance, where the waters were shallowest, I could see the grass peeping above them. By the walls I had found a dry road to the base of the huge shapeless mound on which the tower is placed; its circumference is estimated at a little more than seven hundred yards: a narrow way divided it from a still larger and more irregular heap, upon the side of which stood, facing the tower, a small mosque. If the dervishes to whom these memorials are erected, lived on the spots where the tombs now stand that are to be seen over the remains of Babylon, they selected well for the abandonment of the world; more forlorn spots could scarcely be found, for, in the great Desert even, there is verdure and flower; here all is utter misery.

"On the height of the first mound stands a well-built tower, of something less than forty feet high. Such an erection in modern days would excite admiration for its workmanship; with what astonishment must it be viewed in the supposition that its age exceeds four thousand years! Huge heaps of brick lie about, melted into solid masses, as if by the action of fire; and the whole mound on which the pillar stands is covered with fragments of well-baked bricks: and this is the Temple of Belus, it is said, or the Tower of Babel. At any rate, be it what it may, it stands on the plain of Shinar, where Babylon once stood; and most completely, as my eyes wandered over the scene of desolation, did I feel the truth of the fulfilment of the judgments pronounced against her—yes, 'Every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished.'"—vol. ii, pp. 197—199.

ART. II.—*Reports from His Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to consider the State of the Established Church, with reference to Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues.* Ordered to be Printed 19th March, 1835; 10th March, 1836; 20th May, 1836; and 30th June, 1836.

EVERY one who knows any thing of the people of England, must acknowledge that they are of a straight-forward and undisguised character; and that, as respects all public measures and institutions, their liberality and generosity have never been equalled. The English are enemies to everything like chicanery; they feel intensely the claims of justice and humanity; and though they are passionately attached to the blessings of peace, and fireside comforts, they will at any time sacrifice much of these to preserve or to augment the good and the glory of the nation. They are so proud of their country, and its history, that while they will not allow a stranger's voice to impugn it in any manner, they themselves are slow to give a healing touch, even where acknowledged evils may exist, in any of her institutions; especially if these institutions have antiquity, splendour, and a large harvest of excellent fruits to present on the balance-sheet of the account. It may, however, so happen, that an institution, such as we have now instanced, may in the course of ages acquire a character and a history so notoriously at variance with its original design and desired tendency, that the stern voice of justice, the equally powerful appeal of soft humanity, and the more lofty requirements of lasting and spotless renown, surmount every other consideration, and arouse the people, though slowly and unwillingly at the first, to a conviction that the venerable fabric is out of repair, and in danger of falling to the ground, on account of the rents, the decay, and the rubbish that have for centuries been encroaching and accumulating upon it; and next, to a determination that the character and interests of the nation will no longer brook such an unsightly monument and lamentable display. It is also reasonable to suppose, in the case of such a people, with reference to such a subject, if they were primarily slow to perceive and unwilling to believe, that the finger of wasting time could reach all that is of this world, however well planned or beautifully and firmly constructed at first; that whenever the full conviction of the real state of things got possession of their minds, their consequent determinations would be equally decided and unalterable in behalf of renovation or reform. And if there should be a party in the nation, who from timid selfish, or bigoted motives, resisted this necessary repair, is it not also reasonable to presume, that the people instanced, would be driven just so much the more resolutely to the fulfilment of the contemplated measure of renovation?

We think that these observations fairly and forcibly apply to the ecclesiastical establishment in England, at this moment.

It is not necessary for us at present to describe what are the legitimate and presumed characteristics and ends of a church estatablishment: nor what were the original principles, purposes, regulations, forms, and labours, which in Protestant England were contemplated, put into operation, and enforced by her individual ecclesiastical institutions. We take it for granted, that the generality of our readers, and well-informed persons, will admit, that the Church of England was wisely constituted at first, in relation to the people for whom it was established, and that it has for many ages answered the ends for which it was instituted, in a manner that proves the wisdom of its founders, and of all others who have subsequently lent it effectual and permanent support, like pillars of that order of architecture which distinguished its earliest erection. But we also take it for granted, that few will deny the departure of this same fabric from its original perpendicular line of strength and beauty; and fearlessly assert, that instead of harmonizing with its professed ends, or the natural and strong perceptions of right and wrong of which the people is master, it has become an eye-sore, a theme of reproach to religious establishments in general, and a bone of contention, where the struggle may terminate in ruin disastrous to the present constitution of state as well as of church, in this and the other branches of the United Kingdom.

If any one is inadequately informed with regard to the present state of the Church of England, or doubts the accuracy of the general averments which we have now taken for granted, let him read the Reports before us—Reports drawn up by Commissioners, a large proportion of whom had the most immediate and powerful motives—if sinister interests had been regarded—for representing the church in the fairest characters and brightest colours.

We fearlessly declare, that in regard to the distribution of revenues and offices, this church offers to the eye of justice and philanthropy a bloated aspect; that millions of the population are neglected by it; and that worldly considerations have, to an alarming extent, for many years, and unblushingly, been allowed to regulate much of its patronage. We may enumerate the chief heads of complaint, according to an arrangement which has frequently of late been made use of. First, there is the monstrously disproportionate remuneration allowed to the various orders of the clergy; secondly, there is such a disparity in the extent of dioceses and parishes, as to seem a studied sarcasm upon ministerial and episcopal duties; thirdly, the abuse of patronage, and the neglect of merit, for the claims of consanguinity, or from political motives, are stalking evils; fourthly, how many incumbents are non-residents! and, fifthly, the want of church accommodation, and of pastoral superintendence in the popu-

lous districts, is so great, that the present and future welfare of the people seems not so much to be the object of the Establishment, as the emolument, aggrandizement, and state of a comparatively few members of the priesthood, and the dignitaries of the body. Most of these grounds of complaint are quite familiar to every subject of the realm; although these Reports have now thrown them so broadly open, that the people can at any time lay their hands upon an authoritative document, and by it silence all gainsayers.

As regards the last-mentioned head of complaint, however, viz. the insufficiency of church accommodation and pastoral superintendence, we believe there does not exist a full or proper knowledge among the community. We therefore extract a passage on the subject. One Report says, "That there are in London and its suburbs four parishes, or districts, each having a population exceeding 20,000, and containing an aggregate of 166,000 persons, with church accommodation for 8,200 (not quite one-twentieth of the whole), and only eleven clergymen. There are twenty-one others, the aggregate population of which is 739,000, while the church-room is for 66,000 (not one tenth of the whole), and only forty-five clergymen. There are nine others, with an aggregate population of 232,000, and church-room for 27,327, and only nineteen clergymen. Allowing one church for a population of 3000, there would be required in these parishes 379 churches, whereas, there are in fact only 69, or if proprietary chapels be added, about 100, leaving a deficiency of 278, while there are only 139 clergymen, in a population exceeding a million."

Here is a flagrant subject of complaint, or as the Commissioners say, "The evils which flow from this deficiency in the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence, greatly outweigh all other inconveniences, resulting from any other defects or anomalies in our ecclesiastical institutions." The Commissioners add, "It unfortunately happens, that while these evils are the most urgent of all, and most require the application of an effectual remedy, they are precisely those for which a remedy can least easily be found."

We were going to exclaim, "What a confession!" (We know it speaks truth, however). But what a confession for an *established church*, which, if the *terms* do not belie themselves, should be adequate for the spiritual instruction of all who live under it, and all who contribute to its support. Surely, it is high time to look around for a remedy; and if our legislators do not speedily do so for this, and the many other evils that exist in, and are consequent on the present state of the English Establishment, the people themselves, the deliberate, the strong, but tender-hearted, and at length wilful people of England, will find a remedy, though it should swamp episcopacy.

But the Commissioners propose remedies for all the subjects of complaint set down above, and these proposals have been nearly echoed to the letter, by a subsequent Act of Parliament; and the people naturally inquire, are these remedies sufficient? are they equal to meet the evil? "We," say they, "have information enough before us, and, if not satisfied, will have larger concessions, more sweeping reforms, more thorough repairs. We are not satisfied."

Now, it is not our purpose, it is not our vocation, to throw fuel upon political flames, or agitate more deeply waters which are already sufficiently troubled; neither are we about to canvass the various provisions and clauses of the New Act, nor offer substitutes to compete with them in point of wisdom. We only wish to invite the calmest consideration of our readers to the momentous subject, that they may pursue it for themselves; suggesting, however, a few facts, and offering certain observations, which, we think, may tend to create confidence.

It is our opinion, that although the Legislature has not gone far enough by their new enactments, that yet they have taken certain steps in a right direction—consoling ourselves, at the same time time, with the reflection that slow, steady, but regular innovation, or change, is more permanently salutary than sweeping interference with antiquated and familiar abuses. It must, however, be confessed, that there may be a special danger lest a continuous discussion and intermeddling with religious institutions should become inimical to the great ends for which these institutions were framed. On the other hand, the influential people of England, who are the sober-minded, and the enlightened, are likely to come away from such contests with decided principles and views; nor can we doubt of these being perfectly compatible with their own dearest interests, and the welfare of the whole.

There are a few conclusions to which, we trust and believe, that the community will at length come, in consequence of the many speculations afloat, and solicitudes excited in regard to ecclesiastical reform; and these we shall do little more than mention, admitting at the same time, that there is nothing novel in them, but hoping that, when placed in juxtaposition; they may both individually and conjointly carry conviction to other minds, in like manner as the same considerations have done to ourselves.

We are convinced, that the civil constitution of England and the United Kingdoms must fall to pieces, and a total revolution occur, should church and state be disunited. One thing is certain—they have long existed in fellowship, and for mutual support, and the country has, during all this time, gradually risen in power and fame. But what is more, and better, the most moral and enlightened people of the world have flourished under such a union; nor can it be said, that the Establishment has not chiefly contributed to this desirable

end, by combating infidelity, by preserving a frowning countenance against the orgies of gesticulating fanatics, and by affording, to a much greater extent than any voluntary system seems calculated to offer, religious instruction to the poor. We believe, had it not been for the Establishment, dissenters would not have been so tolerant as they are; and also, that instead of those of that class who labour in the same vineyard, and with equal effect as the most respectable of the churchmen do, much fewer would have risen up. There has been an emulation that may be called noble, even in religious ministrations among churchmen and dissenters. The one party has stimulated the other; and while, it is to be hoped, that with many on both sides, little jealousies, envy, and enmity are unknown, we cannot refuse to the noblest and most stimulating principles of our nature, scope for operation, even at the altar or in the chamber.

Let it not be said, that since dissenters derive no benefit from our religious establishment, they therefore ought not to be required to contribute to it; or that such establishments are necessarily unjust and unnecessary. We know, at least, that in one instance, such an institution had God's authority and countenance; and it is fair to infer, that in certain other states of society, a similar arrangement regarding the deepest concerns of a nation, may be lawful and indispensable. But the truth is, that whatever the majority, or the presumed majority, as regards intelligence, may appoint for the public good, rightfully and unavoidably becomes the law for all; and that those who may have to contribute to the Established Church, even when they cannot subscribe to its doctrines or forms of worship, conduct themselves honourably and judiciously, because it is the act of the law, not their own. There are hundreds of situations and cases in ordinary life, where the same thing is done without a complaint, or a perception of the compulsory power. It has been well observed, that in the case of railroads, improvement of towns, and the construction of harbours, much more in that of museums, national galleries, and the like, the same principle is put into operation, and the same hardship to thousands is introduced—in all of which measures the most scrupulous religionists very often have a hand. In fact, in every civilized nation all property, lay or ecclesiastical, sole or corporate, is dependent on the will of the nation, declared by its authorized organs.

In England, ecclesiastical property, we trust and believe, is about to be, by the paramount will now mentioned, judiciously and firmly apportioned and applied. Gradual and deliberately-weighed measures, it is to be hoped, will be adopted—such as neither infringe upon existing interests, or deface the characteristic features of the institutions that are rectified; for while the existing functionaries may be the least to blame of all who have occupied their situations, as respects the derangement or decay of the matter entrusted to their

charge, the people of England desire to recognise their ancient forms —the progeny of their forefathers. In short, we confidently rely upon the justice, the determination, and the wisdom of the British nation, for the reform, not the overthrow, of the Established Church, though marred, tottering, and assailed she certainly be; while, at the same time, we descry in her timid friends, her noisy advocates, and unyielding adherents, the direst mischief, and her only formidable enemies.

ART. III.—*Geology considered with Reference to Natural Theology.* By the Rev. WILLIAM BUCKLAND, D.D. Canon of Christ Church, and Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford. London: Pickering. 1836.

THOUGH this be the last of the "Bridgewater Treatises," we think it is the most interesting, able, and satisfactory of the whole; and that its contents, as well as their engraved illustrations, sufficiently account for the delay of its publication. We are not in the least astonished at hearing that a second edition is already called for. Independent of the celebrity of the Treatises, of which this forms a part, and independent of the established authority of Dr. Buckland in every branch of geological science, the work presents one of the most wonderful, impressive, and delightful magazines of facts and reasonings ever given to the world—the whole detailed and described with unsurpassed felicity of language—with the most flowing and luminous eloquence. Persons slightly acquainted with geological discoveries and doctrines, can form nothing like a just conception of the beautiful and resistless evidences here produced in attestation of the power, wisdom, and goodness of one everlasting Being; neither is it possible for such a person, or for any other, however well informed on the subject, to rise from an examination of the Treatise, without entertaining the most glorious convictions of which his nature is capable.

We do not say, that a person hitherto ignorant of geological discoveries, will not at first be startled on reading some of our author's statements and conclusions. Nay, there are not a few serious and well educated persons, who have a general knowledge of such discoveries, but who have a dread, lest, if pushed to their uttermost, the authenticity of part of the Mosaic history should be compromised, and who, therefore, are strongly prejudiced respecting all such researches and reasonings as those which Dr. Buckland has here so brilliantly set forth. There is something exceedingly objectionable in this timid, this absurd manner of belief and conduct. It is exactly of a character with that which was pursued towards Galileo by the prejudiced in his days—it is nothing less than fearing to pursue the truth, lest truth should upset the word of God—it is admitting the

possibility that God's revelations and works are at war with one another—it is, in short, nothing but affording scope for the supposition that science (which means a knowledge of first principles founded upon a proper induction of facts), may upset theology.

The persons we have now been alluding to, do not pretend to say that geologists have not legitimately observed the canons of science in their investigations. They cannot insinuate that Dr. Buckland, for example, is not an earnest and able defender of the principal doctrines of Christianity. But they say that the facts, as described by him, and his conclusions, are at variance with the Mosaic history, and, therefore, that they will cling to the latter and condemn the former, whatever the evidence may be which is adduced. Surely this is not the way to fortify Revelation. Would it not be far better to look truth directly in the face, whether presented in the volume of God's works, or in the volume of his words? Would it not be far more rational calmly to inquire whether both were fairly interpreted, than to abide by a certain presumed meaning of the words of Moses, which may have been misunderstood, or than to throw obloquy on all who minister for our instruction among the works of creation?

Now, though this point of difference between the geologists and many believers in Revelation does not necessarily affect many of Dr. Buckland's arguments and statements in the present work, it yet requires to be disposed of, before the full force and proper application of his Treatise can be felt; and, therefore, we must let him set himself right with his readers, before advancing to the main purpose of his performance; declaring at the same time, that we are convinced he has, in these pages, removed for ever a great stumbling-block to many conscientious inquirers into divine truth, and that he has also brought some of the strongest and most engaging evidences to light, to the positive support of revealed religion.

What is the general result respecting the period of creation, which the crust of the earth exhibits, and what are the words of Moses? As to the first branch of the interrogatory, there does not now exist, among competent geological authorities, the slightest difference of opinion with regard to the truth of the following statement—viz., that the surface of our globe has undergone many changes, and been inhabited by myriads of creatures, thousands of generations—it may have been, millions and millions of ages—before the creation of man, or the epoch about six thousand years ago, from which scriptural chronology is dated. The facts which go to the endlessly accumulative proof of this position are as plain and as strong, as those which prove the earth to be round, or any one scientific truth of modern discovery. But how does Dr. Buckland reconcile this with the few first verses of the Book of Genesis? Some have been of opinion, that the word "days," in the Mosaic account, did not intimate, as the

strictly literal sense of the term would suggest, four-and-twenty hours, but stood for some other cycle of time. Our author, however, follows the interpretation of several of the highest authorities, whether as Hebrew scholars or divines, which the present age has furnished, and thinks, with Dr. Pusey, the Regius Professor of that language in Oxford, with Dr. Chalmers and others, that these words—"*In the beginning* God created the heaven and the earth," may refer to an indefinite period or epoch before the "first day," mentioned in the fifth verse; and that during this indefinite period, all the operations, regarding the course and certainty of which geology so voluminously bears testimony, may have been developing themselves. Professor Pusey, for example says, "In some old editions of the English Bible, where there is no division into verses, you actually find a break at the end of what is now the second verse; and in Luther's Bible (Wittenburg, 1557) you have in addition the figure 2 placed against the third verse, as being the beginning of the account of the creation on the first day. This is just the sort of confirmation which one wished for, because, though one would shrink from the impiety of bending the language of God's book to any other than its obvious meaning, we cannot help fearing lest we might be unconsciously influenced by the floating opinions of our own day, and therefore turn the more anxiously to those who explained Holy Scripture before these theories existed."

Besides, as Dr. Buckland judiciously argues, such a succinct account as Moses gives, must necessarily be imperfect in so far as regards scientific doctrines; neither was it the object of Revelation to teach any branch of natural history. He follows out this view with singular success. After demanding at what boundary of knowledge such a revelation was to stop, which would not leave much untold, unless God had communicated his omniscience to man, which, (with reverence be it said,) he could not do—the supposition involving a contradiction—the author says:—

"A revelation of so much only of astronomy as was known to Copernicus would have seemed imperfect after the discoveries of Newton; and a revelation of the science of Newton would have appeared defective to La Place: a revelation of all the chemical knowledge of the eighteenth century would have been as deficient in comparison with the information of the present day, as what is now known in this science will probably appear before the termination of another age: in the whole circle of sciences, there is not one to which this argument may not be extended, until we should require from revelation a full development of all the mysterious agencies that uphold the mechanism of the material world. Such a revelation might indeed be suited to beings of a more exalted order than mankind, and the attainment of such knowledge of the works as well as of the ways of God may perhaps form some part of our happiness in a future state; but unless human nature had been constituted otherwise than it is, the above supposed communication of omniscience

would have been imparted to creatures utterly incapable of receiving it under any past or present moral or physical condition of the human race; and would have been also at variance with the design of all God's other disclosures of himself, the end of which has uniformly been not to impart intellectual but moral knowledge."

After all, to use the words of our author, in another part of the work, "The question is not respecting the correctness of the Mosaic narrative, but of our interpretation of it; and still further, it should be borne in mind, that the object of this account was, not to state *in what manner*, but by whom the world was made. As the prevailing tendency of men in those early days was to worship the most glorious objects of nature, namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars, it should seem to have been one important point in the Mosaic account of creation, to guard the Israelites against the polytheism and idolatry of the nations around them, by announcing that all these magnificent celestial bodies were no gods, but the works of one Almighty Creator, to whom alone the worship of mankind is due." Indeed, the Israelites seem to have been a people peculiarly addicted to idolatry, and the worship of the gods which the neighbouring nations, who had not been equally favoured, adored in their benighted ignorance. Neither do they appear to have been chosen as a peculiar people, on account of any special excellencies of a moral or intellectual kind, but for the display of the riches of God's mercy and grace. If we may judge from what is recorded of them in ancient times, a revelation to them of what has been discovered by modern science, either as regarded astronomy or natural history, would have been unsuited to their capacity, and to the furtherance of religion.

We beg to refer to Dr. Buckland's entire Treatise for a fuller and most interesting—we may add, satisfactory explanation of the manner in which he, as a Christian and a consistent believer in the language of the Bible, reconciles the words of Moses with the discoveries of geologists; and we proceed to lay before our readers as full an analysis of the body of the work, as we can bring into the limited space allotted to a single paper, even when that paper regards one of the most important of all themes, and certainly one of the ablest and most charming books that ever has been written.

In accordance with the purpose for which the author was selected to write this Treatise, he proceeds—after having disposed of the preliminary objection we have just been noticing—to point out and to consider the proofs of God's power, wisdom, and benevolence, as developed by geology. The discourse naturally divides itself into two branches; first, that which regards the inorganic; and secondly, that which passes on to the organic creation; or first, in other words, the history of the matter which forms the surface of the globe; and next, that of the animal and vegetable productions or

beings which have thereon grown and dwelt; the latter obviously exhibiting the most striking evidences of exquisite contrivance, and therefore obtaining the largest share of notice; but the former not destitute of some equally wonderful displays of omnipotence and goodness.

It is necessarily assumed by all who believe that an intelligent and beneficent Being created all things, and constantly superintends his works—that the greatest amount of happiness of which his sentient creatures are susceptible, must have been secured for them; and astronomers have often demonstrated, that in as far as the diurnal and annual revolutions of our globe are concerned, or its course in the regions of space, the life and sustenance of the organic kingdoms of our earth are best provided for. But the geologist approaches more closely to the proofs of this adaptation and goodness, by showing, that during a vast succession of ages, and in the case of innumerable races of organized existences, the surface of our planet has been marvellously adapted to the maintenance of these various creations. What does the uninformed mind suppose would have been the external aspect of our globe, coming fresh from the hands of the Omnipotent Artificer? One is apt to think that it would exhibit all the evidences of what we consider completeness and beauty in the works of man;—that it would be harmoniously regular, uniform in its crust, and beautifully smooth. It might at first be thought, that like stern winter, or a tropical sun—the restlessness of the ocean—the ruggedness of the mountains, which pierce the clouds—the vomitings of volcanoes—and the rendings of earthquakes—were tremendous exceptions to what was intended by this globe for the happiness of its sentient tenants, and occurrences which painfully marred the beauty of its creation. But geology demonstrates, that what man might be apt to set down as best and fairest in reference to the surface of the earth, would be incompatible with the life of the creatures which now dwell upon it. Whatever may have been the great physical agents—whether fire or water, which have produced these apparent irregularities, the result is the utmost good of sentient beings. The distribution of the gases, the waters, and the solid parts, is such that they are constantly undergoing changes, which are essential to animal and vegetable life. The upbreakings and apparent confusion of the simple elements which enter into the construction of the earth's surface, are not less so. What if all was fertile earth on the outside, and one smooth unvaried surface! We might as well luxuriate in the idea of a ceaseless summer, and no winter. In the former case, where were the ores, the salts, and the other mineral treasures of the earth to be found? whence all the present sources of industry and civilized life? Put the simplest of all examples—where should we have met with the fertility, the salubrious air, and the genial waterings to be found in

our valleys, had there been no frowning mountain to screen, and to contain the reservoirs that feed it with water—or no rugged rock, from which the iron that furrows it might be drawn? Take another illustration, which comes home to our apprehensions with singular force, and which also exhibits how the revolutions in our globe, by sudden, or gradual agencies, have made the productions of its surface, during an amazingly distant epoch, become subservient to the welfare of those beings which tenant it in these latter days. The example we refer to, is the coal formation. Dr. Buckland thus follows out, and with his accustomed eloquence and fervour, the ideas suggested by this mineral.

"Besides the coal, many strata of the carboniferous order contain subordinate beds of a rich argillaceous iron ore, which the near position of the coal renders easy of reduction to a metallic state; and this reduction is further facilitated by the proximity of limestone, which is requisite as a flux to separate the metal from the ore, and usually abound in the lower regions of the carboniferous strata.

"A formation that is at once the vehicle of two such valuable mineral productions as coal and iron, assumes a place of the first importance among the sources of benefit to mankind; and this benefit is the direct result of physical changes which affected the earth at those remote periods of time, when the first forms of vegetable life appeared upon its surface.

"The important uses of coal and iron in administering to the supply of our daily wants, give to every individual amongst us, in almost every moment of our lives, a personal concern, of which but few are conscious, in the geological events of these very distant eras. We are all brought into immediate connexion with the vegetation that clothed the ancient earth before one-half of its actual surface had yet been formed. The trees of the primeval forests have not, like modern trees, undergone decay, yielding back their elements to the soil and atmosphere by which they had been nourished; but, treasured up in subterranean storehouses, have been transformed into enduring beds of coal, which in these later ages have become to man the sources of heat, and light, and wealth. My fire now burns with fuel, and my lamp is shining with the light of gas, derived from coal that has been buried for countless ages in the deep and dark recesses of the earth. We prepare our food, and maintain our forges and furnaces, and the power of our steam-engines, with the remains of plants of ancient forms and extinct species, which were swept from the earth ere the formation of the transition strata was completed. Our instruments of cutlery, the tools of our mechanics, and the countless machines which we construct, by the infinitely varied applications of iron, are derived from ore, for the most part coeval with, or more ancient than the fuel, by the aid of which we reduce it to its metallic state, and apply it to innumerable uses in the economy of human life. Thus, from the wreck of forests that waved upon the surface of the primeval lands, and from ferruginous mud that was lodged at the bottom of the primeval waters, we derive our chief supplies of coal and iron; those two fundamental elements of art and industry, which contribute more than any

other mineral productions of the earth to increase the riches, and multiply the comforts, and ameliorate the condition of mankind."

The disposition of stratified rocks affords another interesting evidence of how carefully the wants of animals have been provided for.

"The process is obvious whereby even solid rocks are converted into soil fit for the maintenance of vegetation, by simple exposure to atmospheric agency; the disintregation produced by the vicissitudes of heat and cold, moisture and dryness, reduces the surface of almost all strata to a comminuted state of soil, or mould, the fertility of which is usually in proportion to the compound nature of its ingredients.

"The three principal materials of all strata are the earths of flint, clay, and lime; each of these, taken singly and in a state of purity, is comparatively barren: the admixture of a small proportion of clay gives tenacity and fertility to sand, and the further addition of calcareous earth produces a soil highly valuable to the agriculturist; and where the natural proportions are not adjusted in the most beneficial manner, the facilities afforded by the frequent juxtaposition of lime, or marl, or gypsum, for the artificial improvement of those soils which are defective in these ingredients, add materially to the earth's capability of adaptation to the important office of producing food. Hence it happens that the great corn-fields, and the greatest population of the world, are placed on strata of the secondary and tertiary formations; or on their detritus, composing still more compound, and consequently more fertile diluvial and alluvial deposits.*

"Another advantage in the disposition of stratified rocks consists in the fact that strata of limestone, sand, and sandstone, which readily absorb water, alternate with beds of clay, or marl, which are impermeable to this most important fluid. All permeable strata receive rain-water at their surface, whence it descends until it is arrested by an impermeable subjacent bed of clay, causing it to accumulate throughout the lower region of each porous stratum, and to form extensive reservoirs, the overflowings of which on the sides of valleys constitute the ordinary supply of springs and rivers. These reservoirs are not only occasional crevices and caverns, but the entire space of all the small interstices of those lower parts of each permeable stratum, which are beneath the level of the nearest flowing springs. Hence, if a well be sunk to the water-bearing level of any stratum, it forms a communication with a permanent

* "It is no small proof of design in the arrangement of the materials that compose the surface of our earth, that whereas the primitive and granitic rocks are least calculated to afford a fertile soil, they are for the most part made to constitute the mountain districts of the world, which, from their elevation and irregularities, would otherwise be but ill adapted for human habitation; while the lower and more temperate regions are usually composed of derivative, or secondary strata, in which the compound nature of their ingredients qualifies them to be of the greatest utility to mankind, by their subserviency to the purposes of luxuriant vegetation."—*Buckland's Inaugural Lecture, Oxford*, 1820, p. 17.

subterranean sheet of water, affording plentiful supplies to the inhabitants of upland districts, which are above the level of natural springs.

"A further benefit which man derives from the disposition of the mineral ingredients of the secondary strata results from the extensive diffusion of muriate of soda, or common salt, throughout certain portions of these strata, especially those of the new red sandstone formation. Had not the beneficent providence of the Creator laid up these stores of salt within the bowels of the earth, the distance of inland countries from the sea would have rendered this article of prime and daily necessity unattainable to a large proportion of mankind: but, under the existing dispensation, the presence of mineral salt, in strata, which are dispersed generally over the interior of our continents and larger islands, is a source of health, and daily enjoyment, to the inhabitants of almost every region of the earth."

We think that Dr. Buckland has taken the most enlightened view of the first branch of his subject, when he argues that the advantages which man derives from all the geological phenomena he has been considering, were not the only benefits or displays of benevolence contemplated by the Author of all. He rather looks upon these benefits as incidental and residuary; but "which, although they may not have formed the exclusive object of creation, were all foreseen and comprehended in the plans of the Great Architect of that globe, which, in his appointed time, was destined to become the scene of human habitation." He continues:—

"With respect to the animal kingdom, we acknowledge with gratitude, that, among the higher classes, there is a certain number of living species which are indispensable to the supply of human food and raiment, and to the aid of civilized man in his various labours and occupations: and that these are endowed with dispositions and faculties which adapt them in a peculiar degree for domestication; but their number bears an extremely small proportion to the total amount of existing species; and with regard to the lower classes of animals, there are but very few, among their almost countless multitudes, that minister either to the wants or luxuries of the human race. Even could it be proved that all existing species are serviceable to man, no such inference could be drawn with respect to those numerous extinct animals which Geology shows to have ceased to live long before our race appeared upon the earth. It is surely more consistent with sound philosophy, and with all the information that is vouchsafed to us respecting the attributes of the Deity, to consider each animal as having been created first for its own sake, to receive its portion of that enjoyment which the Universal Parent is pleased to impart to each creature that has life: and secondly, to bear its share in the maintenance of the general system of co-ordinate relations, whereby all families of living beings are reciprocally subservient to the use and benefit of one another. Under this head only can we include their relations to man: forming, as he does, but a small, although it be the most noble and exalted part, of that vast system of universal life, with which it hath pleased the Creator to animate the surface of the globe.

"'More than three-fifths of the earth's surface,' says Mr. Bakewell, 'are covered by the ocean; and if from the remaining part we deduct the space occupied by polar ice and eternal snow, by sandy deserts, sterile mountains, marshes, rivers and lakes, the habitable portion will scarcely exceed one-fifth of the whole of the globe. Nor have we reason to believe that at any former period the dominion of man over the earth was more extensive than at present. The remaining four-fifths of our globe, though untenanted by mankind, are for the most part abundantly stocked with animated beings, that exult in the pleasure of existence, independent of human control, and no way subservient to the necessities or caprices of man. Such is, and has been for several thousand years, the actual condition of our planet; nor is the consideration foreign to our subject, for hence we may feel less reluctance in admitting the prolonged ages or days of creation, when numerous tribes of the lower orders of aquatic animals lived and flourished, and left their remains embedded in the strata that compose the outer crust of our planet.'"

But, passing on from the inorganic creation, and the phenomena therein considered, the author proceeds to those organic remains which so multitudinously have been already, in the course of geological discovery, brought to light, and thence derives the most wonderful, satisfactory, and delightful proofs of one superintending and omnipotent Power, that the capacity of man can comprehend. We feel assured that this portion of the Treatise will fascinate and fill with religious triumph every ingenuous reader; that it will excite in the breast of many a thoughtless one, a never to be allayed spirit of earnest inquiry into the phenomena of nature, with the desire and hope of deciphering for themselves the ways and the voice of the Judge of the quick and the dead. Upon this portion of the work, crowded as it is with the most valuable and striking facts, and discussed with a cordial eloquence which has seldom been equalled, it would be presumptuous in us to attempt to do more than bring together the greatest amount of its marrow that our space can admit; and even then, we must leave much behind which as deservedly claims the reader's attention and admiration, as anything we extract. And here, before proceeding farther, and with the hope of prevailing upon not a few to make this Treatise a study and a familiar companion, we wish it to be understood, that all technical phraseology is avoided as much as can be, consistently with precision and perspicuity; and that the plainest construction of language is suitably made the vehicle of abundant information, of faultless reasoning, and of ennobling sentiments—the whole harmoniously helping to carry the reader farther than he felt himself before to have attained, into the temple of God.

Dr. Buckland, in the following passage, begins to afford the reader some insight as to the sources of those great discoveries, which he and other geologists have made.

"The secrets of nature, that are revealed to us by the history of fossil

organic remains, form perhaps the most striking results at which we arrive from the study of geology. It must appear almost incredible to those who have not minutely attended to natural phenomena, that the microscopic examination of a mass of rude and lifeless limestone should often disclose the curious fact, that large proportions of its substance have once formed parts of living bodies. It is surprising to consider that the walls of our houses are sometimes composed of little else than comminuted shells, that were once the domicile of other animals, at the bottom of ancient seas and lakes.

"It is marvellous that mankind should have gone on for so many centuries in ignorance of the fact, which is now so fully demonstrated, that no small part of the present surface of the earth is derived from the remains of animals, that constituted the population of ancient seas. Many extensive plains and massive mountains form, as it were, the great charnel-houses of preceding generations, in which the petrified exuviæ of extinct races of animals and vegetables are piled into stupendous monuments of the operations of life and death, during almost immeasurable periods of past time."

He afterwards asserts, that the most prolific source of organic remains has been the accumulation of the shelly coverings of animals which occupied the bottom of the sea during a long series of consecutive generations; and that these afford strong proof of the lapse of long periods of time; for that the animals from which they have been derived must have lived and died at the bottom of seas which once occupied the sites of our present continents and islands. The repeated changes of species, both of animals and vegetables, in succeeding members of different formations, give further evidence, not only of the lapse of time, but also of important changes in the physical condition and climate of the ancient earth.

Our readers will already see how easily and steadily the author, like a great high priest of nature, as taught by her organic remains, advances to the particular exemplifications of design, which he has undertaken to demonstrate. But while treating of what he calls "the *Police* of ancient nature," let those who have not been in the habit of reflecting on God's goodness in his ordinances of life and death, weigh carefully the following suggestions.

"To the mind which looks not to general results in the economy of nature, the earth may seem to present a scene of perpetual warfare and incessant carnage: but the more enlarged view, while it regards individuals in their conjoint relations to the general benefit of their own species, and that of other species with which they are associated in the great family of nature, resolves each apparent case of individual evil into an example of subserviency to universal good.

"Under the existing system, not only is the aggregate amount of animal enjoyment much increased, by adding to the stock of life all the races which are carnivorous, but these are also highly beneficial even to the herbivorous races that are subject to their dominion.

"The appointment of death by the agency of carnivora, as the ordinary termination of animal existence, deducts much from the aggregate amount of the pain of universal death; it abridges, and almost annihilates, throughout the brute creation, the misery of disease, and accidental injuries, and lingering decay; and imposes such salutary restraint upon excessive increase of numbers, that the supply of food maintains perpetually a due ratio to the demand. The result is, that the surface of the land and depths of the waters are ever crowded with myriads of animated beings, the pleasures of whose life are co-extensive with its duration; and which, throughout the little day of existence that is allotted to them, fulfil with joy the functions for which they were created. Life to each individual is a scene of continued feasting, in a region of plenty; and when unexpected death arrests it course, it repays with small interest the large debt which it has contracted to the common fund of animal nutrition, from whence the materials of its body have been derived. Thus the great drama of universal life is perpetually sustained; and though the individual actors undergo continual change, the same parts are ever filled by another and another generation; renewing the face of the earth, and the bosom of the deep, with endless successions of life and happiness."

The first illustration we cite of the author's doctrine regarding contrivance and adaptation in the case of the ancient animals, shall be the colossal *Megatherium*. After describing the organization of its extraordinary frame, he adds—

"With the head and shoulders of a sloth, it combined in its legs and feet an admixture of the characters of the ant-eater, the armadillo, and the chlamyphorus; it probably also still further resembled the armadillo and chlamyphorus, in being cased with a bony coat of armour. Its haunches were more than five feet wide, and its body twelve feet long and eight feet high; its feet were a yard in length, and terminated by most gigantic claws; its tail was probably clad in armour, and much larger than the tail of any other beast, among extinct or living terrestrial mammalia. Thus heavily constructed, and ponderously accoutred, it could neither run, nor leap, nor climb, nor burrow under the ground, and in all its movements must have been necessarily slow; but what need of rapid locomotion to an animal whose occupation of digging roots for food was almost stationary? and what need of speed for flight from foes to a creature whose giant carcase was encased in an impenetrable cuirass, and who by a single pat of his paw, or lash of his tail, could in an instant have demolished the couguar or the crocodile? Secure within the panoply of his bony armour, where was the enemy that would dare encounter this leviathan of the Pampas? or in what more powerful creature can we find the cause that has effected the extirpation of his race?

"His entire frame was an apparatus of colossal mechanism, adapted exactly to the work it had to do; strong and ponderous in proportion as this work was heavy, and calculated to be the vehicle of life and enjoyment to a gigantic race of quadrupeds; which, though they have ceased to be counted among the living inhabitants of our planet, have, in their

fossil bones, left behind them imperishable monuments of the consummate skill with which they were constructed;—each limb and fragment of a limb, forming co-ordinate parts of a well-adjusted and perfect whole; and through all their deviations from the form and proportion of the limbs of other quadrupeds, affording fresh proofs of the infinitely varied, and inexhaustible contrivances of creative wisdom."

And there was an "*age of reptiles*, when neither the carnivorous nor lacustrine mammalia of the tertiary periods had begun to appear; but the most formidable occupants both of land and water, were crocodiles and lizards, of various forms, and often of gigantic stature, fitted to endure the turbulence and continual convulsions of the unquiet surface of our infant world." There are regions in England which are now the most genial and highly cultivated, that were once covered with lakes, or, the rankest marshes, where these monsters roamed and reigned. Among the marine lizards, let us see part of what has been discovered of one which has been called the *Ichthyosaurus*.

"If the laws of co-existence are less rigidly maintained in the ichthyosaurus than in other extinct creatures which we discover amid the wreck of former creations, still these deviations are so far from being fortuitous or evidencing imperfection, that they present examples of perfect appointment and judicious choice, pervading and regulating even the most apparently anomalous aberrations.

"Having the vertebræ of a fish, as instruments of rapid progression, and the paddles of a whale, and sternum of an ornithorhyncus, as instruments of elevation and depression, the reptile ichthyosaurus united in itself a combination of mechanical contrivances, which are now distributed among three distinct classes of the animal kingdom. If, for the purpose of producing vertical movements in the water, the sternum of the living ornithorhyncus assumes forms and combinations that occur but in one other genus of mammalia, they are the same that co-existed in the sternum of the ichthyosaurus of the ancient world; and thus, at points of time separated from each other by the intervention of incalculable ages, we find an identity of objects effected by instruments so similar, as to leave no doubt of the unity of the design in which they all originated.

"It was a necessary and peculiar function in the economy of the fish-like lizard of the ancient seas to ascend continually to the surface of the water in order to breathe air, and to descend again in search of food: it is a no less peculiar function in the duck-billed ornithorhyncus of our own days to perform a series of similar movements in the lakes and rivers of New Holland.

"The introduction in these animals of such aberrations from the type of their respective orders, to accommodate deviations from the usual habits of these orders, exhibits an union of compensative contrivances, so similar in their relations, so identical in their objects, and so perfect in the adaptation of each subordinate part, to the harmony and perfection of the whole, that we cannot but recognise throughout them all the workings of one and the same eternal principle of wisdom and intelligence, presiding from first to last over the total fabric of creation."

There are other sources of evidence respecting the construction and habits of these enormous animals, than their skeletons. Dr. Buckland has discovered their *fæces* in a petrified state, by which their food and the conformation of their intestines have been ascertained; thus affording a wonderfully striking and unerring testimony of that divine contrivance and adaptation of means to an end, which our understandings cannot resist as a proof of infinite wisdom. The author sends home to our apprehensions, with peculiar force, the evidences last mentioned. He says—"When we see the body of an ichthyosaurus, still containing the food it had eaten just before its death, and its ribs still surrounding the remains of fishes, that were swallowed ten thousand, or more than ten times ten thousand years ago, all these vast intervals seem annihilated—time altogether disappears—and we are almost brought into as immediate contact with events of immeasurably distant periods, as with the affairs of yesterday." But who that would set about figuring to himself a monster, could ever, by anticipation or description, have combined such a list of strange members and features as that which the *Saurians*, or lizards, presented, which we now introduce? The Plesiosaurus had the head of a lizard, with crocodile teeth planted on a serpent-like or rather a swan-like neck; its trunk and tail had the proportions of an ordinary quadruped; it had the ribs of a cameleon, and the paddles of a whale. The remains of this genus of animals, after interment for thousands of years amidst the wreck of millions of extinct inhabitants of the ancient earth, are at length recalled to light, and submitted to our examination, in nearly as perfect a state as the bones of species that are now existing upon the earth. The author continues, introducing an account of the *P. Dolichodeirus*, by Conybeare—

"Such are the strange combinations of form and structure in the plesiosaurus; a genus, the remains of which, after interment for thousands of years amidst the wreck of millions of extinct inhabitants of the ancient earth, are at length recalled to light, and submitted to our examination, in nearly as perfect a state as the bones of species that are now existing upon the earth.

"The plesiosauri appear to have lived in shallow seas and estuaries, and to have breathed air like the ichthyosauri, and our modern cetacea. We are already acquainted with five or six species, some of which attained a prodigious size and length; but our present observations will be chiefly limited to that which is the best known, and perhaps the most remarkable of them all, viz., the P. Dolichodeirus.

"That it was aquatic is evident, from the form of its paddles; that it was marine is almost equally so, from the remains with which it is universally associated; that it may have occasionally visited the shore, the resemblance of its extremities to those of the turtle may lead us to conjecture; its motion, however, must have been very awkward on land; its long neck must have impeded its progress through the water; presenting a striking contrast to the organization which so admirably fits the ichthyosaurus to

cut through the waves. May it not, therefore, be concluded, (since, in addition to these circumstances, its respiration must have required frequent access of air,) that it swam upon, or near the surface; arching back its long neck like the swan, and occasionally darting it down at the fish which happened to float within its reach? It may, perhaps, have lurked in shoal water along the coast, concealed among the sea-weed, and raising its nostrils to a level with the surface from a considerable depth, may have found a secure retreat from the assaults of dangerous enemies; while the length and flexibility of its neck may have compensated for the want of strength in its jaws, and its incapacity for swift motion through the water, by the suddenness and agility of the attack which they enabled it to make on every animal fitted for its prey, which came within its reach."

These monstrous patriarchs of the animal tribes the author thus unites with those that now tenant the globe.

"Pursuing the analogies of construction that connect the existing inhabitants of the earth with those extinct genera and species which preceded the creation of our race, we find an unbroken chain of affinities pervading the entire series of organized beings, and connecting all past and present forms of animal existence by close and harmonious ties. Even our own bodies, and some of their most important organs, are brought into close and direct comparison with those of reptiles, which, at first sight, appear the most monstrous productions of creation; and in the very hand and fingers with which we write their history, we recognise the type of the paddles of the ichthyosaurus and plesiosaurus.

"Extending a similar comparison through the four great classes of vertebral animals, we find in each species a varied adaptation of analogous parts to the different circumstances and conditions in which it was intended to be placed. Ascending from the lower orders, we trace a gradual advancement in structure and office, till we arrive at those whose functions are the most exalted; thus, the fin of the fish becomes the paddle of the reptile plesiosaurus and ichthyosaurus; the same organ is converted into the wing of the pterodactyle, the bird and bat; it becomes the fore-foot, or paw, in quadrupeds that move upon the land, and attains its highest consummation in the arm and hand of rational man."

But there were also flying reptiles, which, in point of conformation, and as illustrative of the great doctrine of design and of adaptation, appear, to human apprehension, to be without a match or rival.

"Among the most remarkable disclosures, made by the researches of geology, we may rank the flying reptiles, which have been ranged by Cuvier under the genus pterodactyle; a genus presenting more singular combinations of form than we find in any other creatures yet discovered amid the ruins of the ancient earth. The structure of these animals is so exceedingly anomalous that the first discovered pterodactyle was considered by one naturalist to be a bird, by another as a species of bat, and by a third as a flying reptile. This extraordinary discordance of opinion respecting a creature whose skeleton was almost entire, arose from the presence of characters apparently belonging to each of the three classes to which it was referred; —the form of its head, and length of neck, resembling that of birds, its

wings approaching to the proportion and form of those of bats, and the body and tail approximating to those of ordinary mammalia. These characters, connected with a small skull, as is usual among reptiles, and a beak furnished with not less than sixty pointed teeth, presented a combination of apparent anomalies which it was reserved for the genius of Cuvier to reconcile. In his hands this apparently monstrous production of the ancient world has been converted into one of the most beautiful examples yet afforded by comparative anatomy, of the harmony that pervades all nature, in the adaptation of the same parts of the frame to infinitely varied conditions of existence.

"We are already acquainted with eight species of this genus, varying from the size of a snipe to that of a cormorant. In external form these animals somewhat resemble our modern bats and vampires: most of them had the nose elongated, like the snout of a crocodile, and armed with conical teeth. Their eyes were of enormous size, apparently enabling them to fly by night. From their wings projected fingers, terminated by long hooks like the curved claw on the thumb of the bat. These must have formed a powerful paw, wherewith the animal was enabled to creep or climb, or suspend itself from trees. It is probable, also, that the pterodactyles had the power of swimming, which is so common in reptiles, and which is now possessed by the vampire bat of the island of Bonin. Thus, like Milton's fiend, qualified for all services and all elements, the creature was a fit companion for the kindred reptiles that swarmed in the seas, or crawled on the shores of a turbulent planet,

> 'The fiend,
> O'er bog, or steep, though strait, rough, dense, or rare,
> With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
> And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.'

With flocks of such-like creatures flying in the air, and shoals of no less monstrous ichthyosauri and plesiosauri swarming in the ocean, and gigantic crocodiles and tortoises crawling on the shores of the primeval lakes and rivers, air, sea, and land must have been strangely tenanted in these early periods of our infant world."

Some of the terrestrial lizards extended to seventy feet in length; but we pass over much that is wonderful, and come to notice part of what is said respecting the ancient tortoises, and fossil footsteps.

"Scotland has recently afforded evidence of the existence of more than one species of these terrestrial reptiles during the period of the new red or variegated sandstone formation. The nature of this evidence is almost unique in the history of organic remains. It is not uncommon to find on the surface of sandstone tracks which mark the passage of small crustacea and other marine animals whilst this stone was in a state of loose sand at the bottom of the sea. Laminated sandstones are also disposed often in minute undulations, precisely resembling those formed by the ripple of agitated water upon sand. The same causes which have so commonly preserved these undulations would equally preserve any impressions that might happen to have been made on beds of sand by the feet of animals; the only essential condition of such preservation being that they should have become covered with a further deposit of earthy matter before they were obliterated

by any succeeding agitations of the water. The impressions in Dumfriesshire traverse the rock in a direction either up or down, and not across the surfaces of the strata, which are now inclined at an angle of 38 deg. On one slab there are twenty-four continuous impressions of feet, forming a regular track, with six distinct repetitions of the mark of each foot, the fore-foot being differently shaped from the hind-foot; the marks of claws are also very distinct."

Dr. Buckland made living tortoises walk upon paste, and found that they left foot-prints which could not fail to convince him that those preserved in a fossil state had been impressed upon matter in a similar condition of softness. He thus expatiates in reference to this discovery.

"The historian or the antiquary," he remarks, "may have traversed the fields of ancient or of modern battles; and may have pursued the line of march of triumphant conquerors, whose armies trampled down the most mighty kingdoms of the world. The winds and storms have utterly obliterated the ephemeral impressions of their course. Not a track remains of a single foot, or a single hoof, of all the countless millions of men and beasts whose progress spread desolation over the earth; but the reptiles, that crawled upon the half-finished surface of our infant planet, have left memorials of their passage, enduring and indelible. No history has recorded their creation or destruction; their very bones are found no more among the fossil relics of a former world. Centuries and thousands of years may have rolled away between the time in which these footsteps were impressed by tortoises upon the sands of their native Scotland, and the hour when they are again laid bare and exposed to our curious and admiring eyes. Yet we behold them stamped upon the rock, distinct as the track of the passing animal upon the recent snow; as if to show that thousands of years are but as nothing amidst eternity—and, as it were, in mockery of the fleeting perishable course of the mightiest potentates among mankind."

The facts and inferences stated regarding fossil fishes are not less important and wonderful than any we have yet quoted; but we must not tarry upon them, because there are other discoveries of equal moment, illustrative of the same doctrines already advanced, and drawn from very distinct families of animals, compared with those previously instanced. There are fosssil remains of soft-bodied animals, which are called Mollusks, some of them being entirely uncovered, while others are shielded by a shell. The type of some of these testaceans is still in existence, while that of others is quite extinct; but in either case the evidence of perfect adaptation to their ends and the circumstances of their condition is perfect.

Take a most astonishing example, drawn from the cuttle, which has the faculty of darkening the water around it with an ink-like substance, for the purpose of bewildering its pursuers. Now, who would suppose that the "fossil pens," and the "fossil ink-bags," and this subtle fluid, which must have belonged to animals that

existed myriads of ages ago, should at this day be found? But, says the author—

"So completely are the character and qualities of the ink retained in its fossil state, that when, in 1826, I submitted a portion of it to my friend Sir Francis Chantrey, requesting him to try its power as a pigment, and he had prepared a drawing with a triturated portion of this fossil substance; the drawing was shown to a celebrated painter, without any information as to its origin, and he immediately pronounced it to be tinted with sepia of excellent quality, and begged to be informed by what colourman it was prepared. The common sepia used in drawing is from the ink-bag of an oriental species of cuttle-fish. The ink of the cuttle-fishes, in its natural state, is said to be soluble only in water, through which it diffuses itself instantaneously; being thus remarkably adapted to its peculiar service in the only fluid wherein it is naturally employed."

Dr. Buckland and others hold, that the "fossil pen," like the "pen" of the later species, was the framework upon which the softer parts of the creature were built; and therefore, the petrified remains of fossil *loligo* serve to aid us in connecting successive systems of creation which have followed each other upon our planet, as evidence of one stupendous and uniform design.

"Paley has beautifully, and with his usual felicity, described the unity and universality of providential care, as extending from the construction of a ring of two hundred thousand miles diameter, to surround the body of Saturn, and be suspended, like a magnificent arch, above the heads of his inhabitants, to the concerting and providing an appropriate mechanism for the clasping and reclasping of the filaments in the feather of the humming-bird. The geologist describes a no less striking assemblage of curious provisions and delicate mechanisms, extending from the entire circumference of the crust of our planet, to the minutest curl of the smallest fibre in each component lamina of the pen of the fossil loligo. He finds these pens uniformly associated with the same peculiar defensive provision of an internal ink-bag, which is similarly associated with the pen of the living loligo in our actual seas; and hence he concludes, that such a union of contrivances, so nicely adjusted to the wants and weaknesses of the creatures in which they occur, could never have resulted from the blindness of chance, but could only have originated in the will and intention of one and the same Creator."

But we are presented with other illustrations, perhaps still more amazingly intricate and nice—to speak humanly—such as in the case of the *Ammonite*, one of the chamber-celled fossils, whose construction not only must have afforded the best protection which a creature of its external conformation could admit of, but which was supplied with one of the most delicate hydraulic machines that the universal laws of fluids could require.

"In more than two hundred known species of ammonites, the transverse plates present some beautifully varied modifications of this foliated expansion at their edges; the effect of which, in every case, is to increase the strength of the outer shell, by multiplying the subjacent points of resistance

to external pressure. We know that the pressure of the sea at no great depth will force a cork into a bottle filled with air, or crush a hollow cylinder or sphere of thin copper; and as the air chambers of ammonites were subject to similar pressure, whilst at the bottom of the sea, they required some peculiar provision to preserve them from destruction, more especially as most zoologists agree that they existed at great depths.

"Here again we find the inventions of art anticipated in the works of nature, and the same principle applied to resist the inward pressure of the sea upon the shells of ammonites, that an engineer makes use of in fixing transverse stays beneath the planks of the wooden centre on which he builds his arch of stone.

"The disposition of these supports assumes throughout the family of ammonites a different arrangement from the more simple curvature of the edges of the transverse plates within the shells of nautili; and we find a probable cause for this variation, in the comparative thinness of the outer shells of many ammonites; since this external weakness creates a need of more internal support under the pressure of deep water, than was requisite in the stronger and thicker shells of nautili.

"This support is effected by causing the edges of the transverse plates to deviate from a simple curve into a variety of attenuated ramifications and undulating sutures. Nothing can be more beautiful than the sinuous windings of these sutures in many species, at their union with the exterior shell; adorning it with a succession of most graceful forms, resembling festoons of foliage, and elegant embroidery. When these thin septa are converted into iron pyrites, their edges appear like golden filigrane work, meandering amid the pellucid spar that fills the chambers of the shell."

The whole ancient family of Ammonites whose testaceous remains have been found, exhibit abundant evidence of peculiar mechanism and consummate skill, in the adaptation of the shell to the double purpose of acting as a float, and of forming a shield to the body of its tenant.

"As the animal increased in bulk, and advanced along the outer chamber of the shell, the spaces left behind it were successively converted into air-chambers, simultaneously increasing the power of the float. This float, being regulated by a pipe, passing through the whole series of the chambers, formed an hydraulic instrument of extraordinary delicacy, by which the animal could, at pleasure, controul its ascent to the surface, or descend to the bottom of the sea.

"To creatures that sometimes floated, a thick and heavy shell would have been inapplicable; and as a thin shell, inclosing air, would be exposed to various and often intense degrees of pressure at the bottom, we find a series of provisions to afford resistance to such pressure, in the mechanical construction both of the external shell, and of the internal transverse plates which formed the air-chambers. First, the shell is made up of a tube, coiled round itself, and externally convex. Secondly, it is fortified by a series of ribs and vaultings, disposed in the form of arches and domes on the convex surface of this tube, and still further adding to its strength. Thirdly, the transverse plates that form the air-chambers supply also a continuous succession of supports, extending their ramifications, with many mechanical

advantages, beneath those portions of the shell which, being weakest, were most in need of them.

"If the existence of contrivance proves the exercise of mind; and if higher degrees of perfection in mechanism are proof of more exalted degrees of intellect in the Author from whom they proceeded; the beautiful examples which we find in the petrified remains of these chambered shells afford evidence coeval and co-extensive with the mountains wherein they are entombed, attesting the wisdom in which such exquisite contrivances originated, and setting forth the providence and care of the Creator, in regulating the structure of every creature of his hand."

We might extract a great deal more from the ascertained wonders connected with the construction and the remains of the ancient chambered shells, but must be contented with abridging what the Doctor says about the multitude of *Nummulites* which have existed. These fossils are so called because they resemble a piece of money, sometimes of the size of a crown piece, sometimes they are of microscopic littleness. They are prodigiously accumulated in the later members of the secondary and tertiary strata—often as closely piled as the grains in a heap of corn, forming a considerable portion of many extensive mountains, as in the tertiary limestones of Verona. Some of the pyramids, and the Sphinx of Egypt, are composed of limestone loaded with nummulites. And yet each of these shells once held an important place in connexion with a living creature.

The most delicate adjustment of parts, and the most skilful contrivances of man, never have produced an optical instrument so wonderful as the following, belonging to certain crustaceans—animals of a lobster-like conformation.

"This point deserves peculiar consideration, as it affords the most ancient, and almost the only example yet found in the fossil world, of the preservation of parts so delicate as the visual organs of animals that ceased to live many thousands, and perhaps millions of years ago. We must regard these organs with feelings of no ordinary kind, when we recollect that we have before us the identical instruments of vision, through which the light of heaven was admitted to the sensorium of some of the first created inhabitants of our planet.

"The discovery of such instruments in so perfect a state of preservation, after having been buried for incalculable ages in the early strata of the transition formation, is one of the most marvellous facts yet disclosed by geological researches; and the structure of these eyes supplies an argument of high importance in connecting together the extreme points of the animal creation. An identity of mechanical arrangements, adapted to the construction of an optical instrument precisely similar to that which forms the eyes of existing insects and crustaceans, affords an example of agreement that seems utterly inexplicable without reference to the exercise of one and the same intelligent creative power.

"Professor Müller and Mr. Straus have ably and amply illustrated the arrangements by which the eyes of insects and crustaceans are adapted to

produce distinct vision, through the medium of a number of minute facets, or lenses, placed at the extremity of an equal number of conical tubes or microscopes; these amount sometimes, as in the butterfly, to the number of 35,000 facets in the two eyes, and in the dragon-fly to 14,000.

"In the asaphus caudatus (a species of trilobite) each eye contains at least 400 nearly spherical lenses fixed in separate compartments on the surface of the cornea. The form of the general cornea is peculiarly adapted to the uses of an animal destined to live at the bottom of the water: to look downwards was as much impossible as it was unnecessary to a creature living at the bottom; but for horizontal vision in every direction the contrivance is complete. The form of each eye is nearly that of the frustum of a cone, incomplete on that side only which is directly opposite to the corresponding side of the other eye, and in which, if facets were present, their chief range would be towards each other across the head, where no vision was required. The exterior of each eye, like a circular bastion, ranges nearly round three-fourths of a circle, each commanding so much of the horizon, that where the distinct vision of one eye ceases, that of the other eye begins, so that in the horizontal direction the combined range of both eyes was panoramic.

"If we compare this disposition of the eyes with that in the three cognate crustaceans, by which we have been illustrating the general structure of the trilobites, we find the same mechanism pervading them all, modified by peculiar adaptations to the state and habits of each."

Those of our readers who have hitherto been in a great measure unacquainted with geological discoveries, may well be excused if they should pause, and ask—is not all this a dream?—But let such have recourse to the Treatise before us, in its entire and connected form, and we fearlessly vouch for it, that all incredulity will vanish on their parts, and that a new world of wonders and delight will burst upon them. They will also admire the riches which science, by following unerring principles and testimonies, has drawn from the works of the Ancient of Days, and be convinced that this simple handmaiden of truth can neither be checked nor thwarted in her onward and profound career. Behold, for example, how Dr. Buckland—who has above described an optical instrument with a familiarity and a precision, as if he had witnessed its actual operations, merely because he has stated facts, and the resistless inferences thence deduced—ascends to other necessary truths, from which the whole subject treated of by him, expands and shines to a degree which could not have been anticipated by ordinary readers, from any of the wonders he had previously described.

"The results arising from these facts are not confined to animal physiology; they give information also regarding the condition of the ancient sea and ancient atmosphere, and the relations of both these media to light, at that remote period when the earliest marine animals were furnished with instruments of vision, in which the minute optical adaptations were the same that impart the perception of light to crustaceans now living at the bottom of the sea.

"With respect to the waters wherein the trilobites maintained their existence throughout the entire period of the transition formation, we conclude that they could not have been that imaginary turbid and compound chaotic fluid, from the precipitates of which some geologists have supposed the materials of the surface of the earth to be derived; because the structure of the eyes of these animals is such, that any kind of fluid in which they could have been efficient at the bottom, must have been pure and transparent enough to allow the passage of light to organs of vision, the nature of which is so fully disclosed by the state of perfection in which they are preserved.

"With regard to the atmosphere also we infer, that had it differed materially from its actual condition, it might have so far affected the rays of light, that a corresponding difference from the eyes of existing crustaceans would have been found in the organs on which the impressions of such rays were then received.

"Regarding light itself also, we learn, from the resemblance of these most ancient organizations to existing eyes, that the mutual relations of light to the eye, and of the eye to light, were the same at the time when crustaceans endowed with the faculty of vision were first placed at the bottom of the primeval seas, as at the present moment.

"Thus we find among the earliest organic remains an optical instrument of most curious construction, adapted to produce vision of a peculiar kind in the then existing representatives of one great class in the articulated division of the animal kingdom. We do not find this instrument passing onwards, as it were, through a series of experimental changes, from more simple into more complex forms; it was created at the very first, in the fulness of perfect adaptation to the uses and condition of the class of creatures to which this kind of eye has ever been, and is still appropriate.

"If we should discover a microscope or teloscope in the hand of an Egyptian mummy, or beneath the ruins of Herculaneum, it would be impossible to deny that a knowledge of the principles of optics existed in the mind by which such an instrument had been contrived. The same inference follows, but with cumulative force, when we see nearly four hundred microscopic lenses set side by side in the compound eye of a fossil trilobite; and the weight of the argument is multiplied a thousand-fold when we look to the infinite variety of adaptations by which similar instruments have been modified, through endless genera and species, from the long-lost trilobites of the transition strata, through the extinct crustaceans of the secondary and tertiary formations, and thence onwards throughout existing crustaceans, and the countless hosts of living insects.

"It appears impossible to resist the conclusions as to unity of design in a common author, which are thus attested by such cumulative evidences of creative intelligence and power; both, as infinitely surpassing the most exalted faculties of the human mind, as the mechanisms of the natural world, when magnified by the highest microscopes, are found to transcend the most perfect productions of human art."

We might now direct the reader's attention to fossil insects, as well as fossil zoophytes; and instance those marble slabs that every one must have observed, in which the remains of tens of thousands

of such creatures are perfectly visible. But a notice of the fossil *flora* of the ancient earth will exhaust our space, and at the same time form a suitable conclusion to Dr. Buckland's elaborate and brilliant performance. And yet, the facts drawn from this department of evidence are comparatively few to what may be anticipated by the progress lately made in geological science; the fossil plants described, as yet, not much exceeding five hundred species. The author gives an account of such tribes as have been ascertained to belong to each geological era. But our last extract, by detailing the phenomena of one locality, must suffice.

"The most beautiful example I have ever witnessed is that of the coal mines of Bohemia. The most elaborate imitations of living foliage on the painted ceilings of Italian palaces bear no comparison with the beauteous profusion of extinct vegetable forms with which the galleries of these instructive coal mines are overhung. The roof is covered as with a canopy of gorgeous tapestry, enriched with festoons of most graceful foliage flung in wild irregular profusion over every portion of its surface. The effect is heightened by the contrast of the coal-black colour of these vegetables, with the light ground work of the rock to which they are attached. The spectator feels transported, as if by enchantment, into the forests of another world; he beholds trees, of form and character now unknown upon the surface of the earth, presented to his senses almost in the beauty and vigour of their primeval life; their scaly stems, and bending branches, with their delicate apparatus of foliage, are all spread forth before him, little impaired by the lapse of countless ages, and bearing faithful records of extinct systems of vegetation which began and terminated in times of which these relics are the infallible historians. Such are the grand natural herbaria wherein these most ancient remains of the vegetable kingdom are preserved, in a state of integrity little short of their living perfection, under conditions of our planet which exist no more."

In conclusion, we need not farther attempt to corroborate what has already been declared concerning the ability, the beauty, or the satisfactory character of the author's labours. We could only repeat ourselves; and indeed, no testimony can be half so favourable as that which has been adduced from himself. It is proper, however, to add, that the plates which accompany the letter-press, are not merely as illustrations, but as specimens of art, of first-rate excellence; nor will this superiority be a marvel to any one who is in the least acquainted with Dr. Buckland's enthusiasm in his particular walk of science. Indeed, it is reported that he has expended the 1,000*l.* upon these engravings, which was bequeathed by the noble founder of the work.

ART. IV.

1. *Tableau Elémentaire de l'Hist. Nat. des Animaux.* Par G. CUVIER. Paris, 1798. 8vo. avec. pl.
2. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. et à l'Anat. des Mollusques.* Par M. LE CHEVALIER CUVIER. Paris, 1817. 4to. avec pl.
3. *Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée de* G. CUVIER. Paris, 1800—1805. 5 tomes, 8vo. avec pl.
4. *Le même Ouvrage, Nouvelle Edition.* Par DUMERIL. Paris, 1836.
5. *Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles.* 7 tomes, 4to. Paris (three editions), 1812, 1817, 1821. Par M. LE BARON CUVIER, avec. pl.
6. *Le même Ouvrage, Nouvelle Edition.* 10 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1836.
7. *Le Règne Animal distribué d'après son Organisation.* Par M. LE CHEV. CUVIER. 4 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1817. avec pl.
8. *Le même Ouvrage, Nouvelle Edition.* 5 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1829, et 1839.
9. *Histoire Naturelle des Poissons.* Par M. LE BARON CUVIER et M. VALENCIENNES, tomes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Paris, 1828—1836, avec. pl.

THE study of zoology is, on many accounts, to be recommended; among others, the habit, necessarily acquired in the study of this interesting science, of the mental classification of a great number of ideas, is one of the advantages which is seldom noticed, and which, when it shall have been generally introduced into the system of common education, will become, perhaps, the principal one. By it the student is exercised in that part of logic which is termed method, just as he is by geometry in that of syllogism, because natural history is the science which requires the most precise methods, as geometry is that which demands the most rigorous reasoning. Now, this art of method, once well acquired, may be applied, with infinite advantage, to studies the most foreign to natural history. Every discussion implying a classification of facts, every inquiry which demands a distribution of materials, is performed according to the same laws; and the young man who had cultivated this science merely for amusement, is surprised, when he makes the experiment, at the facilities it affords him in disentangling all kinds of affairs.

This study is not less useful in solitude. Sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy the most powerful mind, sufficiently various and interesting to calm the most agitated soul, it consoles the unhappy and calms animosities. Once elevated to the contemplation of the harmony of nature irresistibly regulated by Providence, how weak and insignificant appear those causes which it has been pleased to leave dependent on the arbitrary will of man! How astonishing

o behold so many examples of fine genius consuming themselves o vainly for their own happiness, or that of others, in the pursuit f empty speculations, whose very traces a few years suffice to sweep way!

In this attempt to lay before our readers a brief and impartial ketch of the scientific labours of M. Cuvier, we shall follow the hronological order of his numerous writings, and thereby be enabled o trace the progress of zoological discovery during the last forty ears, at the same time that we examine the merits of the successive hanges this distinguished naturalist has introduced into the science. Vithin the period of M. Cuvier's career, all the branches of natural istory have been cultivated with increased ardour in the schools of urope, and our acquaintance with the natural productions of the lobe has been greatly extended by the rapid progress of geographi- l discovery, by the advancement of all the collateral sciences, and y the zeal and intelligence of European colonists and travellers in istant countries. The liberal aid afforded to science by the French overnment, and the consequent subdivision of mental labour among s cultivators in that country, have enabled the scientific of France maintain an ascendency over other countries of Europe in those epartments which necessarily required such aid for their successful ltivation, and particularly in zoology, one of the most expensive of l the physical sciences.

The Menagerie of the Jardin du Roi, and the Museums of Natural istory and Comparative Anatomy at Paris, which have grown for ore than a century, have long surpassed those of every other coun- y of Europe in their extent, elegance, and richness; and, in the tensive means of comparison which they thus present, they afford instrument of investigation in the study of natural history, supe- or to that enjoyed by any other country. These magnificent col- ctions, which owe much to the early exertions of Buffon and Dau- nton, have been a means of spreading a taste for the study of ology and comparative anatomy, and have greatly contributed to e eminent success of the cultivators of these sciences in France. he labours of M. Cuvier in these departments have extended over eriod of nearly forty years; they have greatly added to the repu- ion of the French school of naturalists, and they have been a ncipal means of the rapid advancement of the study of animated ture in our times. His comprehensive genius has shed its lustre er every department of this vast field of inquiry; the existing es of the animal kingdom he has reviewed, classified, and defined; eir diversified structures he has examined and described; nume- us tribes of the extinct species have almost been recalled to life by e skill and perseverance of this indefatigable naturalist.

George Cuvier was born in the year 1769, at Montbeliard, a town now in the department of France, called the Upper Rhine, but which,

at the period of his birth, belonged to Wurtemburg, one of the states of Germany. This town, on the confines of Germany, has at least the glory of having given birth to the two illustrious Cuviers, to M. Duvernoi, Professor of Natural History of Strasburg, and to M. Laurillard, the able assistant of M. Cuvier in the department of Comparative Anatomy. M. Cuvier was born in the same year, in the same month, and nearly on the same day with Napoleon, whose intimacy he enjoyed during a great part of his perilious career; and thus, in very distant parts, the same period gave birth to the two illustrious foreigners whose lives must be so much identified with the history of France, and whose thoughts and actions have had so great an influence on the scientific and political world in later times. His father was an officer in a Swiss regiment in the service of France, and Chevalier of the Order of Military Merit; he retired after forty years' service, with a moderate pension from France, and some time after he was made Commandant of Artillery at Montbeliard. Cuvier received the early part of his education at the University of Stuttgard, the capital of Wurtemburg, where he resided for several years, directing his attention to the study of mathematics, philosophy, law, and jurisprudence, with the view of qualifying himself for taking a share in the administration of his native country, to which he was induced to look forward by the kind patronage shewn him by the late Duke Charles, grand uncle of the present King of Wurtemburg. These early prospects of Cuvier, however, were soon blasted by the events which agitated France towards the close of the last century, and by which his native country became a part of a French province. The grand displays of natural scenery in the mountainous country around Stuttgard, form an allurement to the study of natural history; and there have long existed both museums and societies in that capital, devoted to its advancement. On leaving the University of Stuttgard, Cuvier betook himself to France, where he resided for some time on the coast of Normandy, and afterwards resorted to Paris. Here he commenced his career as a private lecturer, and was soon appointed to assist Professor Mertrud, in the Course of Comparative Anatomy delivered in the Museum of Natural History. Cuvier had already made himself favourably known to several of the most eminent naturalists of Paris, by his new and interesting observations on the structure of molluscous animals, made while residing on the coast of France, as tutor in the family of a nobleman. In the spring of 1795, the reflecting portion of the Parisian community saw the necessity of making some attempt at restoring at least the literary institutions, which, with every other means of utility, had fallen in the recent revolutionary devastation. Cuvier had laid such a foundation for the eminence of his character by this time, as to be received into the select few who were to take a practical part in the

great work of intellectual renovation ; and, being invited to Paris, was at once appointed Commissioner of Arts, and Professor at the Central School of the Pantheon. His election as a member of the Institute of France, on the first organization of that assembly in 1796, gave a new impulse to his exertions. The first of his contributions to the literature of science bears the date of 1792; several detached papers were, about this period, written and published by him in periodical journals, and in them we trace the commencement of that powerful devotion to fossil anatomy, which he subsequently elevated into such an empire of natural wonders. The numerous memoirs and discoveries which he laid before the Institute, in the early part of his career, greatly extended his reputation, while they formed the basis of his more enlarged succeeding publications. The structure of the animal frame, in all the modifications it presents throughout the lower classes, was always the favourite subject of his pursuits; and he continued to discharge the duties of Professor of Comparative Anatomy in the Garden of Plants to a late period, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his other avocations. The drawings which accompanied his numerous anatomical memoirs were all executed by himself, and the beauty and elegance of his delineations are not less remarkable than the minuteness and accuracy of his descriptions. Most of these memoirs are published in the Annales du Museum.

The labours of Daubenton, Mertrud, and Rousseau had already greatly extended the Museum of Comparative Anatomy before the task of completing it fell to M. Cuvier, by his appointment to that chair in the Garden of Plants. While he was Professor of Natural History in the Pantheon, and delivered lectures on Comparative Anatomy, for Mertrud, in the Garden of Plants, he published his first separate work, the "Tableau Elementaire," in 1798. This work forms an octavo volume of 710 pages; it presented a new distribution of the whole animal kingdom, and it formed the basis of the two succeeding editions of the Règne Animal. The principles of classification, adopted in this early publication, had already been partly developed by him in a separate memoir on a new division of white-blooded animals, which he published at the age of twenty-six, three years before the appearance of the Tableau Elementaire. In that early memoir, which was read to the Natural History Society of Paris on the 10th of May, 1795, and printed in the Décade Philosophique, Cuvier first attacked Linnæus's division of the invertebrata into insects and worms, and assigned the characters and limits of the new classes, mollusca, crustacea, insecta, vermes, echinodermata and zoophyta. The distribution of these invertebrate classes into three great divisions equal to the vertebrata, was afterwards established by Cuvier in a memoir read to the Institute in July, 1812. The classification of animals is one of the principal

objects to which the researches both of the zoologist and comparative anatomist are directed: without the assistance derived from methodical arrangement, the multitude and variety of objects belonging to the animal kingdom would continually impede our investigations, and overpower the strongest mind. The efforts of M. Cuvier were, therefore, early directed to this important point; and the publication just mentioned is an outline of the course of lectures delivered by him at the Pantheon, on this subject, in 1797. The animal kingdom is there divided into eight great classes: four of vertebrate animals, *Mammalia, Aves, Reptilia, Pisces;* and four of invertebrate animals, *Mollusca, Insecta, Vermes, Zoophyta;* the orders, genera, and many of the species of which are illustrated by ample details, and the characters of all the different groups are illustrated by fourteen plates, from his own pencil, representing more than a hundred objects. This work has not been translated into English, but a Portuguese translation of it, by Almeida, was published in London in 1815, in 2 vols. 8vo.

After some interesting observations on the utility of the study of zoology, and its applications to other sciences, he details the properties which distinguish organized and sentient beings, and gives an outline of the organization of the human body and the distinctions among the different races of mankind. In treating of the mammalia he has somewhat improved the classification of Professor Storr of Tubingen; he has adopted the nomenclature of Linnæus, but he has greatly improved the characters of the genera and species, by introducing more precise and detailed descriptions of the teeth, taken from the skeletons preserved in the National Museum. The arrangement of the class of birds has been taken from Linnæus and Buffon, and the descriptions are short and perspicuous. From the limited means of observation which Cuvier then possessed with regard to birds, he considers this the most imperfect part of the volume. The class of reptiles is divided into two orders, oviparous quadrupeds, and serpents; the former comprehending the *chelonia, sauria,* and *batrachia* of Brogniart and the later editions of the Règne Animal, and the latter order comprehending the *ophidia.* The divisions of the class of fishes are adopted from Linnæus; they consist of six orders, founded on the position of the fins, and Blumenbach had previously copied the same arrangement into his "Manual of Natural History." The cartilaginous fishes, which are placed first in the work of Blumenbach, and in the Tableau Elementaire, the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée, and likewise in the Règne Animal of 1817, have been properly thrown to the bottom of the class in the great work on the Natural History of Fishes (1828), and in the new edition of the Règne Animal (1829), as in their skeleton and other parts of their organization they approach to the molluscous animals. The whole of the invertebrate animals

are distributed into three great groups, which correspond with the mollusca, articulata, and zoophyta of the Règne Animal. The animals of the first division, mollusca, are characterized as having a muscular heart, and no longitudinal, knotted, nervous cord; those of the second division, insects and worms, have a longitudinal dorsal vessel, and a knotted spinal cord, or at least one of these two characters; those of the third division, zoophyta, have neither heart, nor brain, nor nerves. The mollusca are divided into the cephalopoda, gasteropoda nuda, gasteropoda testacea, and acephala; the last of these divisions comprehending Lamarck's classes, conchifera, tunicata, and cirrhipeda. His next great division comprehends under it all the crustacea, arachnida, insecta, annelida, and entozoa of later authors. The arrangement of these is taken chiefly from Linnæus and Fabricius, and he was as fortunate in having the personal assistance of Fabricius in regard to this class, as he had been in obtaining that of Lacepede for the classes of reptiles and fishes, and that of Lamarck for the testaceous mollusca and the corals. Cuvier, however, has paid a minuter attention to the organs of manducation of insects in this work than had been done by his predecessors, and has pointed out many important characters founded on these parts. The division of his great group zoophyta is nearly the same as that of the Règne Animal, with the exception of the entozoa being placed among the vermes in the Tableau Elementaire, and the infusoria being placed between the acalepha and the true ramified zoophytes which terminate the volume.

Throughout the whole of this Elementary Treatise he displays a practical acquaintance with the objects about which he treats, and with the best authors who had preceded him. The general observations prefixed to each division are judicious and appropriate, and, considering the state of the science at that time, they contain much interesting and original information; but, in his desire to adapt the work to the capacity of his pupils, he has overlooked the advantages of the strict methodical disposition of materials, so conspicuous in the great masters whom he has followed. The great zoological distinctions of classes, orders, genera, &c., are supplied by Cuvier by the more convenient division of chapters, and the reader is sometimes left to guess the value of a subdivision by the size of the type employed in printing its description. The investigations and the extent of reading necessary for the composition of a work like this, designed to exhibit a summary of the whole animal kingdom, must have greatly aided M. Cuvier in his demonstrations of comparative anatomy; and the combination of his duties at the Pantheon and at the College of France, with those at the Garden of Plants, may be considered as a principal cause of his eminent success in both the departments of zoology and comparative anatomy. Where the latter branch is studied only in connexion with human anatomy, the

knowledge acquired is generally limited to a superficial acquaintance with a few of the classes most nearly resembling man; and when studied only in connexion with geology, the acquaintance with it is generally limited to those hard parts of animals capable of being preserved in the strata of the earth. And where zoology is cultivated without the aid of comparative anatomy, the true principles of classification must be overlooked, and the most discordant arrangements will result from the attention being directed exclusively to external form.

Having from his earliest years devoted himself, from taste, to the study of comparative anatomy; in other words, to the laws which preside over the organization of animals, and the modifications of that organization, as they are found throughout the diversified species—having consecrated to this science every moment which his duties left at his own disposal, he ever kept in view, as the object of his labours, the resolution of the science into general laws, and into propositions of the simplest expression. His first essays soon made him perceive, that he could only attain this in proportion as the animals, whose structure he should have to elucidate, were arranged in conformity with that structure, so that in one single name of class, order, genus, &c., might be embraced all those species which, in their external as well as internal conformation, might have affinities either more general or particular. Now, this is what the greater number of naturalists of that epoch had never attempted, and what but few of them could have effected, had they even been willing to try, since a similar arrangement pre-supposes an extensive knowledge of the structures, of which it is partly the representation.

It is true that Daubenton and Camper had supplied facts—that Pallas had indicated views; but the ideas of these learned men had not yet exercised upon their contemporaries the influence which they merited. The only general catalogue of animals then in existence, the system of Linnæus, had just been disfigured by an unfortunate editor, who did not even take the pains to examine the principles of that ingenious methodist, and who, wherever he found any disorder, seems to have tried to render it more inextricable.

It is no less true, that, upon particular classes, there existed some very extensive works, which described a considerable number of new species; but then the authors of these performances scarcely carried their attention beyond the external relations of these species, and no one was found to employ himself in arranging the classes and orders according to the nature of the structure of the animals.

Cuvier was compelled then—and the task occupied a considerable period of time—to make anatomy and zoology, dissections and classification, the pioneers of his steps; to search for better principles of distribution in his first remarks on organization; and to employ them in order to arrive at new ones, and to render the distribution perfect from this mutual reaction of the two sciences; thereby elicit-

ing a system of zoology that might serve as an introduction and a guide in anatomical investigations, and as a body of anatomical doctrine fitted to develop and explain the entire zoological system.

Cuvier's earliest anatomical memoirs, read before the Institute of France, were on animals the most remote from man. His memoir on the Medusæ pointed out, in animals two feet in diameter, a structure nearly as simple as that of the Infusoria. The numerous memoirs which he published in the Annales du Museum on the Anatomy of Molluscous Animals, fill alone a quarto volume of nearly 500 pages: they contain descriptions of the structure of nearly fifty genera, and are illustrated by thirty-five elaborate plates from his own pencil. These memoirs have rectified many of the errors or supplied the deficiencies of preceding observers, and have thrown a new light on the most remarkable and unknown forms of organization: they have pointed out the true relations of these diversified beings to each other; and, by affording the means of dividing them into natural and closely allied groups, they have greatly facilitated the labours of the conchologist. His concluding dissertation on the species of crustacea known to the ancients, displays a happy union of extensive zoological knowledge with profound classical erudition.

Those who are familiar with the works of the ancient philosopher, Aristotle, will be astonished to find that, in an age so remote as that in which he flourished, the true principles on which the classification of animals should be effected were perfectly well understood. Mankind, at least, seem to have been contented with them, inasmuch as no attempt, from the days of that Father of Naturalists to the age of Linnæus, was ever made to alter the system of the former. The attempt made by Linnæus to improve upon Aristotle, is held by Lamarck to have been successful in these respects, that the Swede uses the term *mammalia*, which is sufficiently distinctive—that he has put the whales into that class—that he forms the reptiles into a separate class, placing them between the birds and the fishes. If we can suppose these changes to be incorporated with the system of Aristotle, there will be very little difference between that system and the one universally adopted in modern times. It follows, therefore, that the improvement in the right distribution of animals effected by Linnæus, is comparatively trifling, and, in our view, much inferior in the depth and importance of its principles to that which was discovered and established by Cuvier.

Whilst Aristotle exhibited wonderful judgment in his arrangements, still he had no true notion of the laws which regulate species; he was confounded altogether by the limits of the variation of species, and here it is that the second Aristotle has been able triumphantly to succeed. Cuvier studied ardently and incessantly the nature of the conditions that allow of the development of individuals or species in the form in which they appear, and the results of his ori-

ginal and wonderful labours have cast a light over the mysteries of living nature, such as discloses them in a condition in which they are most calculated for our comprehension. Cuvier, in traversing the relics of the ancient world, and comparing them with the structures which compose the breathing beings of this, discovered the talisman which opened every locked treasure to his hand, in the simple law that every part of any animal, and in some, the very smallest portion, constitutes a certain index of the character in all respects of the rest. The successful application of this law is one of the greatest triumphs of the genius of Cuvier, and may be found, in regard to molluscous animals, in great part summed up in the following extract:—

"The Mollusca have neither an articulated skeleton nor a vertebral canal. Their nervous system is not united into a spinal marrow, but merely into a certain number of medullary masses distributed in different points of the body, the chief of which, termed the brain, is situated transversely on the œsophagus, and envelopes it with a nervous collar. Their organs of motion and of the sensations have not the same uniformity as to number and position, as in the Vertebrata, and the irregularity is still more striking in the viscera, particularly as respects the position of the heart and respiratory organs, and even as regards the structure of the latter; for some of them respire elastic air, and others salt or fresh water. Their external organs, however, and those of locomotion, are generally arranged symmetrically on the two sides of an axis.

"The circulation of the Mollusca is always double; that is, their pulmonary circulation describes a distinct and perfect circle. This function is also always aided by at least one fleshy ventricle, situated between the veins of the lungs and the arteries of the body, and not as in fishes between the veins of the body and the arteries of the lungs. It is then an aortic ventricle. The family of Cephalopoda alone are provided besides with a pulmonary ventricle, which is even divided into two. The aortic ventricle is also divided in some genera, as in *Arca* and *Lingula*; at others, as in other bivalves, its auricle only is divided.

"When there is more than one ventricle they are not joined in a single mass, as in the warm-blooded animals, but are frequently placed at a considerable distance from each other, and in this case the animal may be said to have several hearts.

"The blood of the Mollusca is white or bluish, and it appears to contain a smaller proportionate quantity of fibrine than that of the Vertebrata. There are reasons for believing that their veins fulfil the functions of absorbent vessels.

"Their muscles are attached to various points of their skin, forming tissues there, which are more or less complex and dense. Their motions consist of various contractions varying in their direction, which produce inflexions and prolongations together with relaxations of their different parts, by means of which they creep, swim, and seize upon various objects, just as the form of these parts may permit; but as the limbs are not supported by articulated and solid levers, they cannot perform very rapid advances in progression.

"The irritability of most of them is extremely great, and remains for a

long time after they are divided. Their skin is naked, very sensible, and usually covered with a humour that oozes from its pores; no particular organ of smell has ever been detected in them, although they enjoy that sense; it may possibly reside in the entire skin, for it greatly resembles a pituitary membrane. All the Cephala, Brachiopoda, Cirrhopoda and part of the Gasteropoda and Pteropoda, are deprived of eyes; the Cephalopoda on the contrary have them at least as complicated as those of the warm-blooded animals. They are the only ones in which the organ of hearing has been discovered, and whose brain is enclosed with a particular cartilaginous box.

"Nearly all the Mollusca have a development of the skin which covers their body, and which bears more or less resemblance to a *mantle;* it is often however narrowed into a simple disk, or is formed into a pipe, or hollowed into a sac, or lastly is extended and divided in the form of fins.

The *Naked Mollusca* are those in which the mantle is simply membranous or fleshy; most frequently however one or several laminæ, of a substance more or less hard, is formed in its thickness, deposited in layers, and increasing in extent as well as in thickness, because the recent layers always overlap the old ones.

"When this substance remains concealed in the thickness of the mantle, it is still customary to style the animals Naked Mollusca. Most generally, however, it becomes so much developed, that the contracted animal finds shelter beneath it; it is then termed a *shell*, and the animal is said to be *testaceous;* the epidermis which covers it is thin, and sometimes desiccated; it is called *drapmarin.*

"The variety in the form, colour, surface, substance, and brilliancy of shells is infinite; most of them are calcareous; some are simply horny, but they always consist of matters deposited in layers, or exuded from the skin under the epidermis, like the mucous covering, nails, hairs, horns, scales, and even teeth. The tissue of shells differs according as this transudation is deposited either in parallel laminæ or in crowded vertical filaments.

"All the modes of mastication and deglutition are illustrated in the Mollusca; here the stomachs are simple, there they are complicated, and frequently provided with a peculiar armature; their intestines are variously prolonged. They most generally have salivary glands, and always a large liver, but neither pancreas nor mesentery; several have secretions which are peculiar to them.

"They also present examples of all the varieties of the process of generation. Several of them possess the faculty of self-impregnation; others, although hermaphrodites, require a reciprocal coitus, while in many the sexes are separated. The first are viviparous, and the others oviparous; the eggs of the latter are sometimes enveloped with a harder or softer shell, and sometimes with a simple viscosity.

"These varieties of the digestive and generative processes are found in the same order, and sometimes in the same family.

"The Mollusca in general appear to be animals that are but slightly developed, possessed of but little industry, and which are only preserved by their fecundity and their tenacity of life."

A career of original investigation, like that of M. Cuvier, ill accords with the patience and labour required in extensive compila-

tions; and although an elementary work on his favourite subject of comparative anatomy, was still a desideratum in France, he was too much impressed with the difficulty of the undertaking, and too eagerly engaged in a new train of investigation, to undertake the composition of such a work. Fortunately for the science, M. Cuvier found two able anatomists, eager and qualified to reduce to the form of a system, the vast materials employed by him in his courses of lectures on comparative anatomy. M. Mertrud had been appointed to the newly created chair of Comparative Anatomy in the Garden of Plants, but from his advanced age at that time, he was induced by the advice of his colleagues to appoint Cuvier as his substitute, and in that capacity Cuvier devoted himself to the extension of the Zootomical Museum, and to the means of illustrating his lectures, which were then attended by numerous assemblies. On the death of Mertrud, who had been long assistant to Daubenton, Cuvier succeeded him as Professor of Comparative Anatomy, on the 1st of November, 1802; when, with M. Dumeril, he accomplished the two first volumes of the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée, comprehending the Organs of Motion and those of Sensation; the writer of the three last volumes, treating chiefly of the Organs of Digestion, Circulation, Respiration, Secretion, and Generation, was Dr. Duvernoy, a relation of M. Cuvier, a young and zealous anatomist, and now the distinguished Professor of Natural History at Strasburg. M. Cuvier's attention was at this time directed to the excavations in the gypsum strata of Montmartre; and his frequent excursions to that interesting theatre of geological events, together with the labour of comparing the accumulations of bones daily extracted from the quarries with those of the skeletons preserved in the cabinet, must have considerably distracted his attention from the compilation of the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée, and left a large share of the merit of these volumes to the skilful anatomists who conducted them. The first volume of the work is prefaced by a letter of twenty-two pages from Cuvier to his zealous preceptor, Professor Mertrud; in which he explains, with his usual eloquence and perspicuity, the nature of the subject, the particular scope of the work, and the manner in which it was got up, from his oral demonstrations. The work is in five octavo volumes, of about 500 pages each: it is illustrated by fifty-two engraved plates; and, although it is now thirty years since it was published, it still forms the most perspicuous, correct, and complete systematic view of the science which exists in any language. In collecting materials for the work, Cuvier was aided by many donations of specimens from his friends and correspondents in distant parts: he had liberty to dissect all the animals which died in the Menagerie, and even to open those rare species which had long been preserved in the Museum in spirits. Cuvier and his pupils dissected, in 1802, the large male elephant which had been pillaged, along with many other zoological treasures, from the Statholder in Hol-

hand, during the Revolution; he dissected another male elephant in 1804, and a female elephant a few years afterwards. His younger brother, M. Frederick Cuvier, was appointed keeper of the Menagerie in 1805, and rendered Cuvier great assistance in completing the series of skeletons of the Museum of Comparative Anatomy, which was first opened to public inspection in 1806. Manuscript copies of M. Cuvier's lectures on Comparative Anatomy, taken by pupils from his oral demonstrations, had been circulated in Paris, and even cited in works, before he undertook to publish them in a complete and connected form; and M. Dumeril had taken regular and ample notes from these demonstrations during four successive years. The introductory lecture is full of original and highly interesting views of the animal economy, and of the laws of organization; the succeeding lectures of the first volume, on the Organs of Motion, treat of the osseous and muscular system of each division of the body, commencing with the bones and muscles of the trunk, those of the shoulder and anterior extremity; then those of the pelvis and posterior extremity are described, in all the classes of vertebrate animals. The organs of motion in invertebrate animals are then examined; and the first volume concludes with a lecture on the organs of motion considered in a state of action. Although it is convenient sometimes, in teaching osteology, to exhibit the organs by which the various motions of the bones are effected, the introduction of the interesting details of myology is apt to fix the attention too exclusively on individual forms, and to carry away the mind from those extensive comparisons which are required to illustrate the osteology of the lower animals; and M. Cuvier has not been followed by succeeding writers, in thus combining the osteology with the myology. The second volume commences with a description of the head, considered as the receptacle of the principal organs of sense; the brain and nerves are then considered; and the organs of sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste, are examined at great length.

A period of five years elapsed between the publication of the first two volumes of the Leçons and the succeeding three; during which time M. Cuvier was elected Perpetual Secretary of the French Institute, an office which his genius, learning, and indefatigable research, still continue to adorn. Cuvier was Secretary of the Institute so early as 1800, when that office was only temporary and of two years' duration: he had been the third elected since the beginning of the Institute. At this time Napoleon, returned from Egypt and being declared First Consul, was made President of the Institute, which brought Cuvier into frequent personal intercourse with his future sovereign. In 1802 Napoleon, desiring to reorganize the schools of France, appointed six General Inspectors to establish Lyceums in thirty cities of the empire. Cuvier was made one, and

in that capacity he established the first Lyceums (now Royal Colleges) of Marseilles and Bordeaux. It was while absent from Paris, on this embassy, that the Secretaries of the Institute were made perpetual, and Cuvier was appointed to that of the Physical Sciences. When at Marseilles he availed himself of the favourable opportunity to extend his inquiries into the structure of the mollusca. During this interval the two first volumes of the Leçons were translated into the English language; but the same respect has not been shown to the other three, which are not inferior in merit. The translation of these two volumes was executed by Mr. Ross, with the careful revisal of Professor Macartney, of Dublin. A translation of the first lecture, which contains a luminous view of the laws of animal economy, had been published in a separate form by Mr. Allan, surgeon, of Edinburgh. The numerous avocations both of M. Dumeril and M. Cuvier, prevented them from devoting the time and attention to the concluding volumes which they had devoted to the preceding; and Dr. Duvernoy, though aided by the manuscript notes of the former, and the plates, preparations, descriptions, and regular revisal of the latter, had many dissections to perform and repeat, and many deficiencies to supply in his difficult and meritorious task of completing the work. Cuvier had opportunities of dissecting many rare and unknown animals while the later volumes of the Comparative Anatomy were preparing, partly from the Menageries of the Garden of Plants and of Malmaison, and partly brought from a distance in spirits, by Geoffroy and Sevigny from Egypt, by Peron from Australasia, by Humboldt from America, by Homberg and Fleuriau from the coasts of France, and by Cuvier himself from the Mediterranean. In his interesting letter to Lacepede, Professor of Zoology in the Museum of Natural History, inserted at the beginning of the third volume, he details briefly the progress of comparative anatomy during the five preceding years, and the important influence which his own researches for fifteen years had exerted in reforming the methodical arrangements of zoologists; the absurd classifications of the Linnæan school, founded solely on external form or on a single character, and the necessary dependence of correct zoological arrangements on the progress and application of zootomical knowledge, are also pointed out with great distinctness and ability.

The Organs of Digestion form the subject of the third volume; and, in treating of this function, many important parts of the system are described with great minuteness and detail. The form, structure, and motions of the jaws; the teeth of mammalia, reptiles, and fishes; the salivary glands, the organs of mastication and deglutition; the structure and peculiarities of the œsophagus, stomach, and intestinal canal, throughout the various classes of animals, are successively described, and in every part illustrated with original

observations. The peculiarities of the liver, pancreas, and spleen, and the digestive apparatus of invertebrate animals, form the first subjects of the fourth volume; the heart and circulating organs, the organs of respiration in land and aquatic animals, and the organs of voice, so intimately connected with atmospheric respiration, are described at great length in the same volume. The organs of generation and those of excretion occupy the fifth volume. Throughout these volumes, the parts which relate to the organization of insects and molluscous animals, are the exclusive productions of M. Cuvier; and, probably, no anatomist then living, besides himself, was qualified to undertake these obscure parts of zootomy.

The researches of the celebrated German, Werner, made in the science of mineralogy, had until a recent period, satisfied those who sought for an elucidation of the knowledge of the crust of the earth. His system comprised, it was thought, the most perfect explanation of the whole series of the strata of that crust; and the scientific world seemed to think it a work of superfluity to attempt to add new facts to the series which that naturalist had collected in reference to this subject. But, as education, assisted by the progress of the habit of a free exertion of mind, scattered abroad the contagion of a disposition to inquiry, the scientific men of Paris began to acknowledge, that, in the very heart of their city, in every inch of the soil upon which they daily trod, they saw before them a series of geological structures, of which the supposed infallible apostle of mineralogy had certainly predicated nothing whatever. A nearer inspection of the phenomena, which powerfully arrested their attention, brought them at last to the conviction, that either they were incapable of making a due application of the system of Werner, or that that system was altogether inadequate to expound the whole of what it undertook to explain, with satisfaction. The *savants* of Paris, thus forced in self-defence to the task of inquiry, directed their own and their pupils' attention to the German and Swiss mountains, and they were ultimately prevailed upon to render justice to science, through the influences which arose from the grand progress of comparative anatomy, its pioneer being the immortal naturalist, Cuvier.

In the last years of the late, and during the early part of the present century, the professors of the Garden of Plants, and of most other establishments of Paris, where the teaching of comparative anatomy formed a part of the sciences which were taught, had frequently brought to their attention either skeletons, or detached portions of skeletons, dug up from beneath the soil of the city, evidently the relics of animals, and, in comparison with which, the bony structures of the present race of living beings were altogether on a different scale. The comparative anatomists of the Parisian schools would have lost their reputation, as well as their hearers, had they allowed these discoveries to pass for objects inexplicable by human

penetration, particularly as every day brought forth, in the neighbourhood of the city, some object that was calculated still further to perplex the mystery of its origin. At last, the multitude of these specimens was such as to reach the power of irritating the pride of Cuvier; and that chivalrous champion of Nature's jurisdiction said that there was no alternative but to grapple with the apparition, and ascertain at once its nature and properties. Cuvier, in association with M. A. Brongniart, proceeded to the investigation of the soil, and, after many a laborious year of toil and fatigue in quarries, caverns, &c., after a many tedious ascent up the heights of Montmartre, the indefatigable inquirers collected such a body of information, as at once shed abundant light upon the phenomena that had perplexed the scientific world so long. The results were published in a large work on Fossil Bones.

From the work on fossil organic remains just mentioned, the conclusion is obvious, that Cuvier was the first, who, by the application of the rarest powers of observation and reflection, and by an unequalled ingenuity, converted comparative anatomy into a sort of talisman for unfolding the wonders of the osseous contents which lay for ages in the caverns of the earth. His researches on the fossil bones, as they appear in the work to which we have just alluded, form an epoch in the annals of geology, that yield to no part of its history in deep and durable interest; nor has even the great author himself of this important discovery which he has made in his beautiful scheme of exposition, failed to consider it to be a source of wonder, as it was of pride, to his own heart. "When," said he, "the sight of some bones of the bear and the elephant, twelve years ago, inspired me with the idea of applying the general laws of comparative anatomy to the reconstruction and the discovery of fossil species; when I began to perceive that these species were not perfectly represented by those of our day, which resembled them the most, I did not suspect that I was every day treading upon a soil, filled with remains more extraordinary than any that I had yet seen; nor that I was destined to bring to light whole genera of animals unknown to the present world, and buried for incalculable ages at vast depths under the earth. It was to M. Veurin that I owe the first indications of these bones furnished by our quarries: some fragments which he brought me one day having struck me with astonishment, I made inquiries respecting the persons to whom this industrious collector had sent any formerly: what I saw in these collections served to excite my hopes and increase my curiosity. Causing search to be made at that time for such bones in all the quarries, and offering rewards to arouse the attention of the workmen, I collected a greater number than any person who had preceded me. After some years I was sufficiently rich in materials to have nothing further to desire; but it was otherwise with respect to their arrange-

ment and the construction of the skeletons, which alone could conduct me to a just knowledge of the species. From the first moment, I perceived that there were many different species in our quarries; and soon afterwards, that they belonged to various genera, and that the species of the different genera were often of the same size; so that the size alone rather confused than assisted my arrangement. I was in the situation of a man who had given to him, *pêle mêle*, the mutilated and incomplete fragments of a hundred skeletons belonging to twenty sorts of animals, and it was required that each bone should be joined to that which it belonged to. It was a resurrection in miniature; but the immutable laws prescribed to living beings were my directors. At the voice of comparative anatomy, each bone, each fragment, regained its place. I have no expression to describe the pleasure experienced, in perceiving that, as I discovered one character, all the consequences, more or less foreseen, of this character, were successively developed. The feet were conformable to what the teeth had announced, and the teeth to the feet; the bones of the legs and the thighs, and every thing that ought to reunite these two extreme parts were conformable to each other. In one word, each of the species sprung up from one of its elements. Those who will have the patience to follow me in these memoirs, may form some idea of the sensations which I experienced, in thus restoring by degrees these ancient monuments of mighty revolutions. This volume will afford much interest to naturalists, independent of geology, shewing them, by multiplied examples, the strictness of the laws of co-existence, which elevate zoology to the rank of the rational sciences, and which, leading us to abandon the vain and arbitrary combinations that had been decorated with the name of *systems*, will conduct us at last to the only study worthy of our age—to that of the natural and necessary relations, which connect together the different parts of all organized bodies."

The following passage more fully explains what Cuvier denominates "the immutable laws prescribed to living beings:"—"Every organized being forms a whole and entire system, of which all the parts mutually correspond and co-operate, to produce the same definite action, by a reciprocal re-action; none of these parts can change, without a change of the others also. Thus, if the intestines of an animal are organized in a manner only to digest fresh flesh, it is necessary that his jaws should be constructed to devour the prey, his claws to seize and tear it, his teeth to divide the flesh, and the whole system of his organs of motion to follow and overtake it, and of his organs of sense to perceive it at a distance. It is necessary, also, that he should have seated in his brain the instinct to hide himself and spread snares for his victim: such are the general con-

ditions of a carnivorous regimen; every carnivorous animal must infallibly unite them—without them the species could not subsist.

But, under these general conditions, there are particular ones with respect to the size of the species, and the abode of the prey for which each animal is disposed."

In this vast work on the Fossil Remains, Cuvier furnished to the world not only the ample results of his personal labours, in the neighbourhood of Paris, in different parts of provincial France, in Italy and Holland, whither he had been sent on political or educational purposes, but also the fruits of researches carried on by the naturalists of other countries, which he gathered either from their published productions or from their correspondence. The effect in the scientific world which was produced by the intimate connexion demonstrated by Cuvier to subsist between zoology and geology, was altogether of the most useful and gratifying kind; and it was the fond superstition of the enthusiastic students of those branches of intellectual pursuit to believe, that the unparalleled assemblage of opportunities of which Cuvier had the command for the elucidation of this mingled science, were purposely consigned to one whose rare qualifications rendered him the only competent agent to make the proper use of them.

The preliminary discourse in the first volume of this work contains so many grand and original views of the revolutions which have taken place on the surface of this globe and in the animal kingdom, and is composed in a style at once so profound, elegant, and attractive, that it has long since been translated into the English language, both in this country and in America, and more recently also into the German language. A translation of the whole of the Fossil Remains is now in course of publication by Mr. Henderson, and will be completed in about 40 numbers, at one shilling each. The original discourse is now published in Paris as a separate work, and both in an octavo and quarto form. Besides the preliminary discourse and the elaborate memoirs on the osteology of the recent and extinct species of elephants and hippopotami, and on the remains of the fossil mastodons, the first volume contains a dissertation on the ibis, so much revered by the ancient Egyptians, in which he has attempted to show, by an examination of several mummies of the bird from the tombs of Thebes, and from historical documents, that it still exists in that country as in the time of the Pharaohs, and that it has undergone no perceptible change in its form since that remote period. In treating of the other pachydermatous animals in the third and fourth volumes, which are chiefly occupied with the geology of the Paris formation, M. Cuvier has entered into the same minute and extended details of the osteology of the living species, along with that of the extinct races, as in the

preceding volume, and the same plan has been followed throughout the whole of this vast undertaking. The labour of collecting materials for so great a work during his travels and surveys in various parts of Europe, and the task of arranging and describing them, might be thought sufficient to have occupied the greater part of M. Cuvier's life; but they have afforded him leisure, not only for his numerous important public avocations, and for the composition of works even more elaborate, but also to draw and even to engrave with his own hands some of the most detailed osteological plates contained in this voluminous work. The fifth volume is principally occupied with a detailed account of the means employed to restore the species of pachydermatous animals found in the gypsum quarries around Paris, by the careful examination and comparison of their separate bones. It is illustrated with quarto engraved plates, the greater part of which are from the pencil of Cuvier's able assistant, Laurillard, one of the most skilful anatomical designers in Europe. It is fortunate for the interests of ichthyology, that the same accurate and elegant draughtsman has undertaken the elaborate folio anatomical plates of the great work on Fishes, now publishing by Cuvier and Valenciennes. In determining the fossil remains of the mammalia, Cuvier considers the examination of the molar teeth as affording by far the most important characters. By these we at once perceive whether an animal is carnivorous or herbivorous, and when it belongs to the latter order we can generally determine by the forms of these teeth the particular kind of herbivorous animals to which it is most nearly allied. Cuvier was induced to commence his researches with the pachydermata, from their occurring in most abundance in the newest alluvial formations, from the great size of their bones and the facility of identifying the species, and from the imperfect state of our knowledge regarding the osteology of these gigantic inhabitants of tropical climates. He gives an extended description of the Palæotheria, a lost genus of animals with incisor and canine teeth, like the tapirs, and three visible toes to each foot; they had also, as the tapirs, a short fleshy proboscis, for the muscles of which instrument the bones of the nose were shortened, leaving a deep notch underneath. The bones of this genus have been discovered mixed with those of the Anoplotherium in the basin of Paris; they also exist in many other parts of France; eleven species are already known. At Paris alone we find them the size of a horse, of a tapir, and of a small sheep, while near Orleans are found the bones of a species that must have been as large as the rhinoceros. These animals appear to have frequented the shores of lakes and marshes, for the rocks which conceal the bones also contains fresh-water shells. The anoplotherium is next described; an animal which presents the most singular affinities with the various tribes of the pachydermata, and approximates in some respects to the order of the ruminantia. They have six incisors in

each jaw; four canines, almost like the incisors, and not projecting beyond them; and seven molars throughout, which form a continuous series without any intervening space—a disposition of the teeth seen in man only. The four posterior molars of each side are similar to those of the rhinoceros, the daman and the palæotherium; that is, they are square above, and form double or triple crescents below. Their feet, terminated by two great toes as in the ruminantia, differ in this—the bones of the metatarsus and metacarpus always remain separate, or without being soldered together as a cannon bone; the composition of their tarsus is the same as in the camel. The bones of this genus have hitherto been only found in the gypsum quarries near Paris. There has been already ascertained five species; one the size of an ass, with the low-form and long tail of the otter (Anop. commune, Cuv.), to the internal edge of whose fore-foot was affixed a small accessory toe; another, somewhat the appearance of the gazelle (Anop. medium); a third of the size and proportions of the hare, &c. &c. Then follows an account of other pachydermatous animals, and of carnivora, rodentia, a species of opossum, the remains of birds, tortoises, crocodiles, and fishes which occur along with them in the same gypsum formation; and the whole is terminated by a lengthened monograph on the fossil vegetation of the environs of Paris, by M. A. Brongniart.

The ruminating animals differ remarkably in several of their characters from the other orders of mammalia, as in the imperfection of their dental system, in the structure of their stomach, and in the forms of their horns: yet they resemble each other so much, and are so numerous, that their discrimination is attended with great difficulty, both with regard to the recent animals and the extinct species. Important generic characters are often taken from the form of their horns, those most changeable of all their external parts, according to their age, sex, and climate. To facilitate his researches into this numerous tribe of fossil mammalia, M. Cuvier enters at considerable length into the characters of the existing species, as taken from the teeth, the head, and the rest of the skeleton, and then describes the different species of fossil deers, oxen, and other ruminating animals, dertermined chiefly by their horns, and found in various situations in France, Germany, and other parts of Europe. He has attempted, in the same manner, to decipher the bones of the ruminating animals found in so great abundance in osseous breochias, in fissures, and caves, at Gibraltar, Cette, Antibes, Nice, Uliveto, Cape Palinurus, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Dalmatia, Cerigo, Concud, and Verona.

M. Cuvier proceeds in the same manner with the numerous order of carnivorous animals as with the ruminantia, to determine the osteological characters of the various existing races, before attempting to identify the fossil species. The teeth present very important and useful discriminating characters, both in the carnivora and

rodentia, from the striking diversities they exhibit in the genera of these orders. In determining the fossil species of these animals, M. Cuvier was greatly aided by the elaborate and useful work which his brother had undertaken, at his request, on the forms and arrangement of the teeth in all the existing genera of this class. The following volumes contain the description of the discovered fossil species of bears, hyænas, wolves, foxes, and other small carnivorous animals, and the whole of the details are illustrated with numerous valuable plates representing chiefly the forms of the teeth, the jaws, the entire crania, and other essential parts of the osteology. The osteology of the rodentia, edentata, and marine mammalia, and the investigation of the fossil species of these orders, occupy the first part of the eighth volume, which is illustrated with plates, representing the skeletons and the separate bones of many rare and interesting animals, which are to be found in very few of the Museums of Natural History.

The animals of the order rodentia appear to have been as numerous and varied in the ancient world as at present, and most of the species appear to have been as small as those now met with in a living state. After showing the gradual transition to this order of quadrupeds in the systems of dentition presented by the species belonging to the marsupial genera phalangista, macropus, and phascolomys, Cuvier details the characters of the order rodentia, and of the recent genera it comprehends, and enters particularly into the description of the molar teeth, the form of the head, and the characters which may be obtained from the other parts of the skeleton. In treating of the fossil rodentia, particularly those found in caves, he has given a full account of many interesting discoveries made by various naturalists of their remains. The Trogontherium Cuvieri, is a large fossil species belonging to this order, and agreeing in all its characters with the genus castor; it was found on the sandy banks of the sea of Azof, and measures a fifth larger than the recent species of Europe or America. The skeletons of those singular quadrupeds, the sloths, ant-eaters, and monotremata, are the next described in this volume. Cuvier was the first to point out to Daubenton, thirty years ago, the remarkable irregularity observed in the cervical vertebræ of the sloth, called the Ai, where their number amounts to nine, being two more than are met with in almost all the other mammalia. The great length of the anterior extremities of this animal, and of some other sloths, is regarded by Cuvier as a principal cause of their remarkable slowness of motion, and of their feebleness. The details on the osteology of the monotremata, contained in this volume, though not applied to the determination of any fossil remains, form a most valuable contribution towards the anatomy of these most singular of all the animals hitherto brought from New Holland, and whose structure and nature have so much perplexed the most eminent

anatomists of Europe. The only fossil species hitherto discovered belonging to the order edentata, are the megalonyx of Jefferson, from North America, the great megatherium from South America, and another gigantic, though still unknown species, of which Cuvier has only been able to examine the plaster model of a phalanx found in a pit of sand and gravel, supposed to have been formed by deposition from the Rhine, near Eppelsheim, in Hesse. The fossil species of marine mammalia are much more numerous, and Cuvier has described and figured the remains of extinct species of seals, lamantins, dolphins, narwals, whales, and cetaceous animals allied to the hyperoodons and cachalots, which he is particularly enabled to illustrate, by means of the rich collection of these animals preserved in his museum in the Garden of Plants. By thus pointing out many species of marine mammalia, which are now extinct, he has farther confirmed the conclusion to which naturalists had been led by the study of fossil conchology; that not only the productions of the land have been changed by the revolutions which have taken place on the surface of the globe, but that the sea itself, the chief agent in most of these revolutions, has changed its inhabitants. The gigantic bulk and force of the cetacea have not better protected their species in the ocean, than the size and strength of the elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, mastodons, and megatheria, have enabled them to resist on land the revolutions which have destroyed their race, and produced those other wonderful changes which astonish the student of geology of the present day.

A most singular fact has attracted the attention of geologists, which is this, that among the fossil remains of vertebrate animals, there should so seldom be found the bones either of birds or of serpents. It cannot be ascribed merely to the delicacy of their skeleton, and the consequent difficulty of preserving it in the rocky strata, or of collecting its parts from these ancient beds, as we find in many of the older strata, the skeletons of the smallest fishes preserved with the most delicate spines of their fins uninjured. The saurian reptiles are much more common, and the batrachia are also frequently found in a fossil state. The crocodile, of all the saurian reptiles, presents the nearest affinities in its osteology, to that of the mammalia; in determining the nature of its separate bones, their relative position is examined, the muscles which are attached to them are considered, the blood-vessels and nerves which pass through their foramina are ascertained, and all similar indications are carefully sought for and applied. From this determination of the bones, particularly those of the head of the crocodile, we obtain a solution of the more difficult analogies in the osteology of the other saurian reptiles, and likewise of the tortoises and serpents. The batrachian reptiles present anomalies which require a different kind of investigation from that of the other orders of their class. M. Cuvier

deprecates, as visionary, the ingenious views of those who endeavour to decipher the osteology of the cranium of these animals, by comparing the bones of the head of vertebrate animals to a series of dilated vertebræ. After thus carefully determining the osteology of each of the recent genera of reptiles, and illustrating all the details with large engravings, he proceeds, in the tenth volume of this stupendous monument of his profound zootomical knowledge and indefatigable spirit of research, to examine the characters of the remarkable extinct species of these animals. The remains of reptiles occupy a series of strata much more ancient than those which contain the fossil bones of mammalia, even of the aquatic species. The chalk formation, and all the strata of anterior date, present no trace of the former existence of mammiferous animals, which are all confined to newer formations; but the chalk strata, and all the older strata of the secondary series, to the great coal formation, abound with remains of tortoises, crocodiles, and lizards, which have even left distinct traces of their footsteps on the now solid sandstones of the latter formation, as in the sandstone quarries of Dumfriesshire in Scotland, although very few of these animals are now found in strata newer than the chalk. At the remote period alluded to, only cold-blooded reptiles moved upon the dry land, and the bottom of the sea was peopled with species of ammonites, belemnites, terebratulites, encrinites, and many other genera now almost entirely extinct.

After establishing the division of the great family of crocodiles into three subgenera of alligators, crocodiles properly so called, and gavials (the first of which is distinguished by having the fourth tooth of the lower jaw on each side, received into a depression of the upper jaw-bone, and by having the feet semipalmated; the second, by the same tooth on each side of the lower jaw passing through a distinct fissure of the upper maxillary bones, the feet palmated, and the beak oblong; and the gavials, forming the third division, are distinguished from the other two subgenera, by having an elongated cylindrical beak, and palmated feet), M. Cuvier examines, with great minuteness and detail, the separate bones of the living species of crocodiles. The bones of the head are carefully compared with the corresponding bones of the mammalia, the bones of the trunk and extremities are illustrated with equal detail, and the whole skeleton is contrasted with those of the alligators and gavials at present existing. The fossil species of these animals are next described; both those known to preceding observers, and those ascertained by M. Cuvier. The gavial of the calcareous slates of Franconia, described by Sœmmering, that of the limestone quarries of Caen, and the bones of two unknown species found near Honfleur and Havre, are described at great length. Several crocodiles have been found in the chalk and in the strata immediately adjacent above and beneath that formation, as in the chalk of Mendon, in the ferruginous

sand beneath the chalk in Sussex, in the plastic clay of Auteuil, and in Provence, and the island of Sheppy. Remains of these reptiles are likewise described by Cuvier, found along with the palæotheriums and lophiodons, in formations newer than the chalk, and which not only differ from the more ancient species, but distinctly approach in their characters to the existing races, as in the gypsum quarries, in the marl of Argenton, in the gravel beds of Castelnaudary, those found near Blaye, and those found at Brentford and at Mans.

M. Cuvier has described, in the same manner, the recent and fossil species of chelonian reptiles, the land and fresh-water tortoises, and those which still inhabit the sea, and the fossil species found in various parts of Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, and England. After describing the general osteology of the recent species of lizards, he examines the facts connected with the fossil monitors found at Thuringen and other parts of Germany; the great saurian reptile found in the quarries of Maestricht; the gigantic lizard, discovered by Sœmmerring near Monheim, and termed geosaurus by Cuvier; the saurian reptile, discovered by Gaillardeau, in the quarries of compact limestone near Lunéville; and the four discovered species of pterodactylus, a genus distinguished by the extraordinary length of the fourth toe of the anterior extremities. The observations and plates, illustrative of the osteology of the recent species of batrachian reptiles, form a valuable contribution to comparative anatomy; and the details regarding the fossil bones of the great aquatic salamander, from the quarries of Æningen, which Scheuchzer regarded as those of the human species, are full and satisfactory. This great work concludes with details full of interest and originality, regarding the two remarkable genera ichthyosaurus and plesiosaurus, almost peculiar to the strata of England, and of which several species have been discovered. The ichthyosaurus is found with us in almost all the secondary strata, from the new red sandstone upwards, to the green sand lying immediately beneath the chalk. The number of fragments already obtained of these two genera, and the many facts ascertained regarding them, principally by English naturalists, have enabled M. Cuvier to represent the entire skeletons of these extraordinary aquatic reptiles, as they existed in our ancient seas.

The views of M. Cuvier regarding the extinct races of vertebrate animals, and the facts he had collected relating to them, were first published as a series of detached memoirs in the Annales du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle; and in 1812 these memoirs were collected by the author, connected together by means of supplementary articles and a preliminary discourse, and published as a separate work, forming the first edition of his "Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles," in four quarto volumes. A second edition was published

in 1817, in five volumes, quarto. After nearly ten years of continued research in the same interesting field of inquiry in various parts of Europe, M. Cuvier commenced, in 1821, a new edition of the work, which was completed in 1824 in seven quarto volumes, though forming only five, according to the plan of the work. It was again reprinted, with a new edition of the preliminary discourse, in 1829; and a new edition has appeared since the death of the author, edited by his brother, F. Cuvier, in ten volumes, octavo. This work, which is the greatest monument of the genius, learning, and industry of Cuvier, has reformed the science of geology, and greatly advanced our knowledge of comparative anatomy; and has been justly eulogized as the most splendid contribution to Natural History furnished by any individual.

Twenty years had elapsed from the publication of the Tableau Elementaire to the appearance of the first edition of the Règne Animal in 1817, during which the study of comparative anatomy and zoology had been cultivated with increased ardour in every part of Europe, and our knowledge of the organization and species of the animal kingdom had been almost doubled. This rapid advancement was principally due to the continued and well-directed exertions of M. Cuvier, to the eloquence and genius of his writings, to the importance, originality, and attractive nature of his views, and to the greatly increased opportunities afforded him by his situation in the Garden of Plants. From the comprehensive nature of the Règne Animal, embracing equally the structure and history of all the existing and extinct races of animals, this work may be viewed as an epitome of M. Cuvier's zoological labours; and it presents the best outline which exists in any language, of the present state of zoology and comparative anatomy. The work is in four volumes octavo, with fifteen plates, and treats of the organization and characters of all the divisions, classes, orders, and genera of the animal kingdom, from man to the lowest of the infusoria. The third volume, treating of the three principal classes of articulated animals, was entirely composed by M. Latreille; and the concurrent testimony of all the naturalists of Europe in favour of his views, have afforded M. Cuvier a convincing proof of the correctness of his choice, in selecting that profound entomologist to conduct this important part of the work. In the new edition of the Règne Animal, the part intrusted to Latreille has been extended by him to two volumes, thus augmenting the work by at least an entire volume.

The four great divisions of the animal kingdom, pointed out more than thirty years ago in the Tableau Elementaire, have been adopted in both editions of the Règne Animal, and established by more extended details, and by characters more precise and correct. These four divisions are termed vertebrata, mollusca, articulata, and radiata; and each of them comprehends several classes. They are

founded on extensive and accurate analogies, and have been sanctioned by long and general adoption. The first division is founded on the presence of the vertebral column; the second division is founded on the general softness of the body when deprived of its skeleton; the third is founded on the divisions or articulations of the skeleton; and the fourth is established on a peculiarity in the external form of the body.

The first great division of the animal kingdom, M. Cuvier has divided, as is usually done, into four classes: viz. mammalia, aves, reptilia, pisces. The term amphibia, employed by Linnæus, Blumenbach, and many other naturalists, for the four-footed reptiles, is used by Cuvier for a small group of aquatic mammalia, comprehending the seal and the walrus. In the first edition of the Règne Animal (1817), the class mammalia is divided into eight orders—bimana, quadrumana, sarcophaga, rodentia, edentata, pachydermata, ruminantia, and cetacea. In the great order sarcophaga, the bat and the walrus, the lion and the mole, the kangaroo and the hedgehog, are all placed under the same division, from having claws and three kinds of teeth. The marsupial quadrupeds, in the new edition of the work, are removed from this singular group to form a separate order; but the other discordant families are still left together in the same order, although Blumenbach and others had already separated the cheiroptera to form a division equal in importance to that of the quadrumana. The class of birds is divided in both editions of the Règne Animal into six orders, nearly analogous to the six orders of Linnæus—accipitres, passeres, scansores, gallinæ, grallæ, palmipedes. The division of reptiles into four orders—chelonia, sauria, ophidia, and batrachia—proposed by M. Bronguiart, is adopted in both editions of M. Cuvier's work, as it was in the Tables of Classification of the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée in 1800. In the former edition the class of fishes was divided into eight orders, commencing with the cartilaginous, and terminating with the osseous fishes. The same eight orders are preserved in the new edition, but their arrangement is there reversed; the cartilaginous fishes which approach nearest to the mollusca, in their general characters, being placed at the bottom of the class; and this new arrangement is the same with that adopted in the great work on this class of animals written by M. Cuvier and M. Valenciennes. In the subdivisions of the orders, and in the distribution of the genera, many important improvements are introduced. The acanthopterygious fishes now stand at the head of the class, to which succeed the malacopterygii abdominales, malacopterygii pectorales, malacopterygii apodes, lophobranchii, plectognathi, chondropterygii branchiis apertis, and chondropterygii branchiis tectis. It is in the cartilaginous fishes belonging to the last of these orders, that we find the simplest organization, and the most imperfect form of the skeleton met with

in all the vertebrate animals ; and hence they form a natural link of connexion between the true osseous fishes and the cephalopodous mollusca.

The third and fourth volumes of the Règne Animal, being the entire production of Latreille, do not come properly within this notice of the scientific labours of M. Cuvier ; but, nevertheless, we will present our readers with an extract, which describes the peculiar conformation of the crustacea, arachnides, and insecta—the portions which are supplied by Latreille.

" The Crustacea form the second class of the Articulata, and are articulated animals, with articulated feet, respiring by means of branchiæ, protected in some by the borders of a shell, and external in others, but which are not enclosed in special cavities of the body, and which receive air from openings in the surface of the skin. Their circulation is double, and analogous to that of the Mollusca. The blood is transmitted from the heart, which is placed on the back, to the different parts of the body, whence it is sent to the branchiæ, and thence back again to the heart. These branchiæ, sometimes situated at the base of the feet, or even on them, at others on the inferior appendages of the abdomen, either form pyramids composed of laminæ in piles, or bristled with setæ or tufted filaments of simple ones, and even appear in some cases to consist wholly of hairs.

" Some of the Zootomists, Baron Cuvier in particular, had already made known to us the nervous system of various Crustacea of different orders. The same subject has lately been thoroughly examined by Messrs. Victor Audouin and Milne Edwards in their third Memoir on the Anatomy and Physiology of these animals—Ann. des Sc. Nat. xiv. 77—and all that is now wanting to complete their researches, is the publication of those made by M. Straus on the Branchiopoda and the Limuli in particular, which they have not noticed.

" ' The nervous system of the Crustacea submitted to our observation,' say they, ' presents itself in two very different aspects, which constitute the two extremes of the modifications visible in that class. Sometimes, as in the Talitrus, this apparatus is constituted by numerous similar nervous inflations, arranged in pairs, and united by cords of communication in such a way as to form two ganglionic chains, separated from each other, and extending throughout the length of the animal. At others, on the contrary, it is solely composed of two ganglions or knotty enlargements, dissimilar in form, volume, and arrangement, but always simple and azygous, and situated, one in the head and the other in the thorax. Such is the case in the Maia.

" ' These two modes of organization, at the first glance, certainly seem essentially different, and if the study of the nervous system of the Crustacea were limited to these two animals, it would be extremely difficult to recognise the analogy between the central nervous mass in the thorax of the Maia, and the two ganglionic chains which occupy the same region of the body in the Talitrus. But if we remember the various facts detailed in this memoir, we necessarily arrive at this remarkable result.'

" They were led to it by the exact and careful study of the nervous

system of various intermediate Crustacea, forming so many links of the series, such as the Cymothoæ, the Phyllosomæ, Astacus, Palæmon, and Palinurus. They have also supported their positions by the observations of Cuvier, and those of M. Treviranus. The consequence deduced by them is, that, notwithstanding this difference, the nervous system of the Crustacea is formed of the same elements, which, insulated in some and uniformly distributed throughout the length of the body, present in others, various degrees of centralization, at first from without inwardly, and then in a longitudinal direction; and that finally, this approximation in all directions is carried to its extreme point, when it is reduced to a single nucleus in the thorax—as in Cancer, properly so called, or the Brachyura. Of all the Decapoda Macroura examined by Messrs. Audouin and Edwards, the Palinurus was found to have the venous system most centralized; and in fact, that animal in our system is but little removed from the Brachyura. But this should not be the case with Palæmon and the Astacini, for according to them the former approximates more closely in this respect to Palinurus than the latter, while in our arrangement the second precede the first, a disposition which appears to us to be founded on several very natural characters.

"The Crustacea are apterous or deprived of wings, furnished with compound eyes, though rarely with simple ones, and usually with four antennæ. They have mostly—the Pœcilopoda excepted—three pairs of jaws, the two superior ones, designated by the name of mandibles, included; as many foot-jaws, the last four of which, however, in a great many instances, became true feet; and ten feet properly so called, all terminated by a single small nail. When the last two pairs of foot-jaws exercise the same functions, the number of feet is increased to fourteen. The mouth, as in insects, presents a labrum and a ligula, but no lower lip properly so called, or comparable to that of the latter; the third pair of foot-jaws, or the first, closes the mouth externally, and replaces that part.

"The sexual organs, at least those of the males, are always double, and situated on the breast or at the inferior origin of that posterior and abdominal portion of the body commonly called the tail, and never posteriorly. Their envelope is usually solid, and more or less calcareous. They change their skin several times, and generally preserve their primitive form and natural activity. They are mostly carnivorous and aquatic, and live several years. They do not attain their adult state until after casting their skin a certain number of times. With the exception of a few in which these changes somewhat influence their primitive form and modify or augment their locomotive organs, they are at birth, size apart, such as they are always to remain.

"The Arachnides form the third class of the Articulata. Their head and thorax, as in many of the Crustacea, are united in one single piece, furnished, on each side, with articulated limbs; but their principal viscera are enclosed in an abdomen connected to the posterior portion of that thorax. Their mouth is armed with jaws, and their head furnished with simple eyes, that vary as to number, but the antennæ are always wanting. Their circulation is effected by a dorsal vessel, which gives off arterial branches, and receives venous ones from them; but their mode of respiration varies, some of them still having true pulmonary organs, which open on the sides of the

abdomen, while others receive air by tracheæ, like Insects. In both of them, however, we observe lateral openings or true stigmata.

"The Insecta constitute the fourth class of the Articulata, and the most numerous of all the animal kingdom. With the exception of some genera, the Myriapoda, in which the body is divided into numerous and nearly equal parts, it is always divided into three portions: the head, furnished with the antennæ, eyes and mouth; the thorax, to which are appended the feet and wings, when they exist; and the abdomen, which is suspended behind the thorax and contains the principal viscera. Those which have wings, only receive them at a certain age, and frequently pass through two more or less different forms before they assume that of the winged insect. In all their states they respire by tracheæ; that is, by elastic vessels which receive air through stigmata pierced on their sides, and distribute it by infinite ramifications to every part of the body. A vestige of a heart only is perceptible, consisting of a dorsal vessel, which experiences an alternate contraction and dilatation, but to which no branch has ever been discovered, so that we are forced to believe that nutrition is effected in this class of animals by imbibition. It is, probably, this sort of nutrition which necessitated the kind of respiration proper to Insects; for as the nutritive fluid was not contained in vessels, and could not be directed towards pulmonary organs in search of air, it was requisite that this air should be diffused throughout the body to reach the fluid. This is also the reason why insects have no secretory glands, but are provided with mere spongy vessels, which, by the extent of their surface, appear to absorb the peculiar juices they are to produce, from the mass of the nutritive fluid.

"Insects vary infinitely as to the form of the organs of the mouth, and those of digestion, as well as in their industry and mode of life; the sexes are always separated."

The first portion of the fifth volume of the Règne Animal treats of the mollusca, which are divided by the author into six classes, indicated by the general form of their internal organization.

The body of some resembles a sac open in front, containing the branchiæ, whence issues a well developed head crowned with long and strong fleshy productions, by means of which they crawl, and seize various objects. These are termed the cephalopoda.

That of others are closed; the appendages of the head are either wanting or are extremely reduced; the principal organs of locomotion are two wings or membranous fins, situated on the sides of the neck, and which frequently support the branchial tissue. They constitute the pteropoda.

Others, again, crawl by means of a fleshy disk on their belly, sometimes, though rarely, compressed into a fin, and have almost always a distinct head before. These are called the gasteropoda.

A fourth class is composed of those in which the mouth remains hidden in the bottom of the mantle, which also encloses the branchiæ and viscera, and is open either throughout its length, at both ends, or at one extremity only. Such are named acephala.

A fifth comprises those, which, also enclosed in a mantle, and

without an apparent head, have fleshy or membranous arms, furnished with cilia of the same nature. These are termed brachiopoda.

Finally, there are some, which, although similar to the other mollusca in the mantle, branchiæ, &c., differ from them in numerous horny and articulated limbs, and in a nervous system more nearly allied to that of the articulata. They are the last class, or that of the cirrhopoda.

The concluding part of the last volume of the Règne Animal contains M. Cuvier's fourth great division of the animal kingdom, termed radiata or zoohhytes, and comprehends the echinodermata, entozoa, acalephæ, zoophyta proper, polypi, and infusoria, which form the five classes of this division. In the Tableau Elementaire the absence of the nervous system is given as a principal character of this great division; and in the Règne Animal he mentions, that these radiated animals include a number of beings whose organization, always evidently more simple than that of the three preceding divisions, also presents a greater variety of degrees than is observed in either of them, and seems to agree in but one point, viz. that their parts are arranged round an axis, and on one or several radii, or on one or several lines extending from one pole to the other. Even the entozoa or intestinal worms have at least two tendinous lines, or two nervous threads, proceeding from a collar round the mouth, and several of them have four suckers situated round a proboscifórm elevation. In a word, notwithstanding some irregularities, and some very few exceptions—those of the planaria and most of the infusoria—traces of the radiating form are always to be found, which are strongly marked in the greater number, and particularly in asterias, echinus, the acalepha, and the innumerable host of the polypi.

The nervous system is never very evident, and when traces of it have been apparently visible, it was also arranged in radii; most frequently, however, there is no appearance of it whatever.

There is never any true circulating system. The holothuria are provided with a double vascular apparatus, one portion of it being attached to the intestines and corresponding to the organs of respiration, and the other merely serving to inflate the organs which supply the want of feet. The latter is only distinctly visible in ursinus and asterias. Through the gelatinous substance of the medusæ there are more or less complicated canals arising from the intestinal cavity; all this precludes the possibility of a general circulation, and in the great number of zoophytes it is easily proved that there are no vessels whatever.

In some genera, such as holothuria, ursinus, and in several of the entozoa, there is a mouth and an anus, with a distinct intestinal canal. Others have an intestinal sac, but with a single opening serving both for a mouth and anus. In the greater num-

ber there is merely a cavity excavated in the substance of the body, which sometimes opens with several suckers; and, finally, there are some in which there is no mouth visible, and which can only be nourished by porous absorption.

The sexes of several of the entozoa or intestinal worms can be distinguished. The greater number of the other radiata are hermaphroditical and oviparous; some have no genital organs, and are reproduced by buds or division.

The compound animals, of which there are some examples in the last of the mollusca, are greatly multiplied in certain orders of the radiata, and their aggregation produces trunks and expansions forming all sorts of figures. It is to this circumstance, together with the simple nature of the organization in most of the species, and the radiating disposition of their organs, which resembles the petals of flowers, that they owe their name *Zoophytes* or *Animal plants*, which is merely meant to express this apparent affinity; for as zoophytes enjoy the sense of touch and the power of voluntary motion, mostly feed on matters which they have swallowed or sucked, and digest them in an internal cavity, they are certainly animals in every point of view.

The greater or less degree of complication in zoophytes has occasioned their division into classes; but as all the parts of their organization are not yet well known, those sections cannot be characterized with as much precision as those of the preceding divisions.

In asterias and ursinus—called echinodermes by Brugiere, on account of their spines—is found a distinct intestine floating in a large cavity, and accompanied by other organs, for generation, respiration, and a partial circulation. The holothuriæ were at one time united to them on account of the analogy of their internal organization, which is perhaps still more complex, although they have no moveable spines on the skin.

The entozoa or intestinal worms, have no very evident vessels in which a distinct circulation is carried on, nor separate organs of respiration. Their body is usually elongated or depressed, and their organs arranged longitudinally. The difference in their system of digestion will hereafter probably cause them to be divided into two classes, a circumstance already indicated by the dissimilarity of their organization. In some is found an alimentary canal suspended in a true abdominal cavity, which is wanting in the others.

The third class comprises the acalepha or sea nettles. They have neither true circulating vessels nor organs of respiration. Their form is usually circular and radiating, and their mouth is almost always their anus. They only differ from polypi in the greater development of the tissue of their organs. The acalepha hydrostatica, which are placed at the end of this class, will perhaps, when

better known, form a separate one; as yet, however, naturalists only conjecture the functions of their singular organs.

The polypi, which compose the fourth class, are those little gelatinous animals whose mouth, surrounded with tentacula, leads to a stomach sometimes simple and sometimes followed by intestines in the form of vessels. To this class belong those innumerable compound animals with a fixed and solid stem, which were considered as marine plants.

The thethyiæ and sponges are usually placed at the end of this class, although polypi have not yet been discovered in them.

The infusoria, or the fifth and last class of the zoophyta, are those minute beings whose existence has only been discovered by means of the microscope, and which swarm in stagnant waters. Most of them have merely a gelatinous body destitute of viscera, although the series commences with more compound species possessed of visible organs of locomotion and a stomach: these latter may hereafter constitute a separate class.

The general distribution of the animal kingdom established by M. Cuvier in this work, are founded on a more extensive and minute survey of the organization than had ever before been taken, and many of the most important distinctions among the orders and families are the result of his own researches. This truly useful and classical work is justly adopted as a standard of reference by the naturalists of every country, and it has already been ably translated into our language, in a form suited to the importance of the science which it so nobly illustrates.

The Baron's great work on Fishes, in which he was engaged conjointly with M. Vallenciennes, next invites our attention; a work which minutely describes a class of animals the most numerous of all the vertebrate division, presenting the greatest difficulties to the zoologist who attempts to discover principles for their classification, from the general sameness of their form and structure, and from the few external parts which they offer, capable of affording characters for their distribution: being aquatic animals, that is to say, living in a liquid medium of greater specific gravity, and more resisting than air, they must have their moving power exactly adjusted to accomplish progression: but elevation can be easily effected by them; hence we find them with bodies capable only of the smallest force of resistance, the principal muscular power being in the tail; hence, also, the contraction of their limbs, the expansibility of the latter, and of the membranes, by which they are supported; and hence, finally, are the integuments smooth and scaly, and altogether destitute of feathers and hairs.

Performing the process of respiration simply through the medium of water, in other words, only availing themselves of the small proportion of oxygen which is contained in the air mixed with the water,

for the purpose of giving an arterial character to their blood, it follows that this blood must remain cold, and that, consequently, the vitality of the fishes, and the energy of their senses and of their motions must be inferior to those of the mammalia and the birds. And, in point of fact, their brain, though similar in its structure, is much smaller than it is in either of them, and their external organs of sense are not of a nature to enable them to feel any very powerful sensations. The fishes, therefore, form that division of the vertebrated animals which possess the least appreciable signs of sensibility. Excluded from the use of elastic air, they are consigned to eternal dumbness, at least this is very nearly the case, and all those feelings which vocal sounds are calculated to excite, are to them for ever strangers. Their eyes have no faculty of motion, their faces are long and fixed, their limbs are incapable of flexion, and, always moving in one single mass, afford no opportunity for the play of the physiognomy, and no power for the expression of their emotions; their ear, enclosed on every side in the bones of the head, destitute of an external concha, as also of a cochlea internally, and composed solely of little sacs and membranous canals, hardly enable them to hear the loudest sounds. Of little use would the faculty of hearing be to these animals, that are condemned to live in the realms of silence, where all about them is still. Vision would be of little advantage to fishes in the depths to which they are consigned, had not most of the species, in the large proportion of their eyes, a resource against the weakness of the light; but in these animals the direction of the eye is hardly ever changed, and still less can they vary its dimensions so as to accommodate the organ to the distance of visible objects. The iris neither contracts nor dilates, and the pupil is never altered whatever be the diversity of the quantity of light. No tear bathes that eye, no eye-lid dries or affords it protection, and in the fishes there is only found a very feeble image indeed of that organ so remarkable for its beauty and its animation in the higher classes of animals. They procure their food only by swimming in pursuit of their prey, which itself swims with greater or less rapidity; they possess the power, not indeed of seizing, but merely of swallowing, so that the delicate faculty of taste would have been thrown away upon them had nature bestowed it; but their tongue, almost immovable, sometimes completely bony, or, like a coat of mail, studded with plates of teeth, and supplied very sparingly with thin nerves, demonstrates to us that the organ is just as blunt as we should have previously concluded from its very little use. The function of smell, also, cannot be so continually exercised by fishes, as it is by animals which breathe the air, and through whose organs of smell odoriferous vapours are constantly circulating. Lastly, their touch, almost obliterated at the surface of the body by the scales, and also in their limbs, in consequence of the absence of the power

of bending their rays, and, farther, in consequence of the dryness of their enveloping membranes, their touch, we repeat, has been forced, as it were, to take refuge at the extremity of their lips, and these even, in some species, are reduced to a state of bony hardness, that renders them insensible. Thus, the external senses of fishes supply them with a very small share indeed of lively and distinct impressions; the natural objects which surround them must affect them only in a confused manner; but little variety belongs to their pleasures, and no sufferings are likely to visit them from without, save such as may be the effect of wounds. Their unceasing craving, that which alone influences and acts on them, except during the nuptial season, that predominant passion must be enough to satiate their internal sense of hunger; to devour is almost the entire business of their lives when not engaged in reproducing, and it is solely for this great purpose, feeding, that their structure is adjusted, and all their organs of locomotion arranged. To pursue their prey, or to escape an enemy, is the double employment of their existence; it is these that determine the various habitations of which they make choice, and the variations of their forms; they also serve to explain why nature supplied some of the species with so few instincts, and so little of any faculty of contrivance; the fishing rays of the anglers, the tubed-mouths suddenly shot out of the epibulus and coricus, the terrible commotion excited by the torpedo and gymnotus, have no other object. The variations of temperature affect fishes very little, not only because these changes are more limited in the element where they reside than in our atmosphere, but also because their bodies, assuming the surrounding temperature, the contrast between the external cold and the interior heat is hardly felt by them. Thus, the seasons are by no means, in respect of the migrations or epochs of propagation, such strict regulators of the fishes as they are of the quadrupeds, and especially of the birds. Many fishes spawn in winter; towards autumn the herrings come down from the north to shed their milts and roes on our coasts; it is in the north that this class exhibits the most astonishing fecundity, if not in the variety of the species, certainly in the number of the individuals composing each species, and in no other part of the sea, besides, do we find any thing even approaching to the infinite myriads of cod and herrings which periodically attract entire fleets into the North Seas.

The nuptial intercourse of the fishes is as frigid as they are themselves; it involves only an individual want. Some species hardly ever come together mutually to enjoy pleasure; in other species the males pursue the roe rather than the female; and they are reduced to the condition of fecundating the roes of the mother of whose existence they are utterly ignorant, and the mature state of whose productions they shall never become acquainted with. The pleasures,

therefore, of a mother are denied to a great number of the species; several merely carry the roe for a time, and, with some exceptions, the fishes may be described as having no nest to build, no young to support and protect; in a word, throughout the whole details of their economy a complete contrast with the birds is presented by the fishes.

The being of the air beholds before him a magnificent horizon; his acute organ of hearing enables him to appreciate sounds and intonations, and, by his voice, he may produce them again; should his bill be hard, and should his body be clothed in down for his protection, when he ascends to the elevated regions of the atmosphere, then shall he find in his feet the very perfection of the most delicate sense of touch. In the enjoyment of all the sweets of conjugal and paternal affection, he courageously fulfils the duties which these characters impose on him, he defends himself and his offspring; a wonderful art presides over the construction of the nest, and when the proper time arrives, they labour together without interruption. During the interval, whilst the mother is hatching the eggs with such admirable constancy, the father, impassioned of his lover and become a tender husband, beguiles the fatigue of his companion with his minstrelsy. Even in a state of slavery the bird attaches himself to his master; submitting to him and executing under his orders the most dexterous and delicate exploits, he hunts like a dog, and suits his voice to the highest airs, nor is it without a feeling of pain almost that we deny to him the possession of reason.

The inhabitant of the waters, on the contrary, has no attachment; without language, without affection, he knows not what it is to be a husband and a father, or what it is to have a home: when danger threatens he hides himself beneath the rocks in the sea, or darts rapidly down into the depths of the water: his life is a monotonous stillness; his voracity alone constitutes the business of his life, and it is only by that that he can be led to direct his motions through the medium of signs from without. Nevertheless, these beings, to which enjoyments have been so scantily supplied, are decorated by nature with every sort of beauty: variety in their forms, elegance in their proportions, diversity and gaiety in their colours—nothing, in fact, is wanted in them to fix the attention; and it really would seem that nature had this end in view in her design. The splendour of the metallic bodies and of all the precious stones, with which they shine forth, the colours of the iris which they exhibit, are reflected in bands or spots, in undulating or angular lines, but invariably regular and symmetrical, the shades wonderfully adjusted and contrasted. Wherefore should all these endowments be distributed to creatures like the fishes, which scarcely ever see each other, save only in those depths where the light of the sun hardly penetrates, and even when they do see each other, what sort of pleasurable sensation can be excited amongst them by these characters?

Hence it is that man has always directed his attention to the animals of this class. The abundance of aliment of which they are the source leads him to attack them as the first object of his pursuit; and many ichthyophagi belong to a race less inferior in the scale of civilization than even the pastoral tribes, and great numbers of families derive the whole of their subsistence from fishing. Islanders and residents on coasts look after and take notice of the numerous species which frequent their rocks, and a more intrepid race actually navigates to the greatest distance, to attack, in the middle of the ocean, the huge phalanxes of fishes travelling on their course.

The first volume of this work contains the fullest account of the progress of ichthyology from the earliest period to the present times, which has yet appeared, and interesting biographical notices of all the authors mentioned are given in the form of notes. The rich and vast library of M. Cuvier, and the facilities for information which he possessed, could alone furnish the materials of this elaborate history. For several centuries before Aristotle, ichthyology, and other branches of natural history, consisted only of a series of detached observations, which scarcely merited the name of a science. The knowledge of this branch, collected by Aristotle, was still very limited, and but little applicable to the distinction of species; and succeeding naturalists continued to copy him, and comment on his writings, till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when Rondeletius, Belon, and Salviani precisely at the same time recommenced the study of nature, and laid the foundation of ichthyology, by giving accurate descriptions and figures of several well-determined species of fishes. Willoughby and Ray, however, were the first to attempt to classify the species, on scientific principles, derived from their organization; a task afterwards accomplished by Artedi and Linnæus, by giving precise limits to the genera, and placing under them species well ascertained and accurately characterized. After a concise account of the knowledge possessed by the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, regarding this class of animals, Cuvier gives a minute account of the opinions of Aristotle and other Greek writers respecting them, and of the various Roman poets, historians, and naturalists who have spoken of these animals. The writers of the middle age, and after the revival of letters, are examined with the same minuteness; and the contributions of the ichthyologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from Belon to Blasius and Valentin, are faithfully recorded. The writers on the anatomy of fishes, from Fabricius to Swammerdam and our countryman Collins, are next examined; and the works of ichthyologists, from Jonston and Willoughby to Pallas and Pennant, are reviewed with the same minuteness. The accessions made to our knowledge of this class of animals, by travellers and navigators, from Commerson and Sonnerat to the latest

voyages of discovery, and all the important facts relating to the structure of fishes discovered by anatomists during the last and the present century, as well as the views of naturalists in almost every country of Europe regarding their classification, are carefully collected and recorded with strict impartiality, in the elaborate historical sketch which occupies the half of the first volume.

The introductory observations on the nature, the economical uses, and the general characters of fishes, are drawn up with M. Cuvier's usual taste and elegance, and are peculiarly calculated to engage the attention and excite the interest of the reader in commencing the study of these animals. After a short account of the general structure and chemical composition of the skeleton of fishes, the author enters at great length into the particular anatomy and physiology of every part of the body, illustrating all the details by the anatomy of the perch, which is minutely and beautifully represented in eight folio engravings. In the view of the distribution of the class of fishes, with which the first volume terminates, they are divided into osseous and cartilaginous. The osseous fishes are divided into those which have the branchiæ of a pectinated form, or in plates; and those which have them in form of tufts, as the hippocampus. The osseous fishes, with pectinated branchiæ, are divided, in the same binary mode, into those which have the upper jaw free, and those which have the same part fixed. Those with the upper jaw free are the acanthopterygious and malacopterygious divisions, and those with the jaw fixed form an order, which is thence called plectognathi. The great division of cartilaginous fishes is divided into three families—sturionii, plagiostomi, and cyclostomi. From the extreme difficulty of establishing well-marked subdivisions throughout the class, M. Cuvier has here principally relied on the more convenient divisions of families, of which he has enumerated twenty-eight as calculated to contain all the known genera and species of fishes. Although the division of this class into orders well marked, proportionate, and convenient, is very far from being yet attained, the anatomical details of M. Cuvier regarding this class, which occupy the latter half of the first volume, may be considered as the most important step which has ever been made towards attaining that object.

The acanthopterygious fishes, which compose nearly three fourths of the known species, are divided into numerous subordinate groups, formerly regarded as genera, so intimately related to each other, and connected by transitions so imperceptible, that the whole may be regarded as an immense natural family, which cannot at present be disunited without losing sight of their most important relations. These subordinate groups are the natural families which Cuvier has preserved, assigning to each more definite characters, and preserving for it the name by which its principal genus is designated.

The second and third volumes are occupied with the history of the great family of perches, which are placed first, of all the acanthopterygious families, from the facility of obtaining these fishes, and their immense abundance in all parts of Europe. The common perch (perca fluviatilis, Lin.); one of the most beautiful and useful of all our fresh-water fishes, is taken as the type of this great family, and those species which have the closest resemblance to it are described in succession and at considerable length. The species of fifty other genera of this family are described in these volumes in the same detailed and scientific manner, and one or more species of each of the genera are illustrated by accurate and elegantly finished octavo engravings, in praise of which it is sufficient to state that they are from the pencil of Werner, well known to Europe for his accurate delineations in every branch of zoology. The fourth volume comprehends the description of twenty-two genera, embracing all the species belonging to the second great family of acanthopterygious fishes. This family comprehends the fishes most nearly allied to that of the perches, and is distinguished by having the side of the head armed, by the suborbitar plates covering a greater or less portion of the cheek, and articulating with the preoperculum. It is divided into two distinct groups, easily recognised; the first having no free spinous rays in front of the dorsal fin, and the second having only free spines in place of a first dorsal fin. The first, and most numerous of these groups, is subdivided into those which have two dorsal fins, of which there are ten genera, commencing with the trigla of Linnæus and Lacepede, and terminating with the platycephalus of Bloch, and those which have only a single dorsal fin, of which there are nine genera. The second group of this family, or those with free spines instead of the first dorsal fin, comprehends the monocentris of Bloch, the gasterosteus of Linnæus, and Cuvier's remarkable new genus, the little tuberculated oreosoma of the Atlantic, only an inch and a half in length, which forms the lowest limit of this family, from its suborbitar plates forming only a narrow arch on the side of the cheek, and uniting with the preoperculum only at the upper part.

The fifth volume embraces the third family of the acanthopterygians—the scienoides, which bear a close resemblance to the perches, and even present nearly similar combinations of external characters, particularly in the indentations of the preoperculum, and in the spines of the operculum. Some of the scienoides have two dorsals, others have but one. They form a very numerous family, and are beautifully illustrated by forty-one highly finished plates, exhibiting the more rare species, coloured from nature. The sixth volume comprehends the whole fourth and fifth families—the sparoides and menides of the same division. The species of the fifth family, menides, differ from the preceding ones in the extreme extensibility

and retractibility of their jaw, which is owing to the intermaxillary pedicles, which withdraw between the orbits. This volume is also illustrated by thirty-four exquisitely beautiful plates of several of the species. The seventh volume is devoted to a description of the different species of the sixth family—squamipennes—which is so called because the soft, and frequently the spinous part of their dorsal and anal fins, are covered with scales, which encrust them, as it were, and render it difficult to distinguish them from the mass of the body. This family embraces the chætodons of Linnæus, and is illustrated by thirty-nine engravings, coloured from nature. The eighth and ninth volumes of this splendid work contain a full description of the great family—scomberoides—the seventh of the acanthopterygians. This family is of the greatest utility to man, from their size, their agreeable flavour, and their inexhaustible reproduction, which brings them periodically into the same latitudes, where they constitute the object of the most extensive fisheries. The details of the peculiarities of the several species of this family are given with the greatest minuteness, and a vast number of them are figured in the most accurate manner possible. The tenth volume contains the family tænioides or riband fish, the eighth of the acanthopterygians. These are closely allied to the scomberoides, and are illustrated in the same manner as the preceding, by engravings of the most beautiful species of the family. The eleventh and last volume of the work, yet published, comprehends the ninth and tenth families of acanthopterygious fishes, and is in every respect equal in execution and precision of detail, to the previous portion of the work; which when finished will form the most complete history of fishes that has ever been produced.

We have now exhibited to our readers the greater portion of the labours of Cuvier, whose herculean exertions in the fields of nature will remain as a monument of his genius, to the latest posterity, to astonish, delight, and instruct mankind.

In conclusion, we have to give a very uncheering account of the state of natural science in England; and may mention as one reason of its decline, that it is not honoured as it should be, and that literature and science are no passport to public honours and rewards. As for titles and similar small matters, these are unimportant enough in themselves; there is something supremely ludicrous in the idea of George IV. conferring honour on Walter Scott and John Herschel. But, when a country abounds in such distinctions, which are properly regarded as rewards for services that do credit to the country, if a large class of eminent men are excluded from them, it certainly gives the impression that others are preferred before them, and that their services and exertions are not appreciated nor understood. It will not do for a people, who make so much of such con-

cerns as rewards for political services, to turn to men of science and tell them that such things are not for them, and that they must find their reward in their own pursuits and the general applause of men; for such language will apply as well to one class of men as another, and the fact that it is not thought sufficient in the case of military and political services, shew that it has not much meaning in such a country as ours, though it might be perfectly satisfactory in a republic. We do not suppose that the titles of Cuvier, Laplace, and Humboldt were any honour to them; they were only the signs that their merit was understood, and therefore were an honour to the governments which bestowed them. Great men are not insensible to applause; they like to know that their country thinks them deserving of honour; and it is natural enough that they should feel neglected, if they see respect paid to the services of others, which is denied to them.

Why also are not naturalists appointed to attend our naval expeditions? They might not go under that designation, perhaps, but some appointment might be secured for them, which would put them beyond the reach of want, and enable them to pursue their researches under more favourable circumstances than when they go forth alone. The military parties sent so often into the regions which border our colonies, might be made far more serviceable than they are, to the cause of science. Much indirect and yet effectual patronage might be extended to able men, by administrations composed of persons who know the value of intellectual things. Something of this kind has already been done; but much more remains to do; and no public men will secure to themselves a more honourable remembrance, than those who add the treasures of other lands to those of our own country.

It is for the sake of the country, that we would recommend that such patronage should be extended. Men distinguished by their scientific attainments, will be sure of all the respect which they can desire, either for themselves or their favourite pursuits; but the country ought to secure the benefit and honour to itself as far as possible. Whether it does or not, the pursuits will be followed and discoveries will be made. The studies are too fascinating to need the excitement of external rewards, and, as we have expressly said, it is not on this ground that we think governments would be wise to give them. Those sciences, which make us acquainted with the liberality of nature, are embraced within the province of religion. Those who engage in them most devotedly, have their religious feelings quickened by their familiarity with nature. For science, in our day, is not satisfied with investigating properties, laws, and powers—it insists on looking for benevolent design; it considers its work unfinished, till it ascertains the purpose of kindness with which everything was created. Thus it

is, that religion exerts a commanding influence over all the pursuits of enlightened minds; they feel that it is only in the religious direction, that they can travel from glory to glory.

ART. V.—*The Confessions of an Elderly Gentleman. Illustrated by Six Female Portraits, from highly-finished Drawings, by E. T. Parris.* By the COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON. London: Longman. 1836.

LADY BLESSINGTON has never published a cleverer volume than the present. Each of the six portraits forms the subject of a naturally-constructed tale, two of them being pathetic, the others lively and humorous, but the whole beautifully diversified and contrasted; while the autobiographist himself, is one and the same self-complacent, shrewd, and vain personage from beginning to end. Indeed, his character is appreciated and kept up throughout, with a truth, a consistency, and a cordiality, as if the writer had experienced in her own history and feelings every thing laid to the charge of "The Elderly Gentleman." With the ease and carelessness of a master, and with not a little of the grace of poetry, many of the vices, the follies, and questionable features of the world of fashion are here set forth, and not a few important lessons urged, sometimes slily, sometimes with commanding authority, but always effectively. But, though the picture which is thus presented of the ways and feelings that characterize our people of highest rank in society be, we believe, unexaggerated, yet it is, upon the whole, anything but complimentary; nor can we flatter our fair readers with the assurance that they look less faulty than the lords of the creation. It also appears to us, that the writer has displayed a great deal of the nicest discrimination and keenest perception in her delineation of female motives and foibles; and that not a few of her thrusts will reach the consciences even of those whose sensibilities have been seared or smothered by the artificialities of fashionable life. In this way, perhaps, there have been few volumes of sermons that have more successfully exposed and put to the blush the heartless follies of the most influential class of mankind.

The two following sentences, which are the first in the volume, let the reader taste at once of the style and the spirit of the work. "'Who cares, or thinks, about Elderly Gentlemen,' methinks I hear a young lady exclaim, as throwing down this book with a disdainful air, she demands of the shopman at the library, 'If there is not something new?' You mistake, fair lady, many are they who think of little else than of elderly gentlemen; but, alas! there are young *wives* impatient to enact the part of young *widows*; heirs in a hurry to come into possession; holders of post obits; ex-

pectant legatees; and *faithful* servants anxious to render the last duties to their dear masters, and to receive the meed of their *disinterested* services." Thus these "Confessions" open, and thus our vain, garrulous, and gouty old gentleman begins to give us the story of his six *affaires du cœur;* who, being born to a large fortune, and having sought for pleasure from every source, at home and abroad, which that fortune could command, finds for a mind teeming with *ennui*, and a frame weakened and bloated by luxurious indulgence, occupation, and the highest gratification which his heart is capable of experiencing, in unlocking and examining the drawers of his old escritoir, when brought along-side of his easy chair—the same treasury having remained at his country-seat, which he had not visited for twenty-five years before, though it contained piles of letters, in delicate handwriting, tied up with ribands of as delicate dye; gentle ghosts of departed pleasures and forgotten pains! Miniatures of languishing blue-eyed blondes, and sparkling piquantes brunettes, and many other love-tokens and trophies of his days of gallantry. Upon six of these portraits, Mr. Parris has employed his fancy, and been lucky enough, though not with equal success, to make them tell their own story, even before the fuller narrative which they illustrate has been perused. Certainly, they are six beautiful creatures, and quite worthy of six separate admirers. No wonder, then, that the old egotist should luxuriate over their portraits and correspondence, in spite of the twinges which the gout sent through his feet—these barometers of health—and of years, which had dried up the warm currents of the heart, when good living had changed the face once white, into a rich rubicund hue, making the "erst pale, one red." We must now take a leaf from each chapter, and thereby present a portion of the sketch of the several distinct and admirably drawn Cynthias.

"The Elderly Gentleman's" first flame, and for whom the strongest, the most rational sentiments of love he ever experienced, were felt, was by name Louisa Sydney, whose miniature he thus introduces.

"There are the eyes, blue as heaven's own cerulean hue, and the cheek with its delicate tint, resembling the leaf of a newly blown rose. There are the long and silken tresses of lightest brown, that wantoned over her finely rounded shoulders, descending to a waist, whose exquisite symmetry was unequalled. Well do I remember, when one of those silken glossy ringlets was severed from her beautiful head, to fill the locket now before me! Poor, dear Louisa! how she loved me! There is something soothing and delightful in the recollection of a pure-minded woman's affection; it is the oasis in the desert of a worldly man's life, to which his feelings turn for refreshment, when wearied with the unhallowed passions of this work-o'day world. I would not voluntarily relinquish the memory of Louisa's love for all—all—what shall I say! Alas! my all of enjoyment is now so limited, that I have little to resign; but that,

and much, much more, would I surrender, sooner than part from the conviction that she loved me.

"Louisa Sydney was not only beautiful, but she was mild and gentle, beyond description; yet her gentleness, and amazing docility, had nothing of insipidity in them, for they originated in a perfect freedom from selfishness, that led her to yield her own wishes to those of the person she loved, a concession, not of *reason* but of *volition*. She absolutely lived for those dear to her; and had more pleasure in obeying their desires, than in gratifying her own."—pp. 11—13.

But Louisa was one of those spiritualized and fragile creatures who are too good and angelic in beauty to live to middle age, and whose early doom is augured from the very loveliness of form and of mind. Here is the first letter she ever wrote him.

"'I fear you will think me too lightly won, and blame my imprudence in answering the note you placed in my hand on leaving the ball. That note has told me all that I longed to know, which I hoped, yet doubted. And yet a feeling of remorse poisoned my enjoyment while reading it; for, conscience whispered that I ought not to have received it, and that in perusing it I violated the duty I owe dear mamma. Every word of kindness from her (and never does she speak to me save in kindness) seems to reproach me for this duplicity. Do let me tell her; or, better still, confess to her yourself, that you love me; for there is something that looks like guilt in mystery, which renders it abhorrent to me.'"—p. 18.

"Poor dear Louisa"—as he calls her immediately after reading this letter—died on the very day which was to have seen their hands joined at the altar; and as this was his most genuine attachment, a sight of her portrait and her letters really draws tears from the red-faced, fat, and paunched sexagenarian! He even assures his readers that he mourned for her during two long dreary years, and was romantic enough to believe he could never love again. Experience, however, proved the fallacy of such a persuasion, and Arabella Wilton, a brilliant but worthless coquette, was the first to put his moping and lachrymose sensibility to flight; though the sentiment she inspired was a much more common one than real affection. We like to behold the portrait, or to read the description of a beautiful woman, especially if a woman is the artist, and therefore we quote that of Arabella.

"The artist has caught the half-imperious, yet winning expression of her sparkling black eyes, which seemed to say, as plain as ever such orbs could speak, 'Resist me if you can.' What a profusion of raven tresses fall round that oval face! how rich is the sunny tint of her cheek, and the ripe crimson of her lips; lips that never opened except to smile or give utterance to some sprightly *badinage*, whose *malice*, as the French call it, was forgiven in consideration of the beautiful mouth that originated it. Arabella was the very opposite of the gentle Louisa; she commanded, rather than won, her admirers into love, and seemed so certain of their hearts, and gave so little security of yielding hers in exchange, that she kept them (and she had not a little battalion) in a perpetual state of *qui vive*."—p. 45.

But, had "The Elderly Gentleman" not been given to eavesdropping, Arabella would, to a certainty, have entrapped him, by the toils with which she surrounded and drew upon his vanity. Disgusted, however, by the discovery of her character and motives, he turned his attention to flirtations with married women; if, says the writer, that most demoralizing of all fashionable follies, and which so frequently leads to crimes of a deep dye, may be so lightly named.

"This species of folly is unknown on the Continent, where, though the women are much less virtuous than our own, a greater degree of external decorum, and respect for appearances, exists. They, while too frequently violating virtue, pay it the homage of assuming its outward decencies; a species of artifice which the great majority of our females, satisfied with not outraging the reality, totally disregard.

"I know this assertion, as to the superior appearance of outward decorum in continental ladies, will be cavilled at; but, the cavillers will be confined to those who have not had personal opportunities of judging, and I beg it may be remembered, I am referring to the semblance, and not to the reality of virtue."—pp. 92, 93.

For two years, while cherishing the disgust inflicted by the conduct of the coquette Arabella, did the flirtations thus characterized, engage the hero of these "Confessions;" and, "strange to say," goes the record, "rarely were my attentions repulsed, even by those who would have shuddered at vice, could they have beheld it devoid of the blandishments with which sophistry, false sentiment, and meretricious refinement delight to adorn it." And then comes his third love, Lady Mary Vernon. This is the second pathetic tale, and one of great power and beauty. We have not been able to read it with unmoistened eyes, albeit we are not given to the melting mood. This saint-like and noble beauty is thus pictured.

"Ay, there is her portrait; yet, exquisitely lovely as it is, how far short does it fall of the original, when I first beheld her. There are her soft, melancholy eyes, that seemed as if they were only made to look at the heavens, so sublime, yet chastened, is their expression. There is her lofty and expansive forehead; never had intellect a fairer throne; and those gently curved raven brows, that lent such a character of pensiveness to her face. How beautiful was the almost transparent paleness of her cheek, the paleness of high thought, not disease. Yes, Lady Mary's was a countenance, once seen never to be forgotten; it was the face we picture to ourselves of a saint, rather than that of an angel, for it denoted that she had known suffering and sorrow; though purity shone so conspicuously in its every lineament, that no one could behold her, without a conviction that hers was a spotless mind.

"It was at the Duchess of D——'s that I first met her; and, though accustomed to see beauty in all its forms, hers made such an impression on me, that I could scarcely withdraw my eyes from her face. Lady C. asked and obtained permission to present me; and I approached her, internally hoping, with my accustomed vanity, that I might soon discover

the art of thawing the frozen coldness of her looks. Her voice was low, yet distinct and harmonious, beyond any voice I had ever heard; and who is insensible to this powerful attraction in a female? an attraction that frequently atones for the want of all others. She looked full in the face of the person she addressed, with an expression of such calmness and purity, that the most reckless libertine could not have hazarded a light word, or indulged a gross thought, in her presence. The men approached her with an air of reverential deference; and even the women, the most remarkable for their levity, assumed a decorous reserve, as if rebuked by the dignified modesty of her demeanour. Such was the respect with which she soon inspired me, that I felt discomposed at seeing some of my female acquaintances, whose purity I had reason to doubt, address her; it seemed to me as if the very atmosphere she breathed, ought not to have been profaned by their presence."—pp. 94—96.

Lady Mary is yoked to an erring husband, whom, however, she never upbraids, but loves with unshaken tenderness. A duel curtails his life, fought the very next day, after he had resolved and vowed to his matchless wife, that never again would he be unfaithful to her. We extract part of an affecting scene.

"'I feel I am dying,' uttered Mr. Vernon, 'let me see my wife.'

"There seemed to be some hesitation on the part of the surgeons; but he again demanded her presence, adding, in a faint voice,

"'It is useless to torture me, life is ebbing fast, and all will soon be over.'

"In a few minutes, I heard Lady Mary enter the room from a private staircase; when, the ejaculation of 'Oh! my poor Mary!' from Mr. Vernon, told how deep must have been that expression of anguish on her countenance which thus caused him to lose, in his pity for *her*, all sense of his own sufferings.'

"'Pray, madam, be composed,' said one of the surgeons.

"'Think not of me,' replied she, in accents that made me tremble; so profound, though subdued, was the despair they denoted.

"'Leave us, leave us,' said Mr. Vernon, 'I have much to say ere yet my strength totally fails me.'

"The surgeons left the library for an inner room; and I then could hear the stifled sobs of the husband, mingled with the low, sweet voice of the wife.

"'You will be spared to me, my own love; the Almighty is merciful,' murmured Lady Mary.

"'No: Mary, my blessed Mary, I feel that my wound is mortal. I have deserved this punishment; yes, I own that I have deserved it. How could I be so infatuated, so madly infatuated, as to yield to her seductions, and forget for a moment you, who have ever been an angel to me?'

"'Think not of this fatal subject now, dearest,' replied Lady Mary, 'think only of our cordial, our happy reconciliation of last night; when you abjured the only error of which you had to accuse yourself.'

"'Yes, Mary, God be thanked! I waited not for a death-bed to repent; for, I then fully determined never to see *that* woman again; and had life been spared me, this resolution would have been faithfully sustained. My

folly, my guilt, have led to this fatal result; and I shall be torn from you, my own Mary, just when I had re-awakened to a sense of all I owe you, without the power of atoning for the ills I have inflicted. How precious appear now the days I have wasted! Oh, Mary! what would I not give for a few months, a few weeks even, of life to be spent with you. *Her* husband challenged me; to refuse to meet him was impossible; and fondly as I would now cling to existence, I would rather die by *his* hand, than that he should have fallen by mine. I was determined not to return his fire; for, I repeat, I would not for worlds have his blood on my head. Will you forgive me, my precious Mary, for talking of *her?* But too well do I know your generous, your pitying heart, to doubt that you will pardon me. She is driven from her home, dishonoured, and an outcast; I am the cause of all the evil that has befallen her, and it weighs heavily on my mind. Promise me, that when I am gone, you will bestow on her the means of existence.'

"'Doubt it not, dearest, all, everything shall be done; but you *will* be spared to my prayers. Oh! do not say, do not think otherwise.'

"'Alas! my Mary, how can I deceive you? I feel that my hours are numbered; but let me conclude for ever the painful subject on which we were speaking. Even now, Mary, this wretched woman may be in want; send to her, I entreat you, sufficient supply to screen her from pecuniary difficulties. My friend Spencer will lend me a few hundreds; for, as I told you last night, I have squandered away such immense sums of late, that I have scarcely any money left at my banker's.'

"'My aunt has placed a large sum at my disposal, dearest love, and I shall send it to this unhappy woman immediately.'

"'Bless you, bless you, Mary; I *knew* you would cheerfully act as you are now doing.'"—pp. 149—152.

Lady Mary soon follows her husband to the grave, without knowing that she left on earth a heart that would long bleed for her loss; nor had Mr. Lyster any grounds for consoling himself by thinking that she would have pitied the attachment she had inspired in him. But when he afterwards might hear some heartless coxcomb or witless worldling, pronounce women to be incapable of lasting attachment, he has turned from them with scorn, to think of Lady Vernon, whose love neither neglect, unkindness, nor even death itself could change. In a few months, however, he again mingled with the busy crowd, frequenting his old haunts, the clubs, and looking in at most of the fashionable routs and balls of the season—mothers, aunts, and married sisters, honouring him with no small portion of their attention, because his fortune, which was large, was magnified into more than double its amount. But having an intuitive fear of the interested motives of *unmarried* women, he sought the society of those, who, if less interested, were not less interesting—the *married*. And now for his fourth love, who belonged to this latter class.

"At this period I was presented to Lady Elmscourt, one of the reigning belles of the day, though as the French would say, *un peu passée*. The

time which had elapsed since her diploma of beauty had been conferred upon her seemed to have set upon it the stamp of universal concurrence. Nobody could question the authenticity of charms, acknowledged during twenty years; hence, her reputation for loveliness passed current, long after the attractions that had acquired it, had lost their lustre.

"My attention was drawn towards her, at the period to which I am now recurring, not merely by her beauty, though that might have excused the thraldom of wiser heads than mine, but by a certain air of sentiment that pervaded her countenance; and which, if it amounted not quite to melancholy, possessed all the softness and charm, which a gentle pensiveness never fails to lend a handsome woman in the eyes of a man who has known a disappointment of the heart. Lady Elmscourt, however, was even then arrived at that age, when to guess the precise number of lustres she had numbered, becomes a difficult task; admirers always diminishing one, if not two, and the world in general, and friends in particular, adding an equal number.

"She insinuated, or implied, for what well-bred woman ever does more on such subjects, that she was thirty-three. This acknowledgment was made by references to epochs, when she was, as she said, quite a child; or to others, when she first came out. Her cheek had lost none of its bloom, perhaps it had increased, rather than diminished the brightness of its hue; for it wore a certain fixed, though still a fine red, that never appears before maturity has for some years replaced the delicate and evanescent tints which belong only to youth.

"Her eyes were as brilliant, but less pellucid than formerly; her hair as glossy, but much less profuse in its wavy tresses; and her rounded charms approached that dreaded degree of *embonpoint*, which indicates the *motherly* as well as the matronly character. Certain slight lines, so slight as to be almost imperceptible, *around* the eyes, and a protuberance of the skin *beneath* them, furnished the envious with proofs that, as they coarsely remarked, though she had *le chair de poule*, she yet was no chicken. But imposing as was all this evidence, it failed to convince me that she was other than a very beautiful and captivating woman, more especially in a well lighted ball-room, or in the softened shade of her own boudoir. It is only rendering justice to her taste to add, that she seldom allowed the garish sun to shine on her charms, or submitted herself, unveiled, to the dangerous ordeal of broad daylight.

"Blessed with an indulgent husband, a large fortune, and uninterrupted good health, what could be the cause of the apparent melancholy of Lady Elmscourt? This question I asked myself more than once; and its solution not only piqued my curiosity, but excited my interest. A little more discrimination on my part, might have easily led to a discovery of the source of her chagrin. But, I was never remarkable for being quick-sighted to the defects of a handsome woman; and in this precise case was willing to invest with the ennobling halo of sentiment, a peculiarity which originated but in weakness of mind. Lady Elmscourt was mourning over her departed youth, and departing beauty; the gradual desertion of which, few women are philosophical enough to behold with resignation or equanimity. Nor can we blame this regret, when we consider how much *we* foster their vanity; and encourage the culpable

notice, that youth and the charms of person are their surest, if not best, claims on our attachment."—pp. 184—187.

"When," says Lady Blessington, "a woman acknowledges to an admirer that she is not happy, there is but one course left for him to pursue, which is to swear that *he* is miserable, and that he loves madly, hopelessly; taking most artful care that she shall infer from his looks and tones, as well as from his speech, that *she* is the object of this hopeless passion." This is one of the piquant hints which abound in this volume, and is followed by a sentence not less so. "Women," continues she, "like to inspire *hopeless* passions; for even the most mundane of the sweet sex, always retain some portion of the pristine romance of their characters; just as flowers, though withered and faded, still retain some faint remnant of their native perfume." But Mr. Lyster's ripening intimacy with Lady Elmscourt is checked by the sight of a perfect Hebe, with blue eyes, lips like divided cherries, cheeks that shame the rose, hair of chesnut brown, "emulating the tendrils of the vine in its wavy spiral curls, and the softness and gloss of the finest silk in its texture, with gently curved brows, and long eye-lashes of the darkest hue." Now, this lovely young creature is no other than Lady Elmscourt's daughter; and while the mother, who is jealous of the attentions paid to that daughter, feels indignant, Mr. Lyster is so vain as to think he has established an interest in the lovely girl's heart, interpreting all her blushes, sparkling glances, and unsuspecting vivacity, as certain proofs in his favour; so that when at length, invited by Lady Emily's father, Lord Elmscourt, to visit the family at their country residence, he looks upon himself as being little short of the noble lord's son-in-law. On the day of his arrival at that residence, he found several guests assembled.

"When dinner was announced, the Marquess of Ambleside conducted our hostess to the *salle à manger*. I waited, expecting to see Lord Belmont offer his arm to Lady Emily; but, to my surprise, as well as delight, her father seized my hand, and desired *me* to lead her to dinner. *This* I considered as an open acknowledgment of my position as an accredited suitor; and I looked with something of triumph towards Lord Belmont, expecting to see him overwhelmed with mortification. But, no symptom of any such feeling appeared; and I wondered at his insensibility, where such a prize as Lady Emily was in question.

"Seated next to this lovely creature, and now considering myself in the light of an acknowledged lover, I devoted the whole of my attention to her during dinner. I was in the highest possible spirits, and my gaiety seemed contagious, as all the party partook in it. I saw, or fancied I saw, a malicious smile on the countenance of Lady Elmscourt, as she observed the animation and self-complacency of my manner; and, what a little piqued me, occasionally detected looks of intelligence interchanged by Lady Emily and Lord Belmont, indicative of the existence of a more

milar intercourse between them, than I wished my future bride to have with any man save me.

"While I was meditating on the decorum, if not prudery, which I should exact from my fair neighbour when I should have a *right* to dictate to her, I was thunderstruck by hearing the Marquess of Ambleside, in a voice too clear and distinct to admit of a doubt of its correctness, ask Lady Belmont to drink wine with him. I gazed around to discover whether there was not some mistake, or to ascertain to whom this civility was addressed; but, to my utter horror and dismay, saw his lordship's cold, formal eyes fixed on Lady Emily, who quietly assented to his proposal, totally unconscious of my state of mind!

"I felt the blood recede from my heart, and mount to my temples. I feared I should fall from my chair, so sudden and overpowering was the shock I had received. But a glass of water revived me, and prevented any exhibition of what was passing in my breast."—pp. 233—235.

But the marriage of Lady Emily and Lord Belmont had actually been celebrated a week before; and for two years previously the parties had been betrothed; thus providing for the vainest of egotists a chastisement that was not soon forgotten. From this period he became more suspicious than ever of female attentions; he turned with dislike from any approach to the sentimental in conversation; and grew almost angry if a young lady cast down her eyes, or blushed, in his presence. Nevertheless, having found his way to Cheltenham, he is again fascinated; and now for the portrait of Caroline.

"Miss Villiers was singularly beautiful; a beauty that consisted even more in expression than in features, though hers were nearly faultless. Her eyes were of dark blue; and might have been considered too dazzling, from their constant flashing (no other word can I find to convey their beaming vivacity), had they not been shaded by lashes whose length and jetty hue softened their lustre. Her nose was neither Roman nor Grecian, but, according to my taste, much prettier than either of those classical models; it was what the French call *mignon*, and *un peu retroussé*. Her mouth was small, with full red lips, as like Suckling's description of those of his mistress, as if it had been written for them; and her teeth, those indispensable requisites to beauty, were matchless.

"The only fault a hypercritical connoisseur in loveliness could have detected in this charming face, was, that the cheek bones were rather too high and prominent, hinting that their owner had either Irish or Scots blood in her veins. But even this peculiarity added to the piquancy of her countenance. Her hair was of the darkest shade of brown, and her complexion of the most brilliant and healthful tint. Never did I behold a face so captivating, nor so lavishly endowed with an endless variety of expression! Now sparkling with archness, and in the following moment softly beaming with all the touching innocence and amiability of a gentle child. But, if a fault might have been discovered in her face, the most fastidious critic would have vainly looked for one in her figure, which was symmetry itself. Slight, yet beautifully round, every movement betrayed some new grace; and her hands and feet (those infallible

indications of high birth), were of such exquisite proportions, that they would have redeemed almost any personal defect, had such existed." pp. 250, 251.

He happens to be an inmate in the same caravanserai with the Villiers family, and to have overheard a conversation between the exquisite creature and her companion Miss Percy, a lady of [illegible] advanced years; from which dialogue he learns that Caroline is, by her fond but dogmatical and coarse-minded father, doomed to become the wife of a baronet nearly as aged as himself, whose chief recommendation to Sir Thomas Villiers is, that he is an equally keen chess-player. But the match is exceedingly repugnant to the young lady, while our elderly gentleman fancies, from certain observations gathered in the course of his eaves-dropping habits, that he would be preferred. Caroline, however, is united for better and for worse to Sir Henry Moreton, the man whom she thought repulsively old, and who wore "creaking shoes and a wig." Mr. Lyster takes it to heart, and seeks, from travel, diversion to his melancholy. Ten years thus elapse, during which he indulges the whimsical fancy, that he was not indifferent to the fascinating Caroline; but no sooner does he learn from an old newspaper that her husband has paid the debt of nature, than he hurries home from Russia to offer the widow, no doubt still lovely, his hand.

"I paused not, rested not, even for a day, until I reached London. Some one else might forestall my happiness. Beauty and talents like hers could not fail to command admirers; and I trembled lest I should be too late in the proposal I intended to make her.

"I ascertained that she was in town, and immediately called at her house, a stately mansion in Hanover Square. On being shown to the library, I found my old acquaintance, Miss Percy, wearing the same demure aspect, but not placid countenance, that I remembered at Cheltenham. Alas! time had dealt rudely with her complexion, and taken away all the roundness of her figure, which now presented angles little in harmony with feminine grace. Encircling her eyes were certain lines known by the vulgar appellation of crow's feet; and, descending from her nostrils to her thin lips, were two muscles, in such *alto relievo*, as to display the anatomy of the movements of her mouth. I was startled in beholding this change.

"'What!' thought I, 'if Caroline should be as wofully altered as my friend: if she, who was disposed to be rather too sylph-like, should, by the unhappiness of an ill-assorted union, have faded to a shadow, like the creature before me!'

"'Her ladyship is only now beginning to receive her friends,' said Miss Percy, 'and is at this moment engaged with her lawyer; but she will be here in a short time.'

"Almost while she uttered these words, a *large* good-looking woman entered the room, with a high colour, and cheeks whose plumpness, encroaching considerably on the precincts of her eyes, caused them to appear much smaller than suited the proportion accorded to the lines of beauty

her figure harmonized perfectly with her face; and was one of those to whom the epithet, 'a *stout lady*,' is always applied. She approached me, while I stood in silent wonder, and in accents never to be forgotten, exclaimed, 'Ah! I see, Mr. Lyster, you do not recognise me.'

Ye gods! it was Caroline that now stood before me, the once beautiful Caroline! But never had such a transformation taken place in mortal. I was almost petrified by the sight, and could scarcely command sufficient presence of mind to go through the common forms of politeness, by maintaining a conversation.

'Come, Mr. Lyster,' said Lady Moreton, (again to call the *stout lady* before me, 'Caroline,' would be mockery), 'come with me, that I may show you what you, I am sure, as an old friend, will have pleasure in seeing.'

'What can she mean?' thought I, as I followed her through the ante room; 'but, after seeing *herself*, nothing can shock or surprise me.'

She opened the door of a large room, in the middle of which stood two rocking horses, mounted by a boy and girl, two chubby, rosy-faced children, bearing a strong resemblance to her ladyship; *not* as she formerly looked, but as she at present appeared. Two other, and younger children, were toddling about the room with their nurses, making no little noise; and at a table in the recess of the window, sat the two elder scions of the family stock, engaged at chess.

'There, Mr. Lyster, are my two eldest sons,' said Lady Moreton. 'This is Sir Henry Moreton, and the other is Sir Thomas Villiers, to whom my poor father's baronetcy devolved. Are they not strikingly like their father and grandfather, Mr. Lyster?'

Never were seen two more extraordinary resemblances! and the gravity of their countenances, and the strict attention they paid their game, completed all the features of this wonderful similarity.

'They will play for whole hours together,' continued Lady Moreton, pensively; 'and are never so happy as when thus employed. Nothing affords me a greater gratification than to watch them at such moments, Mr. Lyster; for their occupation brings back to me the memory of those dear, and lost to me for ever——' and she wiped a tear, yes, positively, a real tear, from her eye.

'Come, Henry, my dear, come and speak to this gentleman,' resumed his mother, with a tremulous voice.

The boy approached me with measured steps, and a formal air; and his shoes creaked so exactly as those of his father used to do, that for a moment I looked at his hair, expecting to see that he also wore a wig, so precisely did he appear a miniature copy of the defunct Baronet.

'It is strange,' said Lady Moreton, 'to what a degree he has all the little personal peculiarities of his poor dear father. I do not know, Mr. Lyster, whether you ever observed that my dear Sir Henry's shoes always creaked? At first, I had a distaste to the sound; for I was, as you may remember, a giddy, and perhaps an over fastidious girl, about trifles. But one soon learns to approve all the peculiarities of the father of one's children; and I now have a pleasure, though it is not devoid of melancholy, in hearing my boy's shoes creak like those of his father.'

The good natured mother was so perfectly in earnest, that, hang me, if I

could smile at the babbles of this sentimentalist; though, I confess, I lamented that the young Sir Henry did not wear a wig, which would have perfected the almost irresistibly ludicrous resemblance.

"The mother kissed each and all of her progeny, with true maternal tenderness; and I left her, perfectly cured of my old flame, and smiling at the illusion I had for ten years nourished, at the cost of sundry sighs and regrets."—pp. 276—283.

And thus, for the sixth and for the last time, is "The Elder Gentleman" cured of his passion, being, in spite of his many and various gallant efforts, fairly and irrevocably laid upon the shelf not only a stale but a misshapen old bachelor. The reader, though instructed and amused by every one of the tales, feels no regret at this forlorn result, for he perceives, that to the end of the chapter Mr. Lyster is the same self-complacent and vain egotist that he was in his gayest days. Still, one parts with him with reluctance, and could be very well content to accompany him through two volumes more; nay, for anything that we see, the matter before us might have been expanded to that extent, without fatigue to the reader, and been to his profit. It is, however, better as it is, for there are few fictions, though of thrice the exterior pretensions of these "Confessions," that possess so much weight.

ART. VI.

1. *Friendship's Offering; and Winter's Wreath: A Christmas and New Year's Present.* Smith, Elder, and Co.
2. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap-book.* By AGNES STRICKLAND, and RICHARD BARTON. Fisher, Son, and Co.
3. *The Christian Keepsake, and Missionary Manual.* Edited by the Rev. WM. ELLIS. Fisher, Son, and Co.
4. *Fisher's Drawing-room Scrap-book; with Poetical Illustrations, by L. E. L.* Fisher, Son, and Co.
5. *The Oriental Annual. Lives of the Moghul Emperors.* By the Rev. HOBART CAUNTER, B. D. With Twenty-two Engravings from Drawings by Wm. Daniell, R. A. Tilt.

ANOTHER harvest has set in of these gay periodicals; and, if so as we can judge from the above list—which is rather an abundant beginning, so long before the end of the current year—we are inclined to augur favourably of the whole crop. Like others of our vocation, we have of late years frequently complained of the flimsy and meretricious literature which these annual visitants brought and spoken of the majority of them as being little better than drawing-room toys. But from the present specimens, we discover a decided improvement, and an effort to provide for the mind's appetite more permanent and valuable aliment than heretofore. The pa-

taste of the public demanded this increase of worth, in such marketable commodities; otherwise the time was not distant when they would have been regarded as a nauseating syrup.

We repeat, that in so far as our prefixed list enables us to judge, and in so far as the plan and scope of each of the volumes are to be regarded, there is a manifest advancement beyond the merits of the general family of Annuals of last year. Their exterior is not less glittering or gorgeous, their artistic illustrations are also equally beautiful and highly finished; while the subjects treated of, whether by the artists or the writers, exhibit more of originality, possess more power, are better diversified, and are more judiciously selected, than their predecessors have, for some considerable time, generally displayed. Take "Friendship's Offering"—an old and familiar visiter—and while we might specify among its contributors a long array of writers, each of whom has earned an enviable fame, there are others new to us, but who are suitably yoked in the same beautiful labour. But, while it is grievous to miss the names of some gifted ones who were wont to enrich the pages of "Friendship's Offering," and those of her sisterhood, and who will enrich them no more, there is, also, something like a compensating gratification in witnessing the accession referred to, and in learning that, as in the case of Thomas Miller, the author of "A Day in the Woods," this "Christmas and New Year's Present" may be the means of rescuing genius from obscurity, and first placing it in the full eye of the world.

The plates which illustrate "Friendship's Offering," cannot be spoken of as superior specimens of art. The external shape of the volume hardly admits of excellence of this kind; neither does the series of which this forms a uniform part, appear to pretend to such superiority. The strength and the beauty of the work are to be found in its tales—several of those now before us, possessing an enchanting interest—and in the diversified sweetness, and, not unfrequently, the sustained elevation of sentiment, which is essential to real poetry. Did our limits permit us, we should be glad to give an analysis of one or other of the longest pieces which the volume contains; but this we must forego, and remain contented with assuring our readers, that we think the present "Winter's Wreath" more than sustains its former character.

On coming to the "Juvenile Scrap-Book," we must say that Mr. Fisher has outdone himself this year, in his several volumes above enumerated. It may be truly asserted, that there are pieces in the first-mentioned of them, which deserve to obtain a perennial existence in educational literature. But the names on the title-page are a sufficient guarantee for this. The embellishments are of a delightful order. They are remarkably well calculated to engage the notice and admiration of the young.

"The Christian's Keepsake" takes a higher aim, though it be a work which few but the pious, and, we may add, the evangelical, will prize. To all such it presents uncommon attractions. One of its principal objects is to diffuse authentic information respecting the progress and effects of Christianity in different quarters of the world; and it therefore deals largely in short biographical histories and sketches, where unquestionable truth is adhered to, as well as in the effusions of devotional poetry. There is necessarily considerable inequality in the effusions, but none of them are poor; nor, when such a muse as James Montgomery's is found singing in these pages, can any one reasonably presume that the editor would allow very discordant voices to join in the choir. Among the beautiful engravings which adorn this exquisitely got up volume, the portraits of Clarkson and Mrs. Hemans will be welcome to the philanthropic and the refined; and that of the Caffre Chief, Jan Tzatzoe, to all who are the friends of Christian Missions. There is also a number of pictures of real scenes, which are either magnificent, or lovely, or affecting in the extreme, according to the requirements of the subject described.

Of the literary matter the prose articles have pleased us most. The subjects of them are particularly important, and, had we room, we would extract, on account of its absorbing interest, the whole of the paper contributed by the Rev. J. W. Doran, L.L.D., containing recollections of Bishop Heber. The author of this article was a constant associate of that most estimable prelate, during the last days and hours of his precious life, and was one of the persons who actually assisted to rescue his body from the bath in which he was drowned. But, being unable to find space for the whole narrative, we select a specimen of the poetic and shorter pieces. The verses are by the late and lamented Thomas Pringle, who visited the Missionary station at the Buffalo river, in Caffreland. They are appended to the sketch of Jan Tzatzoe's life, the Chief who was one of the first-fruits of modern missionary labours.

"A rugged mountain, round whose summit proud,
The eagle sailed, or heaved the thunder cloud,
Poured, from its cloven breast, a gurgling brook,
Which down the grassy glades its journey took;
Oft bending round, to lave, with rambling tide,
The groves of evergreen on either side,
Fast by this stream, where yet its course was young,
And stooping from the height, the forest flung
A grateful shadow o'er the narrow dell,
Appeared the Missionary's hermit cell.
Woven of wattled boughs, and thatched with leaves,
The sweet wild jasmine clustering to its eaves.
It stood, with its small casement gleaming through,
Between two ancient cedars; round it grew

Clumps of acacias and young orange bowers,
Pomegranate hedges, gay with scarlet flowers;
And pale-stemmed fig-trees, with their fruit yet green,
And apple blossoms waving light between.
All musical it seemed, with humming bees,
And bright-plumed sugar-birds among the trees,
Fluttered, like living blossoms.
In the shade
Of a grey rock, that midst the leafy glade,
Stood like a giant sentinel, we found
The habitant of this fair spot of ground—
A plain, tall Scottish man, of thoughtful mien:
Grave, but not gloomy. By his side was seen,
An ancient chief, of Amakosa's race;
With javelin armed, for conflict or for chase;
And seated at their feet, upon the sod,
A youth was reading from the word of God,
Of him who came, for sinful men to die,
Of every race and tongue beneath the sky.
Unnoticed, towards them we softly stept,
Our friend was wrapt in prayer; the warrior wept,
Leaning upon his hand; the youth read on;
And then we hailed the group—the chieftain's son,
Training to be his country's Christian guide,
And Brownlee, and old Tshatshu, by his side."

But what shall we say of Fisher's "Drawing Room Scrap-book?" It certainly is a magnificent volume, which may enter the most splendid and regal chambers in the empire without a blush. We do anticipate, that for the drawing-room, it will be without a rival this year. It is no toy, but a goodly quarto, and gorgeously accoutred, containing thirty-six plates, which are married to appropriate verse. The term "Scrap," we fear, is likely to convey an inadequate notion of the book, and to intimate a collection of trifles, instead of engravings from elaborate or celebrated pictures. And yet, it is truly a Scrap-book, for it presents a selection of pictures from various quarters, many of them familiar to the public, both at home and abroad. There are portraits, such as of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Melbourne, and the Duke of Wellington, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, which are much gazed at, in the print-shops. Pincess Victoria, by G. Hayter, and the late William Wilberforce, by G. Richmond, will not be less acceptable to the nation. Of scenes, landscape, civic, historical, and antique, there is a great variety. Of these we are at a loss which most to admire. They are certainly all admirable specimens of art, whether the efforts of the several painters or engravers be examined. Difference of taste will guide to the preference of some to others, where nothing but this difference can be alleged for the choice. But as we cannot transfer one of these imposing pictures into our pages, we must rest

contented with suggesting, that the diversity of subjects and artists which are thus offered to the public, is the best general recommendation which can belong to a Scrap-book. Were we to particularize some of those which are most to our liking, we should certainly select the "Site of the Castle of Ulesses," "Valetta, Malta," and perhaps, for still better reasons, the "Scene from the Ruins of Carthage." And yet these three, though treating of subjects by no means dissimilar, are by different artists, who could not have done more, though pitted against each other, and a valuable prize at stake. We shall not vainly strive to define their peculiar excellencies; for how inadequate is any description of a lovely picture!—but we present two specimens of the illustrative poetry. The first refers to the last-named subject, viz. the "Ruins of Carthage;" Miss Landon follows Sir G. Temple's description, as given in his "Excursions in the Mediterranean,"—an excellent authority.

"Low it lieth—earth to earth—
All to which that earth gave birth—
Palace, market, street, and fane;
Dust that never asks in vain,
Hath reclaimed its own again;
Dust, the wide world's king.
Where are now the glorious hours
Of a nation's gathered powers?
Like the setting of a star,
In the fathomless afar:
Time's eternal wing,
Hath around those ruins cast
The dark presence of the past.
Mind, what art thou? dost thou not
Hold the vast earth for thy lot?
In thy toil, how glorious!
What dost thou achieve for us,
Over all victorious!
God-like thou dost seem.
But the perishing still lurks,
In thy most immortal works;
Thou dost build thy home on sand,
And the palace—girdled strand
Fadeth like a dream.
Thy great victories only show
All is nothingness below."

Though these verses be not very powerful, they are sweet, and carry to the bosom affecting associations. We do not look upon it as by any means an easy task to set words to a vast variety of pictures: it requires a versatile fancy, rather than a creative imagination. In the volume before us, however, the poetic illustrations are respectable efforts, and much superior to the generality of

those which have been spent on pictorial subjects in the older Annuals.

The foregoing verses have been bestowed on the melancholy past,—let us see how the muse discourses of the turmoiled present, and the hoped-for future. The theme is now "The Princess Victoria."

"A fair young face o'er which is only cast
The delicate hues of spring,
Though round her is the presence of the past,
And the stern future gathers darkly fast;
As yet no heavy shadow loads their wing.

A little while hast thou to be a child,
Thy lot is all too high;
Thy face is very fair, thine eyes are mild,
But duties on thine arduous path are piled—
A nation's hopes and fears blend with thy destiny.

Change is upon the world, it may be thine
To soothe its troubled way,
To make thy throne a beacon and a shrine,
Whence knowledge, power, and liberty may shine,
As yet they have not shone on mortal day.

There is much misery on this worn earth,
But much that may be spared;
Of great and generous thought there is no dearth,
And highest hopes of late have had their birth,
Hopes for the many, what the few have shared.

The wind that bears our flag from soil to soil,
Teaches us as it flies;
It carries in its breath a summer spoil,
And seeds spring up to stimulate man's toil,
So should our mind spread round its rich supplies

Thou, Royal child, the future is thine own,
May it be blessed in thee!
May peace that smiles on all be round thy throne,
And universal truth, whose light alone
Gives golden records unto history."

"The Oriental Annual" possesses a very distinct character, and one altogether different from that of any of the volumes with which we have now grouped it. Mr. Caunter betakes himself to grave history, and to dig for his subject and the materials wherewith to give it breadth and interest in the eyes of ordinary readers, among obscure or conflicting chronicles, which are inacessible to a vast majority of mankind. Little assuredly is commonly known of the Mohammedan history of India; and one of the great difficulties to be encountered in rendering that history interesting and popular, arises from the many details which abound in the chronicles, that must be dry to the present generation, especially of Europeans, and

the multiplicity of hard names of persons and places which, as will readily be supposed, encumber the narrative. These difficulties, however, the author has dexterously avoided to a far greater extent than we could have anticipated. His intimate acquaintance with the sources from which his facts are derived, and, no doubt, great labour, have been the means by which he has produced, not merely a readable book, but one which is both entertaining and instructive, and which should become popular.

There is truly a wonderful lack of knowledge in this country, and, we may add, of anxiety to acquire knowledge, regarding the immense empire which now belongs to Britain in the East. The work, of which the present volume only professes to be a beginning, promises to fill up a great vacuum in this department, for the benefit of the community; for, in commencing with the first conquest of Hindostan by Timur Beg, who is more commonly known under the name of Tamerlane, and its final conquest by Sultan Baber, we are brought to a long and twisted link in history, with which the people of the West, and we ourselves, are most interestingly connected, and to eras of superstition and delusion after which the power and the light of Christianity, it is to be hoped, are to be made manifest in an unparalleled degree; and when, in all probability, the prowess, the civilization, and the religion, which have their strong-holds in Britain, will be the signal instruments of the mighty regeneration.

The "Lives of the Moghul Emperors," we may anticipate, will afford little more variety than what the career of conquerors and warriors generally contains. But, to use the author's ideas—the actions and progress of such men are often the embryos of great moral revolutions, and, therefore, become landmarks in the history of civilization and all the more elevated, beautiful, and desirable developments of which the destinies of mankind are susceptible. Though battles and massacres be frightful things to contemplate, yet, "as from the ashes which strew the forest that has been desolated by fire, a fresher and more exuberant growth arises, so from the devastation of war, new societies frequently spring, which add order and harmony to the civil and moral world." May we not, therefore, hope that the Mohammedan conquest of Hindostan has been the means of presenting new views to the sovereigns of the West, and of preparing the way for the re-subjugation of that measureless empire by the arms and knowledge of Christians?

In the course of the present volume, Mr. Caunter contrives to introduce, with ease and illustrative effect, the subjects for the "Twenty-two Engravings," which embellish his pages. Of these engravings it is quite unnecessary to say more, than that they are worthy of the drawings of the artist with whose name they are connected, whose delineations of oriental scenery and subjects are so highly appreciated by all acquainted with the history of the arts.

The space which we can afford for any single volume at the head of this paper, admits not even of an outline of the career, as described by the author, either of the one celebrated name or the other, that has occupied his pen. We merely extract two passages, each containing a summary of the preceding history, from which no mean idea of Mr. Caunter's talents, in this high walk of literature, will be derived.

"The character of this celebrated conqueror (Tamerlane) has been variously coloured, according to the bias of those who have recorded the great and stirring, but too frequently terrible, events of his life.

"Timūr is said to have been distinguished for his sincere piety, great veneration for religion, strict justice, and unbounded liberality; but it would be a difficult matter to find these virtues realised in the actions of his life, which was remarkable for hypocrisy, cruelty, and oppression. His religion appears to have been a weak and unmanly superstition, his piety, fanaticism, his 'strict justice and unbounded liberality,' mere effects of state policy—for he was neither just nor liberal beyond the boundaries of his own dominions. His ferocious massacres, his wanton devastations of countries, and demolition of cities, are sufficient to confirm the conclusion that he was really neither pious, liberal, nor just. That he was a man of commanding genius, consummate bravery, possessing admirable clearness of judgment, and almost infallible accuracy of perception, is evident to a demonstration. He spent nine years in foreign countries, to advance himself in the knowledge necessary for dominion, where the great energy of his mind was displayed in councils and assemblies, and his undaunted courage in personal combats and pitched battles; nevertheless, with all his great qualities, it is impossible not to see how deplorably they were obscured by the ferocious tendencies of his heart.

"Timūr in his person was tall, corpulent, and well shaped. His limbs were robust and muscular, his shoulders broad, his fingers thick, and his legs long. His forehead was spacious, and his head large, his eyes being prominent and penetrating. His complexion was fair, and extremely ruddy; his voice loud and piercing. He had improved his naturally vigorous constitution by temperance and exercise. He left behind him thirty-six sons and grandsons, besides seventeen female descendants, with all of whom he lived in general harmony and good-will. His authority over them was absolute; and whenever one of the former was detected in any failure of duty, according to the laws of Jengyz Khan, he was punished with the bastinado, and then restored to favour. The sceptre of Jagatay was one of twenty-seven held by this great conqueror, and he kept in awe the whole Eastern world.

"Timūr was a munificent prince, as is sufficiently proved by the cities, fortresses, bridges, palaces, mosques, hospitals, and serais, which he erected in his own dominions, and in different parts of Asia; the rivers and canals which he dug, besides the various institutions which he endowed and supported. Even his warmest admirers, however, admit that he was a great dissembler, and yet he is stated to have so abhorred a lie that he never forgave it; but it is to be suspected that his love of truth was a subsidiary quality of his mind, rather than a moral impulse, and was

encouraged because it helped the accomplishment of his political purposes, not from the abstract admiration of what is essentially and irrespectively good. Though he had obtained by conquest an incredible extent of dominion, his empire was disjointed and unwisely governed. His genius was exclusively war-like. He had made himself master of vast tracts of territory, but the resources of his mind were unequal to the mighty task of founding an empire. Though deeply skilled in the art of war, he was ignorant of legislation; and consequently within a few years after his death, his dominions were torn from his descendants, and there remained in his family only his native country of Transoxiana, with Persia and Cabul."

Of the final conqueror of Hindostan, Baber,

"Much may be said to his advantage, both as a sovereign and a man; in each character he took a distinguished rank, during those dark and turbulent times, in which it was his lot to direct the resources of a vast and powerful empire, and controul the destinies of a numerous and enlightened people. He was liberal to excess, and no less humane than liberal. So strictly did he act upon the principle of returning good for evil, that he was beloved even by his avowed enemies. His sincerity, and the utter absence from his heart of every thing that bore the faintest hue of hypocrisy, may be seen in his Memoirs, in which he freely, and without reserve, states his weaknesses, and leaves the reader to gather his virtues from the general tenour of his actions, the merit of which he invariably ascribes to the Disposer of all good. His religion was upon the whole a rational and fervid belief; for though learned in the doctrines of the Huneef sect, and rigidly attached to some of their ceremonials, observing with scrupulous exactness the prescribed periods of prayers, he was neither intolerant nor bigoted. We find no religious persecutions during his reign; and though he implicitly believed what the Mohammedan doctors taught, that there was no salvation to the Pagan, he did not esteem it an act of sacred obligation, as did his great predecessor Timûr Beg, to do God service by butchering infidels, or persecuting them for righteousness sake. He permitted to the conquered Hindoos, the free exercise of their religion, and became far more popular among them, than any Mohammedan sovereign who had preceded him. Amidst his great and popular virtues, he had some propensities which can scarcely be reconciled with his other high and noble qualities. His love of drinking and sensual indulgences, which he carried to an unpardonable excess, were a stain upon the generally preponderating goodness of his character. It must, however, be admitted, that these were the vices of the age, rather than the man, and were scarcely classed among moral offences, by the casuists of his time and country. Those infirmities, moreover, were countervailed by so many estimable traits, that with reference to the period in which he lived, he was in every respect a remarkable person, whether we look upon him as a moral or political agent, as a monarch or as a man. He is said to have possessed extraordinary vigour of body, to have exhibited great skill in all manly and warlike exercises. His strength was so great as to appear almost incredible, if what his historians relate of him be true. It is mentioned by them, that he used to leap from turret to turret of the pinnated ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm, and went leaping along the ramparts from one of the pointed pinnacles to another."

There is, in the frontispiece of the present volume, a portrait of this emperor, by which his extraordinary strength is indicated.

"The large muscular limbs, thick neck, and expansive chest, would show that Baber was a man of no ordinary physical powers. The sword upon which his right hand rests could not be wielded except by a very sinewy arm. He was above the middle height, and stout in proportion, possessing extreme activity and patience of endurance." "Besides being deeply skilled in the science of legislation, his knowledge of natural history was at once accurate and profound; and he is to this day esteemed as holding an eminent rank among the poets of his country." "Besides a collection of Turki and Persian poems, Baber wrote a work on prosody, and some miscellaneous productions; to these he continually alludes in his Memoirs. He likewise composed a treatise on music, in which he is said to have been eminently skilled." "His greatest work, however, is the Memoirs so frequently referred to in the course of this narrative."

Altogether, from the history before us, Baber appears to have been one of the most chivalrously brave, one of the most gifted, enlightened, and beneficent monarchs that ever yet existed; nor do we doubt of the present work, from the great interest belonging to its subjects, from the ability with which these are treated, and the splendid manner in which it is got up, becoming one of the most popular—for assuredly it will be among the most permanently useful—Annuals yet published.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino. Written by Himself. Translated from the Original Manuscript, under the immediate superintendence of the Author.* Vol. I. London: Saunders and Otley. 1836.

SEVERAL books have appeared in France, falsely purporting to be the Memoirs of the Prince of Canino, and written by himself; but all of which he disavows excepting the present work. The sort of forgery, which the author refers to, has been practised to a most mischievous extent by our gay neighbours, of late years, both as respects the taste for literary scandal at the present day, and the documentary evidence of grave and pure history in the ages yet to follow. Many of the most illustrious persons, whether for their exploits or for their sufferings, who figured during the whirlwind of the French revolutions, first and second, have thus been abused; nor was it to be expected that an individual who acted such a conspicuous part in the former mighty drama as did Lucien Bonaparte, especially down to the close of the consular republic, should be spared. Accordingly, he says, that from that period, under all the governments that have existed, he has been too often the subject of the pamphleteers. Revelations, continues he, secret memoirs, collections of anecdotes, fruits of imagination, without shame or de-

cency, have made him their theme. Still he declares, it is not with a personal aim that he has resolved to publish these Memoirs, but because they appear to offer materials " of some value to a history so fruitful in great events, the serious study of which may be useful in future to my country." He adds, modestly, " public opinion will inform me if I have deceived myself; and in that case, this first part of my Memoirs will be all that I shall allow myself to publish."

There are two grounds upon which we build our assurance that general opinion will encourage him to proceed with his autobiography. First, although this autobiography deals exclusively with the details of public affairs—or at least, never treats, by way of anecdote or otherwise, of private history, unless it be incidentally, and for the illustration of some question foreign to personal matters—it yet, from the beginning to the end of the present volume, affords such a striking and uniformly consistent evidence that the author is an amiable and highly honourable character, that the reader necessarily feels great pleasure in its perusal. Perhaps in the case of no individual so much as one of the Bonaparte family, and in that family, respecting none of its surviving members so much as Lucien, could this discovery and evidence be more gratifying. There is a deep and increasing desire throughout Europe to do justice to Napoleon, and to behold redeeming points in the history of all who might in any manner be identified with him; and these Memoirs will enliven the feeling. But secondly, although this first volume has not reached the periods when the modern Cæsar took his gigantic strides to power, (it only comes down to near the close of 1799), and when these Memoirs will necessarily have themes of greater grandeur upon which to expatiate than the preceding events offered, there are still so many sagacious observations here to be found, and so many speculations ingeniously supported, as will render the work precious in the eyes of many of the theorists of the present day. We do not say that these speculations will prove very attractive to those who delight merely in matters of fact, or the simplest narratives. By all such, at least two-thirds of the present volume will be summarily passed over. There is also in the English translation, which we cannot believe is so unfaithful to the original, as much to disguise or disfigure the Prince's style, very frequently an inversion, or an abruptness in the members of a sentence, when taken in reference to one another, that seems rugged to an English reader. Many French writers ape this semblance of emphatic speech. To us Napoleon Bonaparte always appeared to be unrivalled for his sententious words, and abrupt eloquence. But in his case it was no aping, for all the world knows, that his actions were weighty and unexpected, and more than commensurate with what his words imported. Lucien, however, is by no means so fa-

licitous; and yet there is a considerable share of the same nerve about him; and though we sometimes think it verbose, it is never unmeaning. In short, it is our opinion, that his speculations at this moment will in England, and still more in unstable France, be much read, and produce not a slight sensation. That sensation, let us tell our readers, in so far as Great Britain is concerned, is encouraging and complimentary. The Prince, in his ripened years, is an intense admirer of our political and social institutions; and whether sufficiently informed or consistent in his theories, would have France to follow us as a model. Indeed, on not a few points his doctrines are conservative, though on other occasions they are radical; and this brings us again to characterize the reasonings of the book, and to repeat one of the grounds for thinking that, while it will be dry or unintelligible in many parts to not a few, it will also be esteemed and quoted by all who are *doctrinaires*.

We must now present some specimens of what may be called the more popular portions of the volume, as well as a few examples of a more speculative character. The first chapter opens naturally with some notices of the author's family.

"When the revolution opened in 1789, the grand era of political reform, I had entered my fifteenth year. After having been alternately for some time at the College of Autun, and at the military school of Brienne, lastly at the seminary of Aix in Provence, I returned to Corsica. My mother, a widow in the prime of her life, devoted herself to the care of her numerous family. Joseph, the eldest of her children, was twenty-two years of age, and seconded her attentions to us with ardour, and with paternal affection. Napoléon, two years younger than Joseph, was just returned from France with our sister, Marianne-Eliza, from the Ecole Royale of St. Cyr. Louis, Jerome, Pauline, and Caroline, were all children. A brother of my father, the Archdiacre Lucien, was become the chief of our family, and though gouty and bedridden for some time past, he watched over our interests without ceasing. If Providence had struck us with a cruel blow in depriving us so early of our father, it compensated for that loss, as far as possible, in leaving us yet for some time that excellent uncle, and in endowing the best of mothers with that spirit of constancy and strength of soul, of which the future that opened before us furnished the opportunity of giving abundant proofs in a course of wonderful prosperity, as well as in that long exile which still holds us beneath its inexorable influence, and to whose termination she had not the consolation of looking forward in her dying hour. A brother, worthy of our mother, the Abbé Fesch, completed our family."—vol. i, pp. 1, 2.

The Abbé Fesch is now cardinal and archbishop of Lyons, although, as says the author, "removed from his see by the persecution which has not yet ceased to strike the family of Napoleon." We are next informed, that although holding one of the first ranks in the island, in every respect, the fortune of the Bonapartes was not brilliant; the education of the family, and of several of them in

France, having helped to impoverish it, at the same time rendering them entirely French. Corsica had also, at the period described, become an integral part of the French monarchy; and the revolutionary ideas which prevailed upon the Continent, had made considerable progress in the island, Lucien becoming a member of the popular societies belonging to his native place, while Napoleon prepared, by serious studies, to march in his career of prodigies.

In the popular societies alluded to, the author became a ready spouter; and he describes very spiritedly, and not without humour, his efforts in this way—especially the composition and delivery of a discourse which he pronounced before the famous Pascal Paoli, who returned to Corsica in 1792, a period when public opinion had, on account of the revolutionary acts and writings of the Continent, again changed. Paoli, too, was enamoured of England; the death of Louis XVI. whose history had inspired him with the deepest sympathy, and a foresight of the future, all united to render him inimical to the strong republican tenets which the author and his associates had imbibed. For a time, however, on account of the fervour of the young spouter, Paoli had him constantly by his side, and would fain have won the enthusiast to his more enlarged views, the fruits of long experience. The ingenuous manner in which that great man and illustrious patriot is spoken of in these pages, and the frequent confession of corrected opinions on the part of the narrator, are equally honourable to both.

"Paoli loved to talk to me of England—of the true liberty which reigned in that happy country—of the good sense of its inhabitants—of the admirable equilibrium of its political powers. 'England,' said he, 'is not a monarchy: it is a wise and powerful republic: happy would it be for France if she would take England for her model.' All those conversations astonished me, they were beyond my comprehension: my wise interlocutor did me more honour than I deserved: his lessons appeared strange to me, and soon they ceased to please me: I observed, under the Anglo-mania, which I understood but very vaguely at that time, a little antipathy towards France; it wounded me deeply. Paoli perceived it, and he adjusted his lessons to what he called my college prejudices. He made the same attempt with my two elder brothers, that he had made to win me; but with more circumspection, as he was very anxious to gain us entirely; he had frequent conferences with Joseph and Napoléon, but he soon saw the inutility of his efforts. Notwithstanding the horror with which the revolutionary excesses inspired us, we felt assured that they would be calmed, and that the benefits of the revolution would survive its atrocities: we were Frenchmen, and we had faith in the future. Besides which, our island had maintained itself pure from the dreadful excesses which had sullied so many communes of the continent.

"We approached, however, the year of 1793! The sentiments of Paoli against France manifested themselves more openly every day. Every day he became more discontented with us, and less certain of per-

suading us to join him in the defection which he meditated. The catastrophe of the 21st of January gave the perishing blow to his hatred. He shook with rage—he could no longer contain himself. 'Behold,' said he, 'your French wallowing in innocent blood! Behold them! Well, will you still dare to defend them? I can no longer bear it. The sons of Charles can never be capable of abandoning me. But the brothers must decide: they must choose between France and me. But there is no longer any France. The monsters have destroyed all that merited to live.... They have murdered their king, the best of men ..... *A saint.... A saint.... A saint!...* (He repeated with increasing ardour at every word.) Corsica will have no more to do with them, neither will I. Let them keep themselves their blood-stained liberty: it was not made for my brave mountaineers: it were better to return to the Genoese. I expect you, brothers—and woe to him who shall pronounce in favour of that horde of brigands! I will not own one of them; no, not one; not even the sons of Charles!'

"I still behold the ardent old man: his countenance sparkled, his anger appeared to enlarge him. His error was deplorable, since he saw in our immortal revolution only the crimes of the Reign of Terror. It was in vain that we told him that the execrable regicide of Charles the First had not prevented the establishment of English liberty after a time. He would not hear us. But the motive which misled him was as pure as his soul. He was wrong in despairing of the fortune of France—of seeing the salvation of his country only in the union with England, which he esteemed above all other nations. He deceived himself with regard to the future: but he never ceased, notwithstanding his error, to be worthy of himself. Those who have explained his conduct as arising from motives of vulgar ambition, did not know him. Peace, honour, and glory to his ashes! They are worthy of the pantheon of a great and free nation..... They are worthy to repose beneath the roof of Westminster Abbey."—vol. i, pp. 14—16.

This single extract at once conveys a striking evidence of the Prince's independent and honourable sentiments, which is never opposed by any statement or reasoning in the volume. His principles, however, were stronger than the ties of admiration or friendship. But the great body of the islanders said, "Let Paoli govern us! Death to his enemies!" It was time, therefore, for the disciples of the revolutionary school to think of providing for themselves. But scarcely had Lucien departed from Corsica, at the head of a deputation of the popular society, to solicit the aid of the Jacobins on the Continent, when

"The horn of the islanders resounded in every valley, and its menacing voice carried defiance even to the ramparts of Ajaccio. My mother had at that time with her only her two youngest sons, three daughters and her brother, the Cardinal Fesch. But it was not the first time that she had performed the part of both father and mother to her family; and she again displayed that firm and courageous spirit which had distinguished her in her early years, during the wars of independence. She provided for all like an expert chieftain; she dispatched numerous messages

to Joseph and Napoléon, both by sea and land, and gave notice that they would soon arrive in the port, with the representatives of the people, and succeeded in neutralising the partizans of Paoli in the town.

"But this great chief had not forgotten the art of making the most of time. To regain us or to stop us, he determined to have the most precious hostages; and while waiting for the French fleet, my mother was upon the point of falling into the hands of irritated enemies.

"Awakened suddenly in the middle of the night, she beheld her chamber filled with armed mountaineers .... She at first imagined that she was surprised by her enemies; but by the light of a torch of fir, which fell upon the countenance of the chief, she felt re-assured: it was Costa of Bastelica, the most devoted of our partizans. 'Quick, make haste, Signora Letizia; Paoli's men are close upon you; you have not a moment to lose; but here I am with all my men. We will save you, or perish with you!'"—vol. i, pp. 18, 19.

The mother and her remaining children effected the narrowest escape to the Continent; nor had they got clear from the island ere they beheld their house in flames; which when announced to her she magnanimously and prophetically replied, "Ah! never mind, we will build it up again much better: *Vive la France.*"

Our author, at the head of the deputation, was soon wafted to Marseilles, and instantly repaired to the popular society that was there held. Every step he now takes, carries him forward as an actor in the revolution; but one who abhorred all violence, and who was by one party thought by far too moderate, and by another not decided and resolute. The character and conduct of many of the French Jacobins, however, very soon disgusted him. We left him at Marseilles.

"In a vast saloon, which admitted very little light, were seated the members of the society, all of them with red-caps upon their heads. The galleries were filled with noisy women. As soon as the president had announced that a deputation of patriots from Corsica were the bearers of important news, a hearing was allowed us, and I was called to the tribune before I had thought of what I had to say. I began by declaring that the nation was betrayed in Corsica, and that we were come to invoke the aid of our brothers. As I was ignorant at that moment of the flight of our family, I did not then feel any personal hatred against Paoli: I wished to keep fair with him; but the acclamations from the galleries augmented in proportion to the violence of my words, and, for the first time, I experienced how much the passions of those who listen have power over those who speak. Carried away by the cries and applauses from the galleries, I soon began to talk in a manner calculated to increase their excitement. It was not only a speedy succour that I demanded, but I painted Paoli as having abused the national confidence, and as having only returned into his island that he might deliver it up to the English. They, above all, were not spared in my figures of rhetoric. It was the chord most likely to touch the feelings of my auditors, and I made it my favourite theme. I was overpowered with caresses and compliments; they would not let me quit

the tribune; and I chattered away for about two hours at random. Motion upon motion succeeded one after the other. An order for printing my speech, a message to the administrators of the department to send troops to the aid of Ajaccio, a deputation of three members to accompany us to the Jacobins of Paris, to denounce the treason of Paoli, and to demand vengeance; all these measures were adopted with rejoicing and unanimity. My colleagues not having funds sufficient for the journey to Paris, I determined upon accompanying the deputies of Marseilles alone, and we left the assembly together at midnight.

"Solitude and repose having calmed my mind, the image of that Paoli, who for so long a time had been the object of my worship, began to trouble my inmost soul, in a manner that very much resembled remorse. I called to mind our conversations at Mostino; I had been uttering without premeditation sentiments in direct opposition to those which for several months I had heard proceed from lips which I revered. Furious cries against Paoli had replied to my impassioned eloquence. They had associated with me, to accompany me to Paris, a set of men, whose repulsive aspect, savage language, and the *ton* of the *Halles* in their manners, had disagreeably surprised me. After an agitated sleep, I awoke discontented and undecided. The Marseilles deputies came to fetch me to breakfast with them at the café: I followed them. They conducted me to the Cannebière, the principal street of Marseilles. I admired that long place, surrounded with superb edifices. An immense crowd of men, women, and children, were walking, and pushing against each other to get on. I inquired of one of the *Brothers* and *Friends*,* if it was a day of festival. 'O no,' he replied with great tranquillity, 'it is only about twenty aristocrats, who are giving us a little trouble: don't you see them?' I looked in the direction to which he pointed.... and I beheld the guillotine, red with blood, at work!.... There were some of the richest merchants whom they had for above a quarter of an hour been murdering! and that crowd, whom their bounty had so often fed, were then walking in the street of the Cannebière, to enjoy the spectacle! and the shops were full of customers as usual, and the cafés were open!.... and the cakes and gingerbread were circulating around us as upon the day of a fair!!! Never shall I forget the first time I walked in the streets of Marseilles."—vol. i, pp. 23—26.

The republic had been but for a few months in existence; but says the author, its arms, victorious over foreigners, plunged deeper every day into its own vitals. The scene which Lucien has above described, induced the resolution not to go to Paris at that time along with such deputies as were about to start from Marseilles. His fugitive mother and family soon arrived, deprived of every resource, but full of courage and in good health. Joseph, Napoleon, and he himself, continues the Prince, struggled against their ill fortune; Napoleon devoting the chief part of his salary, as an officer of the artillery, towards the support of the family, while, under the title of

"* Name which the Jacobins gave themselves.—*Note of the translator.*"

refugees, they obtained rations of bread. But we need not now attempt, after giving a fair index of the author's early history, and of his undisguised character, to trace, with anything like an unbroken account, the progress of events, or the share which he and his brothers had in their development. Some light as to his political creed is, however, called for; and this is afforded, in speaking of the year 1796, when, though appointed to repair to Munich, Brussels, and Holland, on public business, he occupied himself principally in reading political journals and pamphlets. It was now that he became an admirer of the Directorial Government, and of the two chambers.

"Until that period my sentiments had not kept pace with the prevailing opinion; but I then found it accorded with my own. Here at last, I said to myself, is a republic! The division of power is the gaurantee of our liberty. At the general quarters of the armies, I was very fond of making speeches, and frequently got into quarrels with the jacobins or the royalists. Soon the glory of Napoléon, who had just terminated in a few days his first campaign of Italy, that wonderful glory covered me with its brilliancy; my chief paid me a great deal of attention, and they excused both my indolence in my administration, and my eternal discussions. I obtained the friendship of the general-in-chief, Tilly, who commanded at Brussels, and that of the excellent General Eblé, commandant of the artillery at Malines, with whom I remained above a year. The last, above all, was an honest and sincere republican, and agreed perfectly with me in my sentiments; we were strictly united in friendship. We thought the republic was established by the new constitution; the hatred with which it inspired the two extreme factions was its highest commendation.

"These impressions of my youth may have left me some prejudices; I owe to them, perhaps, an erroneous opinion upon the directorial *régime;* but I still wish to think that the *régime* was not so bad, and that, if the different factions would have yielded to it, the great republic was founded upon a solid basis. As I have nothing to say of myself that merits public attention, having been, until 1798, out of all political employment, I may be permitted to speak of my opinions. Those opinions of 1796 and 1797, have been confirmed by succeeding events; and, notwithstanding all the ill that has been said of the directorial constitution, I think now, as I did then, that a good Frenchman, and a reasonable man, might be a sincere partizan of a republic founded upon so good a legislative basis. If, notwithstanding these bases, the constitution could not resist the internal convulsions and military reverses, it is only to the relative weakness of an executive power, too moveable, to which it must be attributed; and also with a small portion of good fortune in 1798, and less violence among the parties, the directorial *régime* might have completed the revolution and perfected it by gradual and pacific ameliorations. This assertion will, without doubt, appear difficult to reconcile with the 18th Brumaire. Yet, notwithstanding, the 18th Brumaire, properly considered, fully confirms it. It is what I hope to develope in the course of these Memoirs."—vol. i, pp. 62—64.

It does not appear to us, that the wars in which France was involved, or the condition of parties, or the fluctuating passions of the French mind, at the periods included by the speculations now offered, or that certain of the Prince's succeeding theories at all admit of the opinions here expressed. There are, in truth, assumptions and conjectures in the above extract, which are idle; for nothing has occurred in the history of France since the existence of the Directorial Constitution, to confirm this sort of speculation, or to lend it more weight than a laboured image of the fancy.

The present volume does not contain many notices that are novel or particularly interesting respecting Napoleon, unless we take everything said of such a remarkable man, and by such an authority as that of a brother, to be important. We insert the following statement upon this general ground.

"Napoléon, in one of those congés which he went to pass at Ajaccio, (it was, I believe, in 1790,) had composed a history of the revolutions of Corsica, of which I wrote two copies, and of which I much regret the loss. One of those manuscripts was addressed by him to the Abbé Raynal, whom my brother had known on his passage to Marseilles. Raynal found the work so extremely remarkable, that he decided upon communicating it to Mirabeau, who, on returning the manuscript, wrote to Raynal, that this little history appeared to him to announce a genius of the first order. The reply of Raynal accorded with the opinion of the great orator, and Napoléon was enchanted. I have made a great many researches in vain to find those manuscripts: they were, perhaps, destroyed in the burning of our house by the troops of Paoli."—vol. i, pp. 71, 72.

And here is a burst of fraternal affection, in which all admirers of Napoleon's genius will participate. The Prince has been speaking of Corsica and Paoli.

"In the course of a few days, we learnt that the whole island had revolted, and that Paoli, in despair, had taken refuge in London, where he received, till his last hour, that respect which was his due. They even wished to perpetuate that respect by erecting to his memory a tomb in Westminster Abbey. It is also in an English tomb that Napoléon reposes!!! But what a tomb! What a vengeance! O eternal shame to free men, who become the instruments of despotic kings! I fear not, noble British nation, although amidst ye, to let this fraternal cry escape me. I have travelled in your provinces; and in your palaces—in your houses, and in your cottages—I have often been affected with the sight of the image of Napoléon... and I have exclaimed a hundred times, on beholding it, 'Here is what attests the sentiment of reparation in a nation that knows how to appreciate a hero!' Those who confined, and suffered the victim to die, upon the rock of St. Helena—did they show themselves worthy of the great people whom they governed?"—vol. i, pp. 73, 74.

The author thinks, that with reference to the Directorial Government, Napoleon's expedition to Egypt was a false step. He admits that it was very justifiable in a conqueror to spring towards the

Nile, which promised the abasement, though perhaps distant, yet certain, of London and Petersburgh, but holds that the "dazzling perspective, so natural, so noble, so heroic for Napoleon, to whom repose was a burthen," completely changed its aspect when taken in a point of view with respect to the then existing state of things at home; and among others, for this one reason, that it was a part of the government's responsibility to moderate the ardour of its heroes, and to direct, instead of following them with the enthusiasm of the battle-field, or with the weakness of an uneasy and subdued magistracy. The brother and the republican seem very interestingly contrasted in these sentiments.

After Lucien became a member of the legislative body, we have very many of the speeches and harangues which he delivered in that capacity—a monthly summary of his proceedings, together with the observations which he has since seen proper to add to these proceedings, and other public transactions of which he was immediately cognizant, filling up his chapters. We quote a specimen of sagacious reasoning, and which is not destitute of metaphysical acumen, on the subject of political oaths. The extract indeed will afford a very fair example of the author's more laboured modes of thought and expression.

"As regards political conscience, there are but two principles—the divine right, (which, in its last analysis, is, perhaps, reduced to theocracy,) and the popular right, which depends upon the suffrages of men. These two principles, which are divided in the world, are alone worthy of an oath; and it is to one or another of these three principles that all political oaths do, and must, in reality, have reference. It is absurd, in fact, to invoke heaven to maintain a form of administration of government; for a principle admits of a thousand forms. It is absurd to make oath to a man, for that man, however absolute he may be, (president, consul, king, or emperor,) commands under certain conditions, the violation of which justly causes his downfall. When a government fails in the performance of its own obligations, the governed no longer owe it any duty. The oath of fidelity made to a man is then only nonsense, since the oath to the charter might exact the violation of the oath to the prince. There is, then, a manifest contradiction between the oath to the social compact, and the oath to the magistrate, that your first oath might force you to abjure. The moral inviolability of a magistrate can never be absolute, which history has proved; and he cannot alter the evidence of the real contradiction between the two oaths, except in the question of the Arragonese oath: '*If not, no.*'—It is not more reasonable to swear fidelity to an assembly, which is only a collective magistrate. That assembly, if it was even invested with the constituent power, has for its limits the mandate of its constituents. Thus the oath which was nominally taken to that assembly, was only taken, in effect, to the elective principle, and to the sovereignty of the people.

"It is quite natural that forms should change: they depend upon a thousand circumstances. Principles alone should remain unalterable;

and they alone merit the oath of fidelity. The powers which the sovereign can change, have only the right of a promise of obedience, which ceases to exist as soon as the magisterial power is revoked. Thus, the only persons who have forfeited their political faith, are those who have changed their principles. It is the faithful, brought up in the adoration of kings, almost as much as in the fear of God, and who from fickleness, from discontent, or from ambition, pass over to the popular camp; or popular men, who pass over from the camp to the divine right. I do not mean to say that one may not change a principle with good faith; but, to be free from reproach, they should consent to make a solemn abjuration, the same as when they change a religion. I only mean, that, notwithstanding the thousand oaths that have been taken to so many different charters within these fifty years, we must infinitely reduce the number of the guilty; the past generation was as good as the present. The fault of this sacrilegious play with oaths, does not belong to individuals, but to the legislative nonsense of lavishing oaths on forms of government, instead of restricting them to two principles. That error is not yet destroyed: and as long as it exists, there will be nearly as many nominal perjuries as there are public men who survive several social organizations. Let us hope that a good law may put an end to this scandal!"—vol. i. pp. 127—129.

These sentiments were uttered in a speech delivered in the course of a motion of order for the Cisalpine republic, and he confesses that he uttered them at the time, because the government supported opposite views; thus, says he, applying a formula to defeat an object that was unworthy of it, and profaning that which was sacred. This is honest, and like the plain dealing with his readers which the work uniformly displays; but he is not less communicative and shrewd, when speaking of certain figures of speech which flourished in his harangue, such as "the spectres of discord and aristocracy."

"In speaking of discord, I expressed a very clear idea; and unfortunately I spoke only a melancholy truth. But what did I then mean by aristocracy? It was not the aristocracy of the peerage; for the Directory did not think of again raising at Milan that privileged caste. The question was only a reduction amongst the functionaries. It was to that reduction, then, that I gave the terrible epithet of an aristocratical measure. The measure was, notwithstanding, ill chosen: it tended only to strengthen the cradle of the Italian republic, and not to deliver it up into the hands of the enemies of the aristocracy. My figure of rhetoric was then but an imaginary spectre: notwithstanding, it had more effect than solid reasoning. Strange power of certain words in revolutions! Magic power, sometimes beneficial, too often fatal! No word had a greater influence amongst us than that of aristocrat. The anathema against aristocracy, born in 1789, has not yet grown old in 1836! It is always the same word; but to what different ideas, and often the most opposite, has it not been applied!..... In 1789, it indicated the defenders of the abuses of the ancient *régime*, the blind partizans of the re-union of all the powers in one single hand. And since that, they have transferred it in turn to the wisest defenders of the liberty of the new *régime*, and to

the enlightened partizans of the division and equilibrium of powers. The ministers of Louis XVI. Necker, Malesherbes, Roland; Bailly, Lafayette, the Feuillants, the Girondins, the Moderates—in one word, all those who were overthrown, received in turn that cruel epithet, the preface to the scaffold. We had passed those deplorable crises: but the word, though it had ceased to be mortal, had not ceased to be equally odious. It would have been very unwise not to let fly that arrow at one's adversaries. I did like the rest: all who were meant to be held up to public hatred were branded with that appellation. We bore some resemblance to the good people of lower Brittany, who were so much occupied with the idea of the Gabelle, that they beheld it everywhere, even in the clock which Madame de Sevigné received from Paris! We must, however, (except we prefer an absolute to a modified monarchy,) end by reconciling ourselves with the Gabelle!"—vol. i, pp. 130—132.

The Prince elsewhere remarks, in terms worthy of his own character, and we must add, worthy of careful examination by many of our own public men, "that the mania of daily opposition to a government in the administrative measures that it claims for the public service, has often proved fatal: it appears a noble proof of independence; but it is, perhaps, too often, though we do not own it to ourselves, only a spirit of egotism in a body or an individual." Again, "the obstacles raised against the administration (above all in grave cases), are far more prejudicial to the governed, than to those who govern. They weaken those whom they ought to strengthen; it is like distracting the attention of a pilot while he is passing amidst the rocks and quicksands." He continues to argue, that if the pilot is skilful, he should be let alone; but if unskilful, it is necessary to aid him, till the precise moment that our safety requires another guide; and then, to strike promptly and decisively is the best policy. In so far as general and paper measures can go, there is sententious wisdom in these rules. He, however, applies them to the Directorial epoch in France, and that of 1830, which offer striking examples, to his apprehension, of different social maladies.

"The Directory, exposed to incessant attacks, resisted as well as it could; but it was weakened and languishing, it vegetated more than it governed; and the republic, fallen into a state of marasmus, was on the point of expiring beneath the Tartar pikes of Suwarrow. In 1830, on the contrary, by a vigorous and rapid movement, they changed the chief who had broken the fundamental compact of his authority, and who, to the eve of that change, they had not refused all support and power. They changed; and that crisis, if it had received the sanction of universal voting, would be the most irreproachable crisis of the revolution. Our long opposition of 1798, was, I believe, fatal to France, by weakening the chiefs in the moment of danger. We ought to have aided them, or to have changed them sooner. The opposition of 1830 was wiser than we were. It left to the government the means of strength and defence to the last hour; but the resolution to overturn it, (if it persisted in error,) augmented silently in every heart; the crisis once desired by the majority, the famous

ordinances were only the occasion, well chosen, and quickly taken advantage of. Let us be better advised than to endeavour to weaken the goverment at an unseasonable time—let us aid it as long as we keep it; that it may be strong, not for itself, but that its weakness may not touch the heart of the state. If it becomes guilty of an outrage against the sovereign, of which it is only the first magistrate, let opinion, inevitable and supreme strength of civilised societies, arise and increase, calm and terrible, in the bottom of all hearts, until the day marked by Providence, when, become general and therefore irresistible, it shall reveal itself suddenly in one of those bursts of thunder which clear the horizon. While we await that day, '*Manet altâ mente repostum.*'"—vol. i, pp. 147, 148.

Coming from such a quarter, these opinions are important, and what now follow are particularly so, although their consistency with certain aristocratical prepossessions elsewhere expressed in these pages is not apparent.

"His majesty the king of the French can and ought to terminate the revolution of July, by the free and universal vote of the nation: he can, for he reigns in peace, and with undisputed approbation; he ought, for that popular consecration would fortify his throne. It would be as useful to his family as to France; it would cleanse the great nation from the affront of not having been consulted upon the change of her dynasty. For if, since 1830, and nothwithstanding some excessive rigours, the present government has merited the praises of every impartial man, for having known how to preserve internal and external peace, it is not the less evident to every eye, that at this moment the French throne is yet between the *quasi* legitimacy of divine right, and the *quasi* legitimacy of the popular right. Its power has not been consecrated either by the elevation upon the shield, which was the universal suffrage of the ancient Franks; nor by the hereditary coronation, the legitimacy of past times; nor by the national vote, the legitimacy of new times.

"If, immediately after the 30th of July, government shrank from universal voting, this may be explained by reasons that our contemporaries know, and which are useless to mention. But at this time, after five years of exterior peace, and material amelioration, now that factions are vanquished, or rendered powerless, what is there to fear in legitimatising? Is France descended so low that it is possible to dispense with her vote? If the new government of our fine country would at length submit itself to the popular voting, it would confirm and strengthen itself; and all parties would surround with conviction the elect of the people. If, on the contrary, it refuses to render homage to that sovereign whom in our age it is in vain to disown..... I wish to deceive myself; .... but the abysss of a revolution is inevitably about to open before us; and the counsellors of the crown, who do not endeavour to engage it to bend before that popular sovereignty, draw upon their own heads all the responsibility of the struggles which threaten every government that is ill-seated. To persist in not consulting France, would be showing that they do not regard the 30th of July as a revolution, but as a personal catastrophe. Now the three days are really glorious, because they overturned the government of divine right to raise in its place a government of

popular right; because for a charter granted by the king, they have substituted a charter proposed by the legislative chambers. The ordinances were only the occasion of that revolution of principles; and, to make it complete, it should be sanctioned by the sovereign people, whose power it acknowledged in raising the banner of 1789, and 1791, of the republic, of the consulate, and the empire."—vol. i, pp. 259—261.

This is jumbling incongruities together, or rather, it is putting that for a cause which, according to the state of political opinion and fervour in France, can only be an effect. In the meanwhile, the representation of property, not of persons, forms an essential feature in the French constitution, which is an aristocracy of privileged persons, to all intents and purposes.

The Prince takes notice of what may be said concerning his continually insisting upon being allowed to re-enter France, when conjoined with his opinions, some of which we have copied, regarding the condition and prospects of that country. How, it may be asked, can he demand to live under the charter which founded the throne of the King of the French? His answer is, that he desires to return as a citizen, subject to the existing laws of his country.

"Because those laws, such as they have been made by the legislative assemblies, although not sanctified by the popular baptism, offer, nevertheless, a social state, which, without being perfect, appears to me to be preferable to many others, and, above all, preferable to exile; because the present royal government, created and sustained by the unanimous suffrages of several legislative chambers, possesses in consequence the votes of the two hundred thousand electors, who have at this moment in France the legal privilege of political right; because this state of things, which is neither the best nor the worst, is agreeable to the French people, (as is demonstrated by the numerous adhesions, and the tacit consent of all;) it does not belong to a simple citizen to refuse obedience to the laws which his country finds suitable. But this obedience does not carry with it the conviction, that those laws are invested with popular legitimacy;—it does not oblige one to believe that the vote of the deputies of two hundred thousand electors is equal to the vote of several millions of citizens;—it does not in the least prevent them from desiring that the universal suffrage, in which those laws are deficient, should be given to them. Let them no longer delay that national sanction."—vol. i, pp. 262, 263.

We can well believe the assertion which the author utters, regarding a British statesman, viz. that no man was more detested, during the French revolution and the republic, than the son of Chatham, "to whom all our evils, whatever they might be, were attributed." The compliment is just such as the admirers of Pitt will relish. But the hatred seems not to have been permanent on the part of our author, not can it be in the case of any one who bears such attestations to that statesman's sagacity, and to the

present happiness and greatness of England, as he does. When speaking of the union of England and Ireland, he refers to the reason of state, which he calls, "calm and profound," that the minister gave, in reply to Sheridan's question, "What will become of Ireland?" "Ireland," replied Pitt, "will become the country of England: she will make one common country with us and Scotland: she will partake of all the good that we enjoy." Without entering upon the nature, the policy, or consequences of that union, every British heart must respond to the Prince's ardent prayer, and love him the more for uttering it, when he exclaims, "For the honour of humanity, for the interest of those people that are now become the ally of France—for those people, where reigns for all, true and equal liberty, may policy, justice, and tolerance, produce such a redressing and conservative result, that the great measure of the union may become the brightest title of glory to the son of Chatham."

Of the few anecdotes illustrative of the character of the great actors, during the French *revolution and republic*, we cite two regarding Sièyes.

"In the history of M. Thiers, except the exclusive application of the title of patriots to the Jacobins, (a grave error, which cannot be too much condemned,) the author traces a brilliant picture of the Directory at that period, true upon the whole, but several of the figures in the first plan resemble it very little. It is in describing that which we have not seen ourselves, that the truth of the details are difficult to lay hold of. How did M. Thiers learn that Sièyes, infatuated with what he had seen in Prussia, tired his colleagues by repeating constantly—'*It is not thus that they do at Berlin!*' This information was furnished him, without doubt, by interested contemporaries, who were not too faithful. I saw Sièyes every day, and if he had vaunted Berlin in this stupid manner to us, we should have smiled with contempt; notwithstanding our ancient esteem for the orator of the *tiers état*, we should have said that he was in his dotage! and far from listening to him with respect, we should have quickly sought another chief. No minister was ever less infatuated with a court: surrounded with the most fatal prejudices, our ambassador had learnt how to conquer them by a simplicity worthy of the great republic. He had placed himself far above the pitiful intrigues of a court. The day upon which, by means of some little stratagems, they succeeded in making the ambassador of another power take for a moment the first place, Sièyes sat down quietly, and said only with a loud voice, '*It is of little consequence where I am: the place which is occupied by the ambassador of the French people always becomes the first.*' If they choose to find infatuation in this great citizen, let it not be, at least, the ridiculous infatuation of being a courtier at Berlin. It is true, that Sièyes always had numerous detractors. He was not gifted with the genius of intrigue, without which we are rarely appreciated at a just value. Many of his rivals thought themselves equal to him, or at least pretended to think so: they succeeded sometimes in making others believe it, and in

putting his superiority in doubt. They repeated elsewhere the words of Talleyrand, the inexhaustible author of piquant sallies :—'I hear for ever talked of the *profound* head of the Director Sièyes ! .... *It is hollow*, they mean to say, without doubt.' The witty author of that epigram possessed too much solid wisdom not to find very *hollow* a policy, of which the best legislation of the republic was the only principle. We all laughed at his *bon-mot*; but the heads really *hollow* were those who took a pun for a reason."—vol. i, pp. 294—296.

We do not think that Lucien Bonaparte makes himself easily understood, or reconciles his several opinions in various consecutive passages towards the close of this his first volume. He argues strongly, for example, in behalf of universal suffrage. He holds, that the brightest page of ancient history bore the inscription of christianism, "Liberty to the slaves;" that the brightest page of intermediate times was, "Enfranchisement to the serfs:" and that, at the end of the last century, it was, "Emancipation of the non-proprietors." The Prince's defence of his brother's career and popularity, if not strictly compatible with preceding doctrines, or the constitution which he afterwards recommends for the imitation of France, is at least eloquent. We cite a portion of it.

"What books, the works of falsehood, of hatred, or frivolity, calumniate the intentions, confound the epochs, and disfigure the history! 'Look,' they say, 'at the despotism of the empire, the wars without end, the invasions of France. It is Sièyes, it is the men of Brumaire, who are responsible for it all.' But if you will attribute to us the faults of the empire, notwithstanding our absence, it is not just, by way of compensation, to attribute to us also a part of its glory !.... Ah ! who in that case would refuse being bound ? .... The empire ! ... But in what century, under what *régime*, was France greater, more glorious, more prosperous ? Where is the Frenchman, Liberal, Carlist, Blue, or Vendean, who would efface from our history the glorious records of the empire ?—Is there one amidst the thirty millions of French hearts, that does not beat with patriotic pride in thinking of the days of the empire ? He must be seized with a vertigo, who would attempt to appropriate to himself the least in the world so many wonders to which he had not the happiness of contributing; but it would be rather too philosophical to suffer the errors or the wrongs to be imputed to which he had not contributed.

"Besides, though a stranger to the good or ill of the empire, may I not be permitted to reply to him who finds *the ashes of Napoléon well placed at St. Helena*, and to those who, like him, like to see only spots in the sun? Napoléon, without doubt, was not infallible. Spain and Russia attacked at the same time, Holland and Italy awaiting in vain their deliverance, the chief of religion persecuted after having crowned the elect of the people—these have not occasioned reproaches without some appearance of truth. And yet, what a series of adverse combinations there needed to change into disaster the victorious campaign of Russia ? If the inconceivable peace of Bucharest—that fault, so capital and so improbable, from which the Porte will never again perhaps arise—had not sent behind us a new Russian army, or that the allied corps of Austria had held it in

respect—if a northern prince, born a Frenchman, after having at first defended, with justice, the interests of his adoptive country, had stopped at the cries of distress of three hundred thousand Frenchmen, struck with the most dreadful scourge—if the freezing cold had not commenced a month sooner than ordinary—if the flames kindled by hands patriotically, heroically, barbarous, had not devoured Moscow conquered—and Napoléon had found general peace, maritime peace, in those deserts of disastrous memory... then France, Europe, posterity, would not have found sufficient language to celebrate the Russian war; and the powers of the continent, and England herself, would not at this moment look at Greece, Egypt, and the Bosphorus, with so much anxiety."—vol. i, pp. 364—366.

But who, after all that precedes, from the page when Paoli gave offence by expatiating on the happiness of England, and the beauty of her constitution, down to the last quoted passage, would expect the admissions and recommendations which follow?

"But, in England, I have been convinced that a monarchy, *really* constitutional, is requisite for a great people, as much, and more, perhaps, than any other form of government. We see here (if not the best) at least a good and happy republic; not in a programme, but in facts and manners:—The legislative power, wisely divided amongst three authorities, who exercise, without obstacle, their own prerogatives;—the executive power, having all the authority to do good, and not having, and not seeking, to do evil;—the judiciary power is so completely independent, that the most obscure individual, as well as the richest lord, the most illustrious or the most humble exile of the continent, repose equally in security, beneath the guarantee of the jury that no sacrilegious attack can tarnish, and beneath the inviolability of the domicile that no wretch can violate;—the elective chamber, named by eight hundred thousand electors over a population of twenty-five millions, which, without being the universal suffrage, approaches five times nearer to it than we do, since we ought to have in that proportion more than a million of electors! The chamber of peers, in fine, is accessible to every citizen, and too powerful and too enlightened to yield to the seductions of courts, or the clamours of the multitude. These hereditary magistrates have been for above a century and a half the defenders of the charter, the immortal work of their ancestors. Their tutelary supremacy will long continue to be the palladium of the British liberties;—provided they never cease to oppose an immovable resistance to the overflowing torrent of demagogical opinions, that a social overthrow can alone satisfy:—provided they do not abandon their ground, to defend themselves feebly against that of their adversaries;—provided they follow always the high state reason, which judges in the first place of the effect of a new law upon the whole of the constitution, instead of considering solely that absolute perfection of theory, illusory enough sometimes to insinuate into the political body a mortal germ of dissolution, the seductive appearance of a salutary amelioration;—provided, above all, that the patrician toga be not dragged through the mud, or at least that it inspire no longer the same veneration that is felt for the royal mantle, or the elective house; for, (whether through error, thoughtlessness, or a false popularity,) to provoke, to contribute, or even to yield,

to the profanation, or to the subjection of one of the three fundamental authorities, would no longer be advancing in the path of a sage reform. Would it not be abjuring Old England and demolishing at its base that charter as yet without a rival in the ancient world, and whose vital strength resides in the *equal* independence, the *equal* respectability, the *equal* inviolability of the king, the lords, and commons?"—vol. i, pp. 371—373.

"Where, when," he afterwards asks, "shall we approach nearer to excellence? We thought on the 18th Brumaire to appproach nearer." "But France willed that the consular republic was but a bright dream of a few days;" and he adds, "may she at least perfect her monarchy, by reconciling herself with the system of an hereditary body, patriotically organized." America thus appears not to offer to Lucien Bonaparte the *beau ideal* of a national constitution, nor is there any form of republicanism, in his ripened judgment, so good for France as a throne established like that of Great Britain, surrounded with republican institutions—that is to say, according to his interpretation, with democratic and aristocratic institutions wisely balanced.

From the foregoing extracts, Prince Canino must appear a man of the most undisguised and honourable character, whatever may be thought of his wisdom, or *political consistency*. His sentiments are amiable, tolerant, and not unfrequently lofty: nor need another proof, beyond what we have adduced, be offered, to render him and his work favourites in this country.

ART. VIII.—*Elements of International Law: with a Sketch of the History of the Science.* By HENRY WHEATON, LL.D. Resident Minister from the United States in America to the Court of Berlin. 2 vols London: Fellowes. 1836.

THE phrase, "the law of nations," refers to a system of principles and rules which is of comparatively modern origin, or, at least, it never could lay claim to the rank of a science, till about the end of the sixteenth century. By this time the advancement of civilization had introduced great relaxation of the horrors of war, and better understood elements of international, federal, and social peace than had ever before been promulgated. The examples which had occurred, or which had been decided in the practice and intercourse of nations, were, by the period above mentioned, sufficiently numerous and instructive to enable some of the great men of that illustrious age, to concoct a system, to deduce such principles and rules, as amounted to a new branch of law, and a distinct science from any into which jurisprudence had previously been divided, not excepting even the triumphs of the Greeks and Romans in the kingdoms of knowledge. The truth is, that these nations were so

proud or so unenlightened upon the great claims of international justice, that all besides themselves were held to be barbarians, and unworthy of equal measures of treatment. Their public law amounted to this, that the instant they stepped beyond the limits of their own boastful country, all property might be confiscated, and the persons taken by force of arms doomed to slavery, unless restrained by some positive compact. Thucydides has laid it down, "that to a king or commonwealth, nothing is unjust which is useful;" and the Greeks acted up to the letter of the dictum. Nay, the Athenians deliberately devoted, at times by a public decree, to mutilation or death, those whom they captured, even when, according to their national prejudices, the victims were their own brethren, and belonging to one of the neighbouring republics of Greece. Every one knows how the Romans treated the captives of war, dooming them and their posterity to perpetual slavery, and dragging generals and kings at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror.

But in tracing the history of international law, the author before us has done justice to these same ruthless Romans, as regards the beauty and permanent influence of their municipal code in after ages, down to the present day, and throughout the greater part of civilized Europe; for the civil law, as that municipal code is pre-eminently and distinctively denominated, infused its spirit into the ecclesiastical or canon law of the Romish church, and thence a knowledge of the rules of justice became common amongst the priesthood, who were the only custodiers of knowledge and moral power. Among the same clergy, there also arose the art of casuistry, which was much practised to aid in performing the duties of auricular confession, and hence a wide field for speculation was opened, which led to the true science of ethics; so that even treatises on "Justice and Law" came to be written.

But there were other causes at hand, such as the discovery and conquests of the New World, which gave additional impulses to the public mind; and while the avarice of many was whetted, the inalienable rights of mankind made strong appeals to the hearts of a few, whose meditative habits and enlightened principles necessarily gathered strength from the enormities that were perpetrated by one race of men upon another. Even the very genius of commerce is propitious to society, and had given birth to written laws containing the long-established customs and usages of nations, especially those which bordered on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, ages before the discoveries spoken of were contemplated. But the great teacher and reformer of the science of international law, was the celebrated Hugo Grotius, who flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Of his principal forerunner, Albericus Gentilis, however, let us see what the author has to say—

"He was born in the March of Ancona, about the middle of the six-

teenth century, of an ancient and illustrious family. His father, being one of the few Italians who openly embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, was compelled to fly with his family into Germany, whence he sent his son *Alberico* to England, where he found, not only freedom of conscience, but patronage and favour, and was elected to fill the chair of jurisprudence at Oxford. He did not confine his attention to the Roman law, the only system then thought worthy of being taught in a scientific manner, (the municipal code being abandoned to the barbarous discipline of the inns of court, of which Sir Henry Spelman has left us so feeling an account;) but investigated the principles of natural jurisprudence, and of the consuetudinary law then governing the intercourse of christian nations. His attention was especially directed to this last, by the circumstance of his being retained as the advocate of Spanish claimants in the English courts of prize. The fruits of his professional labours were given to the world in the earliest reports of judicial decisions on maritime law published in Europe. His more scholastic and academical studies produced the first regular treatise upon the law of war, considered as a branch of international law, which appeared in modern times. This work served as a light to guide the path of the illustrious Grotius, when he entered upon and pursued the same track of investigation in the following century."—vol. i. pp. 15—17.

The renowned treatise by Grotius—*De Jure ac Pacis*—was written during his exile in France; for though he suffered much, owing to the party animosities in matters of religion between the Gomarists and Armenians, his toleration was so conspicuous, and so remarkable for the age in which he flourished, that when in exile he could be no longer directly useful, "he laboured," says our author, "to win men to the love of peace and justice, by the publication of his great work, which made a deep impression upon all the liberal-minded princes and ministers of that day, and contributed essentially to influence their public conduct. Alexander carried the Iliad of Homer in a golden casket, to inflame his love of conquest; whilst Gustavus Adolphus slept with the Treatise on the Laws of War and Peace under his pillow, in that heroic war which he waged in Germany for the liberties of Protestant Europe."

The new school of political philosophy which Grotius created was first cherished in Protestant Germany; but we need not enumerate the great cultivators of the science, either in that country or any other. Suffice it to mention, that a long period has elapsed since any standard publication has appeared on the subject, taken in all its bearings. Vattel's is a work of great authority, and highly appreciated, and among the latest. But since his time, what a variety and amount of light has been thrown upon the great principles of the science, by the unexampled vicissitudes of national affairs and interests! embracing, to use the author's words, "a portion of human history abounding in fearful transgressions of that law of

nations which is supposed to be founded on the higher sanction of the natural law (more properly called the law of God), and at the same time rich in instructive discussions in cabinets, courts of justice, and legislative assemblies, respecting the nature and extent of the obligations between the independent societies of men called states."

It becomes perfectly manifest, therefore, that there is a vast fund of materials, ready for the gathering of any one who desires and has the ability to illustrate the principles of international law, which have never been reduced to order, but which, if dexterously handled, may suggest new views, decide dubious points, and become of great practical utility ever after, if reduced to harmony. Accordingly, our author has written this elementary work, compiling from former authorities, and bringing to his aid the examples which the unappropriated materials of recent times offer, so as to enrich his contribution to the science. He declares, that his purpose principally is to be serviceable to those persons who are engaged in diplomatic and other forms of public life, rather than for technical lawyers; although for the latter, it is quite clear that these elements will be far from being useless.

It will at once be seen by every one who opens this work, and who has ever been in the slightest degree acquainted with the writings of jurists, that no ordinary man has here put forth his strength. He is familiar, as with household words, with what every high authority has delivered on every branch of the subject; and he writes with the precision, the clearness, and we might add, the ardour of one who loves his theme, and finds a delightful reward in expatiating upon it. We indeed think that his mastery over the principles and details of the science, is not more certain of obtaining for his performance an eminent character as a legal authority, in many curious and intricate international positions, but that his dignity of manner, and philosophical eloquence, will insure his popularity as a publicist, among those who are but tyros in the study so highly cultivated by him; thus will he confer upon society a measure of knowledge and of correct feeling, that cannot fail of being practically influential in the progress of civilization.

The law of nations has been said, three quarters of a century ago, in a celebrated British document, to be "founded upon justice, equity, convenience, and the reason of the thing." There has been a good deal of discussion upon the distinction between the principles of natural and international law; the former being held to consist of those rules which ought to govern the conduct of men, as moral and accountable beings, living in a social state, independently of positive human institutions; whereas the latter intimates something more and other, when applied to the conduct of independent states, considering each as individual moral beings: for human institutions

may vary in different states, and these peculiar institutions, usages, and practices must be observed in the intercourse of distinct nations. Accordingly, our author says international law consists "of those rules of conduct which reason deduces, as consonant to justice, from the nature of the society existing among independent nations; with such definitions and modifications as may be established by general consent." There is then no immutable law of nations, binding upon all mankind, whatever be their religion or condition.

"The ordinary *jus gentium* is only a particular law, applicable to a distinct set or family of nations, varying at different times with the change in religion, manners, government, and other institutions, among every class of nations. Hence the international law of the civilized, christian nations of Europe and America, is one thing; and that which governs the intercourse of the Mohammedan nations of the East with each other, and with Christians, is another and a very different thing. The international law of Christendom began to be fixed about the time of Grotius, when the combined influence of religion, chivalry, the feudal system, and commercial and literary intercourse, had blended together the nations of Europe into one great family. This law does not merely consist of the principles of natural justice applied to the conduct of states considered as moral beings. It may, indeed, have a remote foundation of this sort; but the immediate visible basis on which the public law of Europe, and of the American nations which have sprung from the European stock, has been erected, are the customs, usages, and conventions observed by that portion of the human race in their mutual intercourse.

"Many examples of the practical application of this theory will be found in the intercourse actually subsisting between Turkey and the Barbary states on the one hand, and the christian nations of Europe and America on the other; in which the latter have been sometimes content to take the law from the Mohammedans, and in others to modify the christian code in its application to them. Instances of this are to be found in the cases of the ransom of prisoners, the rights of ambassadors, and many others which will readily occur to the intelligent reader."—vol. i, pp. 50—52.

In hastily running through the successive Parts and Chapters of this elementary work, we pass entirely over many precise and valuable distinctions contained in the chapter that treats of "Sovereign States." We only remark, respecting this branch of the subject, that it contains a succinct and lucid account of the composition and constitution of the Germanic Confederation, a slight perusal of which would convey a great deal of information regarding its complicated character. The constitution of the United States of America, which is very different from the former, and the Swiss Confederation, are also briefly described. Let it be remembered, that a sovereign state is, to speak in general terms of definition, any nation, whatever may be the form of its internal constitution, which governs itself independently of foreign powers.

In Part Second, the author considers the "Absolute International Rights of States." The right of self-preservation is one of

the most apparent, under the head now mentioned—and that attitude of it which consists in self-defence the simplest case.

"This again involves the right to require the military service of all its people, to levy troops, and maintain a naval force, to build fortifications, and to impose and collect taxes for all these purposes. It is evident that the exercise of these absolute sovereign rights can be controlled only by the equal correspondent rights of other states, or by special compacts freely entered into with others to modify the exercise of these rights.

"Thus the absolute right to erect fortifications within the territory of the state has sometimes been modified by treaties, where the erection of such fortifications has been deemed to threaten the safety of other communities, or where such a concession has been extorted in the pride of victory by a power strong enough to dictate the conditions of peace to its enemy. Thus by the treaty of Utrecht between Great Britain and France, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and of Paris in 1763, the French government engaged to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk. This stipulation, so humiliating to France, was effaced in the treaty of peace concluded between the two countries in 1783, after the war of the American revolution. By the treaty signed at Paris in 1815, between the allied powers and France, it was stipulated that the fortifications of Huningen, within the French territory, which had been constantly a subject of uneasiness to the city of Basle in the Helvetic confederation, should be demolished, and should never be renewed or replaced by other fortifications at a distance of less than three leagues from the city of Basle."—vol. i, pp. 108, 109.

Hence it becomes manifest that the reciprocal relations of states may be wonderfully complicated, even when each is independent, or rather, there is no perfect independence at all, either among states, or in private society. But the right of self-preservation involves the right of intervention in certain cases; and here a field of almost unlimited scope is presented, for the evils of misapprehension, injustice, and oppression. It cannot be denied that an independent state has the inherent right to increase its wealth, population, and power by every means which do not injure or threaten to injure other states. But this threatening of danger, or supposed contingency, to what may it not lead? How often has it not been presumed to exist in undue aggrandizement, which would disturb what has been called the balance of power? The states of modern Europe have systematically kept an eye upon what was deemed to be the equilibrium of their respective forces, and resorted to the most prompt measures when it seemed to be disturbed. Hence the pretext for the most destructive wars that have been waged.

Among the recognised absolute rights of sovereign states, those of independence—such as in the exercise of judicial power—and those of equalit—yas in the observances regarding precedence among princes and states enjoying royal honours—are handled minutely by the author. Many contests have arisen upon this last mentioned subject; andt he manners of European society at different eras have

been curiously illustrated in this department, which admits so directly of the caprices of pride and vanity, such as those which men fantastically indulge during a little brief authority. It is not uninteresting to hear a citizen of the United States of America gravely discuss the rules which have been applied to this matter. He says—

"The text writers commonly assigned to what were called the great republics, who were entitled to royal honours, a rank inferior to crowned heads of that class; and the United Netherlands, Venice, and Switzerland, certainly did formerly yield the precedence to emperors and reigning kings, though they contested it with the electors and other inferior princes entitled to royal honours. But disputes of this sort have commonly been determined by the relative power of the contending parties, rather than by any general rule derived from the form of government. Cromwell knew how to make the dignity and equality of the English commonwealth respected by the crowned heads of Europe; and in the different treaties between the French republic and other powers, it was expressly stipulated that the same ceremonial as to rank and etiquette should be observed between them and France which had subsisted before the revolution.

"Those monarchical sovereigns who are not crowned heads, but who enjoy royal honours, concede the precedence on all occasions to emperors and kings.

"Monarchical sovereigns who do not enjoy royal honours yield the precedence to those princes who are entitled to these honours.

"Demi-sovereign or dependent states rank below sovereign states.

"These different points respecting the relative rank of sovereigns and states have never been determined by any positive regulation or international pact: they rest on usage and general acquiescence. An abortive attempt was made at the congress of Vienna to classify the different states of Europe, with a view to determine their relative rank. At the sitting of the 10th of December, 1814, the plenipotentiaries of the eight powers who signed the treaty of peace at Paris named a committee to which this subject was referred. At the sitting of the 9th of February, 1815, the report of the committee, which proposed to establish three classes of powers, relatively to the rank of their respective ministers, was discussed by the congress; but doubts having arisen respecting this classification, and especially as to the rank assigned to the great republics, the question was indefinitely postponed, and a regulation established determining the relative rank of the diplomatic agents of crowned heads.

"Where the rank between different states is equal or undetermined, different expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of avoiding a contest, and at the same time reserving the respective rights and pretensions of the parties. Among these is what is called the usage of the *alternat*, by which the rank and places of different powers is changed from time to time, either in a certain regular order, or one determined by lot. Thus, in drawing up public treaties and conventions, it is the usage of certain powers to *alternate*, both in the preamble and the signatures, so that each power occupies, in the copy intended to be delivered to it, the first place. The regulation of the congress of Vienna, above referred

to, provided that in acts and treaties between those powers which admit the *alternat*, the order to be observed by the different ministers shall be determined by lot.

"Another expedient which has frequently been adopted to avoid controversies respecting the order of signatures to treaties and other public acts, is that of signing in the order assigned by the *French* alphabet to the respective powers represented by their ministers."—vol. i, pp. 195—198.

Closely connected with the usages as to precedence, are the rules which obtain in fixing the titles of sovereign princes and states. It is not to be supposed that absolute rulers, though they have the power, of course, of assuming any title they choose, and of exacting its use from their own subjects, can enforce or demand a similar obedience by other states.

"Thus the royal title of King of Prussia, which was assumed by Frederick I. in 1701, was first acknowledged by the emperor of Germany, and subsequently by the other princes and states of Europe. It was not acknowledged by the Pope until the reign of Frederick William II. in 1786, and by the Teutonic knights until 1792, this once famous military order still retaining the shadow of its antiquated claims to the duchy of Prussia until that period. So also the title of Emperor of all the Russias, which was taken by the Czar Peter the Great, in 1701, was successively acknowledged by Prussia, the United Netherlands, and Sweden in 1723, by Denmark in 1732, by Turkey in 1739, by the emperor and the empire in 1745-6, by France in 1745, by Spain in 1759, and by the republic of Poland in 1764. In the recognition of this title by France, a reservation of the right of precedence claimed by that crown was insisted on, and a stipulation entered into by Russia in the form of a *Réversale*, that this change of title should make no alteration in the ceremonies observed between the two courts. On the accession of the Empress Catharine II. in 1762, she refused to renew this stipulation in that form, but *declared* that the imperial title should make no change in the ceremonial observed between the two courts. This declaration was answered by the court of Versailles in a counter-declaration, renewing the recognition of that title, upon the express condition that if any alteration should be made by the court of St. Petersburg, in the rules previously observed by the two courts as to rank and precedence, the French crown would resume its ancient style, and cease to give the title of Imperial to that of Russia.

"The title of emperor, from the historical associations with which it is connected, was formerly considered the most eminent and honourable among all sovereign titles; but it was never regarded by other crowned heads as conferring, except in the single case of the emperor of Germany, any prerogative or precedence over those princes."—vol. i, pp. 200, 201.

Napoleon Bonaparte might have furnished the author with some striking and more recent illustrations upon the heads now introduced, but the author seems to entertain a remarkable shyness respecting this ambitious ruler, for he hardly ever alludes to him individually or by name. Yet there has not in modern times, assuredly been a warrior, a diplomatist, or a king, that has contri-

buted so largely to the science of international law, first by confounding every antiquated principle, and substituting his own novelties, and then by leaving the whole in perplexity. When considering matters of etiquette and ceremony, those of a maritime character might be quoted, where it would be found that Great Britain has borne herself as haughtily and peremptorily as ever despot did within his own dominions. But when speaking of maritime ceremonials, we may extract a short passage, under the head of "Rights of Property," as belonging to sovereign states, in which the general law that regulates maritime territorial jurisdiction is laid down.

"The maritime territory of every state extends to the ports, harbours, bays, mouths of rivers, and adjacent parts of the sea enclosed by headlands belonging to the same state. The general usage of nations superadds to this extent of territorial jurisdiction a distance of a marine league, or as far as a cannon-shot will reach from the shore, along all the coasts of the state. Within these limits, its rights of property and territorial jurisdiction are absolute, and exclude those of every other nation.

"The term 'coasts' includes the natural appendages of the territory which rise out of the water, although these islands are not of sufficient firmness to be inhabited or fortified; but it does not properly comprehend all the shoals which form sunken continuations of the land perpetually covered with water. The rule of law on this subject is *terræ dominium finitur, ubi finitur armorum vis*; and since the introduction of fire-arms, that distance has usually been recognised to be about three miles from the shore."—vol. i, pp. 215, 216.

The exclusive territorial jurisdiction of the British crown over the enclosed parts of the sea along the coasts of the island of Great Britain has immemorially extended to those bays called the *King's chambers*; that is, portions of the sea cut off by lines drawn from one promontory to another. The maritime supremacy claimed by Britain over what are called the Narrow Seas, has generally been asserted merely by requiring certain honours to the British flag in those seas. These honours have been rendered or refused by other nations, according to circumstances.

After the "Absolute International Rights of States," the author treats of the "International Rights of States in their Pacific Relations;" these embrace Rights of Legation, and Rights of Negotiation and Treaties. Let us see how public ministers are classified by the Congress of Vienna, and that of Aix-la-Chapelle.

"1. Ambassadors, and papal legates or nuncios.

"2. Envoys, ministers, or others accredited to sovereigns, (auprès des souverains).

"3. Ministers resident accredited to sovereigns.

"4. Chargés d'Affaires accredited to the minister of foreign affairs.

"Ambassadors and other public ministers of the first class are exclusively entitled to what is called the *representative* character, being consi-

dered as peculiarly representing the sovereign or state by whom they are delegated, and entitled to the same honours to which their constituent would be entitled were he personally present. This must, however, be taken in a general sense, as indicating the sort of honours to which they are entitled; and the exact ceremonial to be observed towards this class of ministers depends upon usage, which has fluctuated at different periods of European history. There is a slight shade of difference between ambassadors ordinary and extraordinary; the former designation being exclusively applied to those sent on permanent missions, the latter to those employed on a particular or extraordinary occasion, or residing at a foreign court for an indeterminate period.

"The right of sending ambassadors is exclusively confined to crowned heads, the great republics, and other states entitled to royal honours.

"All other public ministers are destitute of that peculiar character which is supposed to be derived from representing generally the person and dignity of the sovereign. They represent him only in respect to the particular business committed to their charge at the court to which they are accredited.

"Ministers of the second class are envoys, envoys extraordinary, ministers plenipotentiary, envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, and internuncios of the pope.

"In the third class are included ministers, ministers resident, residents, and ministers chargés d'affaires accredited to sovereigns.

"Chargés d'affaires, accredited to the minister of foreign affairs of the court at which they reside, are either chargés d'affaires *ad hoc*, who are originally sent and accredited by their governments, or chargés d'affaires *par interim*, substituted in the place of the minister of their respective nations during his absence.

"According to the rule prescribed by the congress of Vienna, and which has since been generally adopted, public ministers take rank between themselves in each class according to the date of the official notification of their arrival at the court to which they are accredited.

"The same decision of the congress of Vienna has also abolished all distinctions of rank between public ministers arising from consanguinity, and family or political relations between their different courts.

"A state which has a right to send public ministers of different classes may determine for itself what rank it chooses to confer upon its diplomatic agents; but usage generally requires that those who maintain permanent missions near the government of each other should send and receive ministers of equal rank. One minister may represent his sovereign at different courts, and a state may send several ministers to the same court. A minister or ministers may also have full powers to treat with foreign states, as at a congress of different nations, without being accredited to any particular court.

"Consuls and other commercial agents, not being accredited to the sovereign or minister of foreign affairs, are not, in general, considered as public ministers; but the consuls maintained by the christian powers of Europe and America near the Barbary States are accredited and treated as public ministers."—vol. i, pp. 263—266.

A public minister has many privileges, such as being exempt

from local jurisdiction, both civil and criminal. His person is inviolable. Nay, he is supposed still to remain within the territory of his own sovereign, though at the court of another; and his children born abroad are considered as natives of his own country. Besides, not only the minister, but his family and suite enjoy these extraordinary privileges. Ever since the epoch of the Reformation, by convention or usage between the Catholic and Protestant nations of Europe, a minister is entitled to have his own private chapel, and to worship according to his own faith, though toleration may be forbidden by the general laws of the state where he resides. All these and kindred privileges, and indeed permanent diplomatic missions, mark the progress of modern civilization beyond by-gone ages; and now the rights of legation are definitely ascertained, and incorporated into the international code.

We pass over the Rights of Negotiation and Treaties, to insert, for the use of those of our readers who are curious about the art of diplomacy, the author's account of the best teachers of it.

"The art of negotiation seems, from its very nature, hardly capable of being reduced to a systematic science. It depends essentially on personal character and qualities, united with a knowledge of the world and experience in business. These talents may be strengthened by the study of history, and especially the history of diplomatic negotiations; but the want of them can hardly be supplied by any knowledge derived merely from books. One of the earliest works of this kind is that commonly called *Le Parfait Ambassadeur*, originally published in Spanish by Don Antonio de Vera, long time ambassador of Spain at Venice, who died in 1658. It was subsequently published by the author in Latin, and different translations appeared in Italian and French. Wicquefort's book, published in 1679, under the title of *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions*, although its principal object is to treat of the rights of legation, contains much valuable information upon the art of negotiation. Callieres, one of the French plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Ryswick, published in 1716, a work entitled *De la Manière de Negocier avec les Souverains*, which obtained considerable reputation. The Abbé Mably also attempted to treat this subject systematically, in an essay entitled *Principes des Negotiations*, which is commonly prefixed as an introduction to his *Droit Publique de l'Europe* in the various editions of the works of that author. A catalogue of the different histories which have appeared of particular negotiations would be almost interminable, but nearly all that is valuable in them will be found collected in the excellent work of M. Flassan, entitled *L'Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*. The late Count de Ségur's compilation from the papers of Favier, one of the principal secret agents employed in the double diplomacy of Louis XV., entitled *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe pendant les Règnes de Louis XV., et de Louis XVI.*, with the notes of the able and experienced editor, is a work which also throws great light upon the history of French diplomacy. A history of treaties from the earliest times to the emperor Charlemagne, collected from the ancient Latin and Greek authors, and from other monuments of antiquity, was

published by Barbeyrac in 1739. It had been preceded by the immense collection of Dumont, embracing all the public treaties of Europe from the age of Charlemagne to the commencement of the eighteenth century. The best collections of the more modern European treaties are those published at different periods by Professor Martens, of Göttingen, including the most important public acts upon which the present conventional law of Europe is founded. To these may be added Koch's *Histoire abregée des Traités de Paix depuis la Paix de Westphalie*, continued by Schöll. A complete collection of the proceedings of the congress of Vienna has also been published in German, by Klüber."—vol. i, pp. 324—327.

The last great division of the author's treatise is upon the "International Rights of States in their Hostile Relations;" which occupies the whole of the second volume, as it ought to do, from its paramount importance. We can, of course, only snatch a few paragraphs from it.

Such are the conflicting interests of mankind, and so numerous their relations, that not only has the art of war become an intricate and engrossing study, but there is a code of principles which civilized nations have recognised, that point out its limits—when hostilities may lawfully be commenced, how conducted, and how terminated. The rigours of the most violent contentions are thus mitigated and reduced to something like a system, upon the observance of which, the opposing generals may often calculate with certainty; for, independent of the ameliorating influence of civilization, the fear of retaliation for every breach of conventional laws affords generally a sufficient security for the observance of them. Besides, no civilized or Christian nation can disregard them without incurring much obloquy, and the hazard of provoking the wrath of other communities—considerations which affect the sensibilities of mankind very nearly.

Independent nations, are not like single individuals in society, as regards the redress of grievances. The latter have certain remedies at hand, afforded by the laws of each country; but there is no common arbiter or judge in respect of nations, except such as may be constituted by special compact. Every state has therefore the right to resort to force when this becomes the only means of redress, and to judge for itself what are the nature and extent of the injuries which will justify such a means of redress. Short of war, there are various established methods of terminating the differences between nations, even when forcible means are resorted to—such as by laying an embargo on the ships and goods of the offending state, when found within the territory of the injured state—by retaliation, or by reprisals. All these means, as well as conferences, often fail; and then what is called a *perfect* war commences—that is, when all the members of both nations are authorised to commit hostilities against each other, under every case and under every circumstance, unless forbidden by the laws of war, contained in the inter-

national code. The rights of perfect war, as between enemies, are thus generally explained.

"In general, it may be stated, that the rights of war, in respect to the enemy, are to be measured by the object of the war. Until that object is attained, the belligerent has, strictly speaking, a right to use every means necessary to accomplish the end for which he has taken up arms. We have already seen that the practice of the ancient world, and even the opinion of some modern writers on public law, make no distinction as to the means to be employed for this purpose. Even such institutional writers as *Bynkershoek* and *Wolf*, who lived in the most learned and not least civilized countries of Europe at the commencement of the eighteenth century, assert the broad principle that every thing done against an enemy is lawful; that he may be destroyed though unarmed and defenceless; that fraud, and even poison, may be employed against him; and that an unlimited right is acquired by the victor to his person and property. Such, however, was not the sentiment and practice of enlightened Europe at the period when they wrote; since *Grotius* had long before inculcated milder and more humane principles, which *Vattel* subsequently enforced and illustrated, and which are adopted by the unanimous concurrence of all the publicists of the present age.

"The law of nature has not precisely determined how far an individual is allowed to make use of force, either to defend himself against an attempted injury, or to obtain reparation when refused by the aggressor, or to bring an offender to punishment. We can only collect, from this law, the general rule, that such use of force as is necessary for obtaining these ends is not forbidden. The same principle applies to the conduct of sovereign states existing in a state of natural independence with respect to each other. No use of force is lawful, except so far as it is necessary. A belligerent has, therefore, no right to take away the lives of those subjects of the enemy whom he can subdue by any other means. Those who are actually in arms, and continue to resist, may be lawfully killed; but the inhabitants of the enemy's country who are not in arms, or who, being in arms, submit and surrender themselves, may not be slain, because their destruction is not necessary for obtaining the just ends of war. Those ends may be accomplished by making prisoners of those who are taken in arms, or compelling them to give security that they will not bear arms against the victor for a limited period, or during the continuance of the war. The killing of prisoners can only be justifiable in those extreme cases where resistance on their part, or on the part of others who come to their rescue, renders it impossible to keep them. Both reason and general opinion concur in showing that nothing but the strongest necessity will justify such an act."—vol. ii. pp. 75—77.

The law of nations holds, that all the members of the hostile state may be treated as enemies in a public war; but not all alike, because no force against an enemy can be reasonable, unless it is necessary to accomplish the purposes of war. Certain persons and classes of persons are thus protected, such as the sovereign and his family, the members of the civil government, women and children, cultivators of the earth, merchants, men of science and letters, &c.

Alas! how often has this enlightened law been violated by states calling themselves humane and civilized! The spirit of this law extends to property as well as persons.

"The same general rule which determines how far it is lawful to destroy the persons of enemies will serve as a guide in judging how far it is lawful to ravage or lay waste their country. If this be necessary in order to accomplish the just ends of war, it may be lawfully done, but not otherwise. Thus, if the progress of an enemy cannot be stopped, nor our own frontier secured, or if the approaches to a town intended to be attacked cannot be made without laying waste the intermediate territory, the extreme case may justify a resort to measures not warranted by the ordinary purposes of war. If modern usage has sanctioned any other exceptions, they will be found in the right of reprisals to vindictive retaliation. The whole international code is founded upon reciprocity. The rules it prescribes are observed by one nation in confidence that they will be so by others. Where, then, the established usages of war are violated by an enemy, and there are no other means of restraining his excesses, retaliation may be justly resorted to by the suffering nation, in order to compel the enemy to return to the observance of the law which he has violated." —vol. ii, pp, 83, 84.

Nay, there are cases, when, by the law of nations, the most relentless measures and ingenious stratagems are not to be exercised to the injury of an armed enemy.

Grotius has devoted a whole chapter of his great work to prove, by the consenting testimony of all ages and nations, that good faith ought to be observed towards an enemy. And even *Bynkershoek*, who holds that every other sort of fraud may be practised towards him, prohibits perfidy, upon the ground that his character of enemy ceases by the compact with him, so far as the terms of that compact extend. 'I allow of any kind of deceit,' says he, 'perfidy alone excepted, not because any thing is unlawful against an enemy, but because when our faith has been pledged to him, so far as the promise extends, he ceases to be an enemy.' Indeed, without this mitigation, the horrors of war would be indefinite in extent, and interminable in duration. The usage of civilized nations has therefore introduced certain *commercia belli*, by which the violence of war may be allayed, so far as is consistent with its object and purposes, and something of a pacific intercourse may be kept up, which may lead, in time, to an adjustment of differences, and ultimately to peace.

"There are various modes in which the extreme rigour of the rights of war may be relaxed at the pleasure of the respective belligerent parties. Among these is that of a suspension of hostilities, by means of a truce or armistice. This may be either general or special. If it be general in its application to all hostilities in every place, and is to endure for a very long or indefinite period, it amounts in effect to a temporary peace, except that it leaves undecided the controversy in which the war originated. Such were the truces formerly concluded between the Christian powers and the Turks. Such, too, was the armistice concluded in 1609 between Spain and her revolted provinces in the Netherlands. A partial truce is limited to certain places, such as the suspension of hostilities which may take place between

two contending armies, or between a besieged fortress and the army by which it is invested."—vol. ii, pp. 113—115.

We have now presented as much of these "Elements of International Law" as will convey to any reader an idea of the extent, the curious character, and the importance of this science. Our extracts will also show how ably and clearly the author proceeds in the elucidation and enforcement of its principles. Were we to follow him through some of the other chapters of the second volume, beyond the one which we have now glanced at, which treats exclusively of the "Commencement of War, and its Immediate Consequences," our impressions in his favour, and of the intricacy of the subject, would be much enlarged. Every one must readily apprehend, that under such a head as the "Rights of War as to Neutrals," or the Chapter that lays down the rules of law regarding a "Treaty of Peace," there is ample scope for the trial of the writer's philosophy, knowledge of history, and of the great principles of jurisprudence. We shall only say, however, regarding the pursuit of the subject through these intricate branches, that he has proceeded with the steadiness and confidence of one who is at home in the discussion, and that not only lawyers and diplomatists will find in his pages much to please, and, it may be, instruct them, but general readers, who take delight in the study of popular knowledge, will here find many admirable exercises for the intellect and the affections, plainly discussed.

ART. IX.—*Further Illustrations of the Principles upon which a Metropolitan Poor Rate is administered in the Parish of St. George, Hanover-square; with a Few Desultory Observations on the Principle upon which Poor Laws are founded; and on the proposed Extension of that System to Ireland.* By JOHN LESLIE, A Vestryman, and a Governor and Director of the Poor of the Parish of St. George, Hanover-square, London. London: Ridgway. 1836.

THERE is not a subject, we believe, within the range of political philosophy, upon which greater fallacies of opinion and errors of conduct have prevailed, than with regard to systems of poor laws, such as have been established in various countries of Europe, but especially in England. There is manifestly, however, a revolution of sentiment, on the part of many, respecting the principles and the results of these laws, already in operation throughout England, which the partial abrogation occasioned by the "Amendment Act" has mainly served to produce; and we observe symptoms that are by no means equivocal, which intimate, that before many years elapse, the codes of laws now referred to, will be looked upon as the very hot-beds of the evils and miseries they profess to remove. But, as many advocate the immediate introduction of a poor law system, as a

panacea for the distractions and sufferings of the Irish, and convinced as we are and have long been, that the measure would do incalculable harm, by aggravating that which is already frightfully bad, we are desirous of directing the attention of our readers to the small pamphlet, lately written by the author, named at the head of this paper, and which treats of poor laws in general, and of their application to Ireland in particular, with a clearness and force that we have never known to be surpassed. Mr. Leslie's facts, reasonings, and principles are worthy of universal study, and, indeed, have already attracted extraordinary attention. We hope, that the light which he has thus shed on the subject, and the course of observation and reasoning to which his doctrines lead, will be the means, if not of securing for Ireland the best positive measures, at least of preserving her from any new infliction, which short-sighted, though well-intended policy, may be contemplating in connexion with poor laws.

Upon the first part of this pamphlet, viz., that which concerns the administration of a poor rate in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, London, we have nothing to say farther, than that the author's statement of facts offers, in relation to this one locality, the most satisfactory and convincing testimonies in favour of the workhouse system introduced by the "Poor Law Amendment Act;" and in so far as this act goes, proves the accuracy of his great doctrine, which maintains, that the principle upon which the poor law system is founded is erroneous and greatly injurious; nay, that these laws defeat the very purposes they promise to effect.

It is to be borne in mind, that there is an easy but false sort of benevolence, which is identified in the minds of many, with a poor law system; and that those who entertain doubts concerning the wisdom of such an institution, are likely to be assailed with certain trite doctrines that savour strongly of charity, humane feeling, and enlightened philanthropy. But the day is gone when ignorant or wholesale ridicule and obloquy can silence argument, or permanently discolour truth; nor need Mr. Leslie dread the weapons of the morbidly sensitive, so long as he arrays an uncommon mass of most important facts in the most natural and demonstrative order, as every competent and impartial judge, we feel assured, will admit to be the characteristic of these pages.

Mr. Leslie, on entering upon the discussion regarding the correctness of the principle which laws for the relief of the poor profess, offers the following observations:—

"The important consequences which have resulted from the change of system in the domestic policy of England, as regards the laws for the relief of the poor, are exhibiting themselves so prominently in every part of the country, as to force the most sceptical to an acknowledgment of the advantages of the new system.

"This happy state of things must be extremely gratifying to all classes, and particularly valuable to the legislator. It, however, places him in a position in which he may easily deceive himself as to the cause of the improvement, and take for granted that in these results he has obtained the great desideratum; that they are a clear demonstration of the value of the principle on which the poor laws are founded; and therefore, that the introduction of a system of poor laws is the very obvious remedy for the acknowledged mass of misery and destitution which exists in Ireland.

"To me it appears that all the important improvements which have recently been effected are the development of facts successively crowding upon us from every locality, proving that the principle upon which the poor law system is founded is an erroneous one; that, while these laws may have relieved many cases of real distress, they have been mainly instrumental in creating a mass of misery, which, when created, is totally beyond their reach to control or mitigate.

"In illustration of the position here laid down, I will cite the case of the agricultural labourers and the occupiers of land in Great Britain, involving the condition of many millions of the inhabitants of this great empire. Those who are engaged in agricultural employment are the most numerous of the working population, and, from the nature of their avocations, the most dependent; and therefore they afford the best evidence for illustrating the effects of poor laws on the condition of the industrious classes.

"The popular view of the principle of the poor laws is to secure to the labourer, from a tax upon the soil, a necessary support for himself and his family under whatever circumstances they may be placed; and it might even be conceded in the following argument, that the whole scheme or plan of the poor law system was originally devised by the legislators in Queen Elizabeth's reign with the most benevolent intention towards the poor, and with a view to raise the lowest class of the population of England, by securing to them an absolute inheritance in the soil, through the agency of the compulsory taxation, which the poor law system necessarily induces.

"It is absolutely impossible to conceive any theory for the support of the poor more attractive and alluring than the one in question, or *apparently* more calculated to prevent misery and distress; but the consequences of such an engagement have been so appalling, and so frightfully ruinous in their results to both the payers and the receivers of the tax, that there was the greatest danger of the social fabric being destroyed by the effects of this *apparently* benevolent institution for the poor."—pp. 12—14.

This extract contains the unquestionable truth of the case, so far as it goes. But since the consequences of such a theory, when reduced to practice, have been thus appalling, is it not to be suspected, that though attractive, it carries in its very bosom great fallacies! These, it has years ago; and with consummate eloquence, been shown by Dr. Chalmers, are both of a pecuniary and moral nature. Our author, however, has brought the whole of the bearings and argument of the question into the smallest compass consistent with

perspicuity, applying the lights of the latest times to the illustration of the doctrine advanced. Accordingly, he roundly and without hesitation, insists that the poor would be better without any legislative laws for their relief. We cannot abridge his words, without weakening their effect.

"I am of opinion that they would obtain more real advantages, both pecuniary and moral, if no such laws were in existence; that they would lose a shadow and gain a substance; that the market for their labour would then be *totally free* from all the depressing influence which the system of poor laws throws upon it: but, although I am of this opinion, I shall be most grievously misunderstood, if I am supposed to urge an immediate repeal of the poor law system. The repeal of that system must not, in my opinion, be a legislative enactment, at least for years to come; it must be effected by the growing intelligence of the community, more particularly of the industrious portion of it, who will soon clearly trace to their legitimate source the advantages which they are now beginning to receive. In the mean time all those of the labouring classes, who are anxious to live by their own industry, may depend upon it, that their sheet anchor is in the workhouse system, because that will ultimately be found to be the *least pernicious* pressure of the poor law system on the industry of the country."—p. 14.

We remember the celebrated divine, whom we have above named, argued with perfect success, that among the moral evils of the poor law system, the feelings and the motives of both givers and receivers were put into the worst possible attitudes; that these laws begot heart-burnings, ingratitude, and the worst features of which human nature is susceptible. But these tendencies are not only to be presumed; they have been so frightfully exemplified, as to issue in the "Amendment Act," which assuredly was a strong measure at the time of its introduction, and in the eyes of very many was therefore regarded with extreme anxiety. What, however, has been already the results of this measure, which, in truth, is nothing less than the virtual abolition of poor laws to the able-bodied throughout England and Wales. In a late article of the *Morning Chronicle*, a journal by-the-bye, which has, not many days ago, been deeply engaged upon the pamphlet before us, and which opposes Mr. Leslie's arguments and evidences, though without triumph, it is stated that "the character of the agricultural population has been so much improved, by restoring them to the independence of which they had gradually been deprived under the abuses of the old system, that already they appear quite a new race. The connexion between independence and virtue which had been remarked so early as the days of Homer, is equally evident in our time. The sullen refractory paupers of our agricultural districts have become cheerful and prudent labourers." Yet the *Morning Chronicle*, like not a few contemporary journals, and many individuals, while admitting that these cheering results have in a great measure been

occasioned by the new act, which, as before stated, is, in respect of the able-bodied, a virtual abrogation of the poor law, would have a poor law applied to Ireland, though independence and virtue be said to be indissolubly connected.

The grounds upon which Mr. Leslie principally relies in support of his opinions, are to be found in the facts that have been experienced since the passing of the new act, compared with that which belongs to any other period of the history of England, since the introduction of the poor law system in Elizabeth's time. Now, a few facts are worth mountains of abstract speculations on a subject of this kind; but here the evidences derived from history are all on one side, announcing particulars which at once speak for themselves, putting the subject beyond the reach of cavil or doubt.

We have seen what the *Morning Chronicle* admits to have already been the effects of the "Amendment Act," in the agricultural districts. But it is proper to let the author be heard on this part of his case.

"It proclaimed that the only portion of the compulsory tax, seven millions of pounds of which had recently been expended in one year, *in an attempt* to relieve destitution, and afford employment to the poor, should, (to such of them as said they could not find employment, and were themselves, or their families, in destitution,) for the future, be given only in a workhouse. This was a provision which, fortunately for themselves, appeared to them obnoxious and cruel; but, while it did so, it took off the pressure from the wages of labour, which that very tax had created, and with the rapidity of the fabled powers of the magician's wand, it has altered almost every aspect of society, by causing an incredible improvement in the condition of those who had contributed to, and of those who had received this tax; it has confounded the speculations of theorists—it has annihilated the doctrine of a surplus population, as the cause of the misery which then abounded, and rendered unnecessary the expatriation of 'the very sinews' of the country as a remedy. But what a lesson for statesmen! To have been eye-witnesses to the facts, that, in the very same villages where want and wretchedness existed, and were rapidly extending their influence—where idleness and vice were drawling out a miserable existence—where (and it was made an argument against the change in the poor laws,) the distressed tenantry were said to be so oppressed by the low price of agricultural produce, by the high rents and charges on land, that they had not the means to employ the poor, and to remunerate them for their labour—the very same tenantry, throughout the whole of the last winter, and before the recent rise in agricultural produce had taken place, found the means, the instant the agricultural labourer was delivered from the slavery in which the poor laws had for so long a period held him, to give him employment and to increase his wages, thereby making the exertions of the labourer doubly valuable, because the connexion between industry and its reward was no longer permitted to be interrupted by the interference of any miscalled charity. Thus a wretched, miserable, idle population have already, in many parts of the country, been transformed into the totally opposite

character of an industrious people;—and that harmony which ever should exist between parties, whose mutual interests are so blended together as are those of the employer and the employed, is again restored."—pp. 15, 16.

Mr. Leslie's definition of a poor law says, "It is that by which a fund is raised by compulsory taxation on all visible property, *professedly* for the purposes of relieving destitution, and 'for setting certain classes of the poor on work.'" Such he considers to be the popular view of the principles upon which the poor law of England is founded; but he denies that the objects thus contemplated, have ever been realized. And why?

"To me it appears that all these systems of poor laws are erroneous in principle. I look upon them as an immense insurance society founded upon false premises and erroneous data, by means of which obligations are undertaken which never have nor ever can be performed, and on account of the *delusive advantages* held out to the assured—the poor—they are lulled into a false security, deprived of moral energy, and made to pay for those apparent advantages such exorbitant premiums, involving great pecuniary sacrifices, by the reduction in their wages and moral degradation, which not only end in the ruin of the industrious classes, but prove equally injurious to those who are the assurers—those who directly pay the tax.

"The principal engagement entered into by the system of poor laws is to relieve and prevent destitution; *the causes of that destitution*, by the very terms of the engagement, must be overlooked: hence every distinction between industry and idleness, between virtue under misfortune and vice suffering its penalty, must of necessity be confounded in the appropriation of the tax.

"The law of God, in the clearest and most intelligible terms, states 'that he that will not work, neither shall he eat.' The poor law of man's invention practically says God's law is an erroneous law, for, *if* the man will not work, in twenty-four hours he will be in destitution, and he must not be suffered to starve."—pp. 16, 17.

The poor law system in England, before the passing of the "Amendment Act," to an enormous extent, had the effect of weakening the motives for exertion, of clothing pauperism with a character, the reverse of being disparaging, and of inviting, as with a legislative proclamation, all who had a mind to lay claim to a public fund, to come and have their wants relieved, whether these wants had been occasioned and produced by misfortune, folly, idleness, or improvidence. Such was the chief practical result of the law in the case of a vast majority of a demoralized population; demoralized, because degraded, and according to a rapidly increasing ratio, becoming more deeply sunk, every year, through the operation of measures which professed to alleviate, to cure, and to regenerate.

But it may be asked, what is to be done with the thousands who are willing to work and who cannot find employment? Mr. Leslie's

answer to the question, while it is complete and convincing, points to the only great source of relief and prosperity which the poor can reasonably contemplate. He says, "cause and effect were never more clearly established, than between the assertion of not being able to find employment, and the poor law system; its machinery of laws of settlement rendered every Englishman an alien in every parish in the country, but the one in which he had a legal settlement, and deprived him of almost the chance of employment, in any other spot." But the immediate evils of the system did not stop here, for they "pursued him even in his own parish, and gave him there as much remuneration for being an idler, as if he were an industrious man." Now, nothing can be more clear than that this is reversing the proper order of things; or than, while wealth and independence are regarded as conditions worthy of ambition, and honour—that pauperism should not be viewed with equal complacency. Why should even the poor by misfortune be better provided for, than the hard-working rate payers! But we return to the doctrine which maintains that poor laws are the most effective machinery that has ever been invented for creating such a preposterously absurd order of things. And here we must again quote our author.

"If a country is to provide, by a tax on all visible property, against every possible contingency which may arise to the labouring population, then it appears to me perfectly obvious that for such an engagement property must have, in some shape or other, an indemnification.

"Now, there are many who assert that this indemnification is given in the security to life and property which the poor law system affords; and on this ground they urge the introduction of the system into Ireland.

"I am inclined to disbelieve the position of any security to life and property by the poor law system; and this opinion is fortified by the gratifying fact, that crime has gradually but extensively diminished with the operation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, which act I hold to be virtually an abolition of the poor laws to the able-bodied.

"As I cannot admit security to life and property to be the indemnity, I must seek elsewhere for it; and it appears to me, that every fact connected with the history of the industrious classes in England proves, that the wages of the working population is the fund from whence the indemnity for the engagement entered into by the property of the country is made; and that the daily wages of the labouring classes are consequently diminished, to pay the premiums for the *apparent* advantages which the poor law system holds out to them.

"The premiums, which, by the reduction in their daily wages, are thus derived from the poor, are not invested by the assurers, but are expended during the year; consequently, no increase, by way of compound or even simple interest upon the capital of this extensive assurance society is made; hence, if any unusual pressure upon the fund takes place, there are no assets to meet the extraordinary demand; and that gigantic fund which is raised to prevent destitution, and afford employment to the poor, is unable

to meet either of its engagements, and recourse is invariably had to the benevolent to assist, by their charitable donations, to alleviate that distress, when the compulsory provision for the relief of the poor (in my opinion, the chief instrument in causing the distress,) is unable to perform its engagements; Spitalfields, Manchester, Nottingham, Leeds, Sheffield, can supply the painful evidence of the fact."—pp. 17, 18.

These are striking observations, and yet they require only to be alluded to, ere the reader wonders how he has not discovered them for himself, and thus arrived at a great principle which overturns some of the most important of those which have been relied on by the advocates of the poor law system. But we are next invited to look facts in the face, to weigh the testimony of centuries, and to trace year after year, and enactment after enactment, in the history of poor laws in England, that their real fruits may be known; and by these indications the reader is brought to exactly the same conclusion, which the argument drawn from the great general principle, regarding indemnification of property, has brought him. Take the history of the wages of labour from 1593, which Mr. Leslie has done, following Mr. Barton, the best existing authority on this subject, and come down to the present time; what are the results? Mr. Barton took the price of wheat on the averages of the preceding five years, periodically between 1495 and 1832, and also the weekly wages of all classes of labourers at the same periods. He then reduced the wages into pints of wheat, and his tables furnish the following facts:—

"In 1593, just prior to the full establishment of the poor law system, the agricultural labourer's wages were 82 pints of wheat weekly, and domestic artificers received 123 pints of wheat; in 1610, only nine years after the passing of the 43rd of Elizabeth, the wages of all classes of the industrious population were reduced one half. It is necessary to bear in mind, that the price of wheat is taken on the average of the five preceding years.

"It is a remarkable fact, that the wages of the industrious population never reached the same remuneration as had been obtained only so recently prior to the full establishment of the poor law system as 1593, until after the passing of the 9th Geo. 1, cap. 7, (1723), which declared, 'that any person refusing to be lodged, kept, or maintained in the workhouse, shall not be entitled to any other relief.' On a reference to the preceding table it will be found, that in (1725) two years after the passing of this act, wages had risen to a higher point than had been given to the agricultural labourer for one hundred and thirty years before. But, under no period, subsequent to the introduction of the poor law system, and prior to the Poor Law Amendment Act, have the wages of the agricultural population reached to a sum within one hundred pints of wheat weekly, of what the wages were at the close of the 15th century.

"It is evidently against the comparative condition of the working classes of the earlier periods of history, to take wheat as the standard

of value as to their wages, on account of its then greater scarcity, being much more an article of luxury than of necessity; but although that be the fact, it is nevertheless the best that can be obtained. The other necessaries of life were also comparatively much lower than wheat; and if the wages of all the labouring classes were measured by the value of butchers' meat, the disadvantages under which the labourers, since the introduction of poor laws, have been exposed to, would be more strongly exemplified. It appears by the 25th Hen. 8 (1533), that beef, veal, pork, and mutton, were then the ordinary food of the labouring classes, and the price of these articles was limited to one halfpenny a pound: at at the same time wheat was from seven shillings to eight shillings a quarter.

"Dr. Price, in his valuable work on Reversionary Payments (Supplement, 5th edition, Vol. ii. p, 295), states, in 1770, 'that the nominal price of day labour is at present no more than about four times, or at most five times higher, than it was in 1514; but the price of corn is seven times, and of flesh meat and raiment about fifteen times higher."—pp. 19—21.

Mr. Leslie has in a postscript answered the objection that some may take to his reference to butcher's meat, and who may suppose that it formed no part of the ordinary food of the industrious classes in those early times—by quoting from the preamble to the 24th of Henry VIII., c. 3, (1532). That act of parliament, by showing the cause of the statute—a complaint of the poor, who, in addressing his Majesty, used these words: "Complaineth to your most excellent Highness, your poor subjects of this your realm, that when all manner of victuals before this time hath been sold to your said subjects at prices convenient, so that all your subjects, and in especial the poor persons, might, with their craft or bodily labour, buy sufficient for the necessity and sustenation of them, their wives and children; *But now, Gracious Lord, all victuals, and in especial Beef, Mutton, Pork, and Veal, which is the Common Feeding of the Mean and Poor Persons,* are so sold at so excessive price, that your said needy subjects *cannot gain with their labour and salary,* sufficient to pay for their convenient victual and sustenance." How often since that period, have the poor in England, even those whose "craft and bodily labour," should have been able to secure for them such sustenation as beef, mutton, pork, and veal can yield, been without these articles, or have only tasted them so rarely, that they could not enter into the list of their ordinary food!

Our author has in a separate and small publication considered the effects of the poor law system upon the poor, by inquiring into the history of the rent for their cottages and lodgings at various periods. The result of this investigation has been, that "since 1796, the rent of the cottages of the labouring population has been doubled, and in many instances tripled, by the direct operation of the fund raised 'to relieve the poor.'" Thus the most intimate

connexion appears to exist between this fund, and the deprivation of a fair remuneration to the industrious community for their labour. Should a system which has produced such evils in England be recommended to Ireland? Is Ireland to be regenerated by what was, with appalling speed, degrading and demoralizing England? With the author we say—

"Vain and delusive have been the anticipations of ameliorating the moral or social condition of the labouring population by the poor law system. Let the statute book be consulted—and let it reply to the favourable pictures drawn of the effect of the 43rd Elizabeth. I have just shown that the wages of the industrious classes were, in the year 1610, reduced one half from what they were in 1595. Now, mark what the statute book unfolds so soon as eight years after the 43rd of Elizabeth:—In 1609, the 7th James 1st, c. 4, s. 8, states, 'that many wilful people, finding that they, having children, *have some hope to have relief from the parish wherein they dwell*, and, being able to labour, and thereby to relieve themselves and their families, do, nevertheless, run away out of their parishes, and leave their families upon the parish.'

"Here, then, a moral crime of the deepest turpitude—a crime against all laws, human and divine—is for the first time recorded in the statute book of our country:—a crime involving a violation of the feelings of human nature, clearly chargeable to the compulsory system of taxation for the relief of the poor, fully established by the then recent enactment of the 43rd of Elizabeth. That crime still exists among us, and to an extent that few, who are not practically acquainted with the workings of the poor law system, and the horrors which it inflicts upon a nation, would believe, or even think of."—pp. 22, 23.

But crime is on the decrease and wages on the increase in England, and if not interfered with by legislative enactments must extend similar improvements in the condition of the industrious classes even in Ireland. Still, some positive measures for remedying the evils that have grown to such a terrific magnitude in the latter country, all admit, must be devised; and upon the soundness and early introduction of such measures, perhaps the salvation of that country can only be secured. The subject is surrounded with difficulties, yet many and various are the remedies recommended—each professing to be a cure. Our author has his, which deserves to be considered.

Mr. Leslie sets out by stating, that many persons, at the present moment, look upon Ireland as being nearly in the same state as England was about the period when poor laws were here introduced; and by quoting the authority of the Third Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the sister island, from which it appears, that there does not exist in that country the division of labour which obtains in Great Britain; the body of the Irish people looking to agriculture for employment, and *to it only* for support, while the supply of agricultural labour

thus so considerable as greatly to exceed the demand for it. "Hence come small earnings and wide-spread misery." It indeed appears from the latest and most careful investigations of these commissioners and others, that the agricultural families in Ireland constitute two-thirds of the whole population, and that the wages of the heads of these families, the labouring men, do not amount to more than 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* a-week the whole year round; and that while each cultivated acre in Ireland, on an average, produces *half* what an acre in Great Britain does, there are five labourers to every cultivated acre in that country, and only two in this.

These, we believe, are facts, at least statements which have not been contradicted. Now, they seem to point directly and explicitly to certain measures of cure. Is a poor law to form the basis and the burden of their measures? A system, perhaps, with all the horrors of the laws of settlement attached to it! But hear our author.

"Give the population of Ireland an alternative, besides looking 'to agricultural employment, and *to it only* for support.'

"In doing this, the greatest care must be to avoid, (what I am of opinion poor laws would insure), *permanent evils to the country*. I will suppose a great present pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the common revenue, for the purpose of forming some great national work in Ireland,—not to be carried into effect by local jobbers, but through the instrumentality of responsible parties,—the executive government. For example, a great railway, intersecting the most populous parts of the country with a terminus at each end in some well adapted sea ports. A work of this, or any other similarly great character, begun and carried on with the vigour which a *parliamentary grant alone could give it*, would not only absorb the redundant labour, but prove (as the Caledonian Canal has proved to Scotland,) of incalculable moral and social advantage to the whole country; it will be, as that great work was, the means of making the peasantry familiar with the most improved machinery and tools, and it would advance civilization most rapidly, because of the impetus it would give to industry.

"A work of such a character would instantly compel the landlords of Ireland to unite in this process of civilization, unless they were anxious that their lands should go out of cultivation. The return Great Britain might expect, from a judicious application of two or three millions of the revenue, would be in the great moral improvement, and the advance in civilization, of two-thirds of the whole population of Ireland; and (what is of far less consequence in a question involving the existence of six millions of our common nature,) a pecuniary return, by a toll on the produce and merchandize to be conveyed by the rail-road.

"And when we reflect upon the fact, that the distance between the two continents of Europe and America is almost hourly diminishing, by the rapid progress which science is making, it is of the utmost importance to attract the produce of that mighty continent to the nearest

European sea-port in Ireland, with the certain means from thence of transporting that produce safely and rapidly to all parts of Great Britain; because, among the many other advantages which the nation must thereby derive, it offers at once the almost certain means of industrious occupation to the whole population of Ireland.

"But, it may be said, the pecuniary grant would be a boon to the Irish landlord. This is the most remote from any thought of mine. I propose it as an offering from a mighty nation, (which has already purchased freedom to the slave,) to raise from the depths of misery six millions of the population of Ireland, and at the same time to compel the land-owners of that country to increased activity.

"A word to those who look at the proposition only as a pecuniary question:—to them, I would point to these acknowledged facts, 'Ireland, with a population nearly equal to half that of Great Britain, yields only about one twelfth of the revenue to the state that Great Britain does.' And further, 'that every outlay of money that has taken place in Ireland in the making of roads, facilitating intercourse, and opening remote districts in Ireland, has not only tended to great local advantages, *but, by improving the condition of the people,* TO A VERY GREAT INCREASE OF THE PUBLIC REVENUE.'"—pp. 27—29.

There can be no doubt that some great measures, such as Mr. Leslie has now indicated, would produce a divison of labour, and act widely and strongly in favour of agricultural skill and economy. Whereas, let the advocates of a poor law for Ireland, ponder on the following arresting announcements.

"The parliamentary returns exhibit the following facts as to the land—the landowners—and the agricultural labourers and their families:—

"*First, as to the Land.*—A parliamentary return of 1827, shews the number of acres in that country to be 19,441,944; of these 12,125,280 were cultivated, 4,900,000 were uncultivated, and 2,416,644 were unprofitable. Another parliamentary document shews that the *cultivation* in 1836, has extended to 14,600,000 acres, the average rent of which is 12*s.* 6*d.* per Irish acre, equal to 14*s.* 2*d.* per English acre.

"*Second, as to the Landowners.*—The gross rental of land in Ireland, (exclusive of the towns), is not quite ten millions per annum, from which is to be deducted ten per cent. for defalcation and collecting the rents. A return from the masters in Chancery shews the incumbrances on that rental to be three millions per annum, leaving the net rental at six millions per annum.

"*Third.*—The labourers and their families in Ireland 'who look to agriculture, *and to it only for support,*' are nearly two-thirds of the whole population—say, five millions.

"What is the popular outcry to remedy these alarming evils, which are evident on this simple statement of well authenticated facts?—*Pass a Poor Law—tax the Land.*

"If the net rental of the land in Ireland were taxed by means of a Poor Law Act at five shillings in the pound, *just by way of commencing* the poor law system, without any deduction for the expense of collecting that tax, or any defalcation in the payment of it, it would produce fifteen

hundred thousand pounds, which being divided among the five millions of the Irish population, comprised in the class agricultural labourers and their families, it would just give each of them six shillings a-year, or not quite three halfpence a week.

" But I say, that, if the Legislature were even to pass a Poor Law Act which should have the effect to send all the proprietors of land and their families into exile, and to give the whole net rental of the land of Ireland to the agricultural labourers and their families, THAT WHOLE NET RENTAL would then only give each of these poor persons twenty-four shillings per annum, or not quite sixpence each per week.

" It was upon the knowledge of such facts as these, that I founded the argument and the suggestion in the preceding pages, to relieve and improve the condition of Ireland. From the common revenue, I am of opinion, she must receive the first means of relief; the longer that is delayed the more will be required, and the less effective will be its application: and until the facts I have produced are overturned, I shall continue to agree in opinion with Dr. Adam Clarke, that 'when Ireland gets the Poor Laws with which she is now threatened, the *present rising sun of its prosperity* will sink below the horizon to rise no more.'"—pp. 36, 37.

We have now extracted the cream of Mr. Leslie's pamphlet; and thereby, we are convinced, served to propagate a number of the soundest principles which can be brought to the trial of this deeply important and engrossing subject. It is earnestly to be hoped, that such views and arguments as he has, in an unassuming, but highly talented manner, put forth in this slender pamphlet, may rapidly spread through the country; and if so, we behold a bright day, not far in the distance, even for Ireland. The author's doctrines are certainly not such as bear the stamp of popularity. The question, however, is, are they sound?—are they corroborated by facts? We do not indeed altogether regret that they should appear startling to the majority; for this will form the best guarantee of their worth being scrutinized; and none need fear the result of a thorough scrutiny in these days, where truth, wisdom, and humanity, are at the bottom of the thing tried. We have already alluded to the notice which the pamphlet has obtained, for example, on the part of the *Morning Chronicle* It seems to have bewildered the writer, who enriches that much esteemed and ably conducted journal, on the same subject. But while it thus has led that contributor into contradictions, in his effort to overturn Mr. Leslie's doctrines, and tempted him to challenge our author's knowledge of the actual conditon of many countries where poor laws have been introduced, the consequences have been all in support of the latter gentleman's argument; for Mr. Leslie has returned to the combat, and thus again opened his armoury.

" An esteemed public writer in the 'Morning Chronicle' has, in criticising the preceding pages, stated that my 'range of observation has evidently been too limited to enable me to be a competent judge of the

question upon which I have entered. If,' says he, 'Mr. Leslie had made himself acquainted with the actual state of Europe, he would have been struck with the *fact*, that in all those countries in which the cultivators are not slaves, the lower orders are uniformly found in a state of *extreme destitution and demoralization where there are no poor laws*, and that *wherever* poor laws exist the population is orderly. In Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, England, Scotland, there is a legal provision for the poor.'

"I take the rebuke, coming from the respected quarter it does, with the most kindly feeling, and, I trust, with a desire to profit by it; but I owe it to myself—to my argument—and to my readers, to shew that I am not so ignorant of the condition of Europe, or even of America, connected with the operation of the legal provision for the poor, as is thus imputed to me.

"I shall therefore take the countries of Europe in the order in which the worthy writer in the Chronicle has placed them, and from the most authentic documents, published by the authority of parliament—from the valuable statistical works of G. R. Porter, Esq., the most recent of which, just published, 'The Progress of the Nation: Population, and Production,' should be in the hands of every one who is anxious to promote the best interests of his country—from these authentic sources I present facts to maintain all the positions I have taken in the preceding pages, and to demonstrate that wherever a poor law system is a part of the domestic policy of the country, no matter what may be its political constitution, whether it be monarchical or republican—whether the religion be Catholic or Protestant—whether labour abounds and is well remunerated, or the very reverse be its condition, one uniform and unvarying result attends that fatal principle; creating misery, which it afterwards can neither controul nor mitigate."—pp. 31, 32.

We shall not follow our author in the extracts which he presents from the documentary evidence, as furnished by the history of the poor laws in the countries named. But the conclusions inevitably flowing from this evidence are uniform and corroborative, whether drawn from Europe or America, in support of his general argument; and thus he has turned the weapons of his opponent, who must have spoken at random, or on presuming that the ignorance of our author was equal to his own, as respected the wide-spread effects of poor law enactments.

NOTICES.

ART. X.—*The Desultory Man.* By the Author of "Richelieu," "The Gipsey," &c. 3 vols. London: Saunders and Otley.

We have seldom read three more entertaining, well diversified, or graceful volumes than these. None but a person of an elevated and refined cast of sentiment, intimate knowledge of mankind, as well as of different countries and ages, and an adept in the art of writing, could produce such a series of sketches of character and scenery, gemmed with such snatches

of poetry as is here presented. All who are acquainted with the works of Mr. James, however, will readily credit these general assertions respecting this collection, which contains the best of his fugitive pieces that have made their appearance in the periodicals. He has also succeeded under the title of a "Desultory Man," in the endeavour to unite the various productions which lay before him, in a tasteful web of narrative and travelling adventures, that is characteristic of such an appellation. But perhaps there is not a feature throughout the whole that is better worth remark, or more descriptive of the author, than the chivalrous tone that pervades the spirit of these pieces. It finds scope not only in the delineation of what is picturesque in situation, appearance, or manners, but in the very tenour of the lessons of morality inculcated; and all this without violating the requirements of exquisite taste by improbabilities or exaggeration. We give an example, afforded by the account of a journey in "The Landes," between Bordeaux and La Teste, at Christmas.

"The wildness of a desert now began to reign around us. Vast tracts of sand and uncultivated moor, with large pine forests, were the only objects visible, except when a cart, exactly like a hog-trough covered with a gipsey's tent, was drawn past us by two dun oxen, while the master, stretched at his full length, with his head out at the front, goaded them on with a long stick; the whole giving a very Hottentotish appearance to the scene. It also sometimes happened that we distinguished, moving across the distant sky, an elevated being, who from his long thin shanks and shapeless body, you might have taken for a large ostrich or a gigantic crane, but would never have fancied to be a human creature, until near inspection let you into all the machinery of stilts and sheepskins. Just after passing one of the forests, I was surprised to hear the first notes of Corelli's hymn to the Virgin, whistled clear and shrill in the distance; but it soon varied into a wilder air, and the musician approached us with immense strides, lifting his stilts high over every obstacle, without ever ceasing to knit a pair of stockings which he held half-finished in his hand. We wondered at his coming so near, for the Landais generally avoid all strangers, but on entering into conversation with him, we found that he had served in the army, spoke tolerable French, and was more civilized altogether than the rest of his countrymen. However, after an absence of seven years, old habits had resumed their empire; he came back to his deserts, once more mounted his stilts, and went whistling about, knitting stockings and tending sheep, as contentedly as if he had never seen fairer countries or mixed in more busy scenes."

On arriving at an *auberge* the landlord endeavoured to persuade the travellers not to proceed in their intended journey at that time, assuring them that if they did so, they would be murdered. But the author and another of his companions were resolute, and procuring a couple of guides, at a late hour of the day went on. The said guides, both from their looks and their conduct soon suggested the idea of some of Mrs. Radcliff's assassins. The travellers got benighted, then lost for a time in a forest, and lastly were conducted to a mill which contained a number of suspicious looking men, answering exactly the scene of "The Miller and his Men." We pass over the description of what occurred at this place, from which the presence of mind and resolution of the travellers probably alone preserved them. But we quote several of the succeeding paragraphs, which for ease, elegance,

and natural contrasts, have seldom been matched by narrative writers, whether fiction or reality may have been the field chosen.

"I was extremely fatigued when we arrived at the mill, but now, hour after hour, and league after league, went by, and the weariness began to be insupportable. We all fell several times in the sand, from pure exhaustion. No one can have an idea of the overpowering sensation of fatigue which we experienced. My head turned giddy—all the powers of life seemed failing—and I firmly believe that another mile would have ended all; but at last we caught sight of a distant light. It gave us new courage, and with a strong effort we reached the village inn, from whence this ray of hope had proceeded. It was the last exertion I could make, and I fell into a chair by the fire without speech or motion.

"But woman, gentle woman, came to my aid with the kindness of a ministering angel, although clothed in the form of a pippin-faced landlady, a cocoa-nut-headed chambermaid, and half-a-dozen old Gascon women, who would have beaten any witch in Lapland out of the field. Blessed sleep succeeded, and I was idle enough to dream nothing all night. The morning had not long dawned, however, when I was woke by a variety of uncouth sounds in a sort of measured cadence, proceeding from before the window of the room in which I slept, and I was obliged to recollect that it was Christmas Day ere I could make anything of the noise. But even when this was remembered, and I comprehended that the good folks of Guizan, where I then was, were singing Christmas carols, or, as they are called in France, *Noels*, still the language was such a strange compound, that I had to summon all the Gascon in my brain to my aid, before I could gather anything like common sense. Let those try that like—

Rebeillats bous, mainades
Canten nadau alégremen,
Lou Hillet de Marie
Nous bau du saubement.

"On getting up, the first thing that attracted my attention was a sight of the people's feet and legs passing by the top of the window without their bodies, the height of their stilts carrying the rest of their persons so high in air that the low window of the *auberge* only afforded a view of half a man at a time. Be it remarked, however, that at Guizan the use of stilts is quite a work of supererogation. In the sandy parts of the Landes this contrivance is very necessary to enable the shepherds to follow their flock; but Guizan, situated upon a little oasis of extremely fertile land, by the side of Basin d'Arcachon, requires no such machinery. From the window of the *auberge* nothing was to be seen but green meadows and vineyards, with large fields of maize; and a rose-tree growing against the house was even then, at Christmas, in full bloom. All this formed a strange contrast with the day before, when our eyes had been wearied from morning till night by the endless expanse of barren sand, or the sombre monotony of pine forests. Guizan seemed a little Paradise; and the people, supposing our taste to be similar to that of Cowslip, who declares in the 'Agreeable Surprise,'

If I was a goddess, I'd have roast duck,

treated us with roast ducks for breakfast, dinner, and supper.

"Here, in this secluded nook of earth, live about five hundred souls, cut

off from free communication with their fellows by the broad sands on one side, and by the Bay of Biscay on the other; and yet I never saw a happier looking race. Englishmen, it may easily be supposed, are rather rare animals in the famous city of Guizan, and, consequently, during the three days we stayed, at all our meals we had a large congregation to see the wild beasts eat. Our landlord sat himself down at a small distance to tell us stories and amuse us between mouthfuls; his son and daughter lingered round with their fingers in their mouths; the pippin-faced landlady and the cocoa-nut-headed chambermaid bustled about with plates and dishes, while a whole host of Landais poked in their heads through the half-open door.

"Strange to say, that amongst a people who thus crowded round two strangers with the curiosity of Esquimaux, were yet to be found a billiard-table and a ball-room—and stranger still, the village possessed both players and dancers who would not have disgraced the first city in Europe."

ART. XI.—*Speech of William Clay, Esq., M.P., on moving for the Appointment of a Committee to inquire into the Operation of the Act Permitting the Establishment of Joint-Stock Banks &c. With some Remarks on an Article on Joint-Stock Companies, in the last Number of the Edinburgh Review.* London: Ridgway. 1836.

EVERY person who has turned his attention to financial or monetary systems must have experienced the difficulties which attach to these subjects, arising from the subtle abstractions and the multiplicity of points belonging to them, upon which a country's history bears. But the difficulties which surround any of these subjects, are not greater than is the necessity for having their operations placed on a sound and enlightened basis; and though the pamphlet before us were entitled to no other praise, it deserves to be recommended to public regard, for having called attention to one branch, which, unless variously handled, and much discussed by a number of individuals whose studies or pursuits especially fit them for coming to a sound conclusion, may be deeply and permanently injured, thereby compromising the safety and prosperity of a nation. Mr. Clay's Speech and Remarks, however, are entitled to a great deal of positive praise; for though he entertains opinions on certain points, regarding which there is room for difference, he even then must elicit a satisfactory answer, or be held to be in the right, while on a number of the most vital branches of the subject treated of, his arguments and views are irresistible. His Remarks on an article in the Edinburgh Review, to which he is opposed on this topic, appear to us particularly able. But we are not going to enter into the questions at issue—our purpose in the present notice being to invite public attention to Mr. Clay's pamphlet, and by two or three passages extracted from it, the more effectually secure this object.

The following are the conclusions to which Mr. Clay's reasonings have brought him.

"First—That the object of legislation with respect to banking should be, to promote the formation of banks, which should not only be ultimately solvent, but prepared at all times to meet their engagements.

"Secondly—That, to be permanently thus prepared, banks should, in

addition to being prudently conducted, have at command funds not the property of their customers.

"Thirdly—That such resource is to be found only in paid-up capital.

"Fourthly—That the necessity, and therefore the justice, of requiring paid-up capital is not so apparent in the case of banks of unlimited as of limited liability.

"Fifthly—That, were paid-up capital required from banks of unlimited liability, the danger would still remain—that the credit enjoyed by banks so constituted, and the engagements to which that credit would lead, would be commensurate—not with the paid-up capital merely, but with the supposed aggregate wealth of the partners—commensurate, therefore—not with resources which were—but with resources which were not—available on emergency.

"Sixthly—That there are no sufficient grounds, either from *à priori* reasoning or experience, for believing that unlimited liability will operate as a security against this danger, or secure the stability of a banking system.

"Seventhly—That unlimited liability has a tendency to deter persons of fortune, intelligence, and respectability, from becoming partners or managers of joint-stock banks.

"Eighthly—That limited liability, combined with paid-up capital and publicity, would substitute—for that feeling of responsibility on the part of those concerned in banks, which has been found inefficient, the vigilance of the public; and for a vague reliance on resources—of which the extent cannot be known, and which may not be forthcoming on emergency—a credit commensurate with the funds actually in possession of the bank, and the prudence with which those funds were administered."

The necessity for a thorough and immediate consideration of the present state of our monetary system is thus shown.

"There are other evils attendant on the present state of the law as regards joint-stock banks, of no inconsiderable magnitude, although trifling compared with those to which I have just adverted. Prominent among these, is the facility afforded by the existing law, for getting up, in a moment of excitement, bubble companies, I mean, of which the projectors have no other object than to make a profit by jobbing in the shares. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to conceive a state of the law, affording a more direct temptation and encouragement to such schemes, than the present. Under the 7th of George IV., a company for joint stock banking may be formed, with a nominal capital, we will suppose, of a million, 10,000 shares of 100*l.* each. It may commence business with 500 or 100 shares really taken, for to constitute the company according to the act, it is sufficient that half a dozen shareholders, and two officers, enter their names at the Stamp-office. Upon those shares, 40*s.* or 20*s.* each may be paid up, for the act requires no paid-up capital; and if the projectors can provide funds to procure a sufficient quantity of mahogany desks, and brass door-plates, they are authorised to establish branch banks in every town in the kindom, sixty-five miles from the metropolis, for in the act there is no limitation of the number. A fictitious dividend may be declared, for the act prescribes no publicity of accounts, and when by this, or any other contrivance, the shares have been raised to a premium, the reserved shares may be issued, the profit thus

obtained furnishing a fund, from which further dividends may be made, and fresh delusions practised on the public. Even the principle of responsibility of the individual shareholders is, in the existing law, by no means efficiently worked out; no publication of the names of the shareholders is prescribed, and it is quite possible, therefore, that all the parties whose names were originally the means of raising one of these companies into credit, may withdraw, and the confidence of the public might thus be found to be resting on grounds altogether illusory. It is only by application at the Stamp-office that the names of the partners in any joint-stock bank can be ascertained, a process but little likely to be resorted to, with respect to establishments at a considerable distance from London. I may add, that in point of fact, the changes of proprietors, although required by the act to be registered at the Stamp-office, are not always so registered; and indeed, if every transfer of every share in every joint-stock bank, is to be entered at the Stamp-office, some new and extensive arrangements must be made for the purpose."

The benefits conferred on trade by Joint-Stock Banks are numerous and great, but like all other means of doing good, they are frequently the causes of great mischief and extensive ruin. They are sometimes employed for creating fictitious credit, and made the instrument of a system of gross gambling. How, then, Mr. Clay asks, may banking be conducted so as on the one hand to be secure, and on the other to be advantageous to the community, while profitable also to those engaged in it?

"Clearly, by the expedient of having always at command funds, not the property of the depositors, but of the banker, upon which there are no claims, and with which he may supply the place of those funds entrusted to him which are beyond his immediate control. With prudence, the necessity for having recourse to such funds will seldom occur, but there is no degree of prudence which can render unnecessary the power of applying to such a source, and it may I think be stated as an unanswerable proposition, that no system devoid of such security can be permanently sound, and, to the full extent of which banking is susceptible, useful to the community."

The Edinburgh Review's history of a curious and startling method of establishing a banking company, as given in the following statement, calls loudly for the Legislature's revision of the Joint-stock system, and warrants Mr. Clay's persevering efforts on the subject.

"During the course of the present year the Stamp-office prosecuted a person at Manchester for carrying on the forgery of stamps on a large scale, and had him convicted and transported. Now, what will our readers think when we tell them that there were found on the person, and in the repositories of this notorious culprit, several letters addressed to him by an individual who was at the time engaged in the formation of a great joint-stock bank! The letter-writer knew perfectly well what his friend at Manchester was about; and the burthen of his letters is to press him for loans to enable him to get his scheme matured and fairly set afloat. It may, perhaps, be imagined, considering the sort of project the party had on his hands, that he would have required large advances; but no, his utmost demand was for 15*l.* or 20*l.*, and he sometimes modestly limits himself to a pressing solicitation for a sovereign, or even half a sovereign! He had, to make himself respectable, taken a house looking into——

Park, and provided he could continue to hold that, and get his prospectuses printed and advertisements paid, he had no doubt, and in that he was right, that he should in a few weeks be rolling in wealth! Only think, says he, to his correspondent, of a person without a shilling establishing a bank! There were to be —,000 shares, and a deposit of 5*l.* was to be paid on each, and this very bank is now in the field; its success has not been quite so great as that of some others; but considering its parentage, we need not be surprised if, at first, it should be a little ricketty; no doubt, however, if the present facilities continue for another year it will get fairly under weigh; its directors will declare large dividends, and give white-bait dinners at Blackwall, and those who have dealt with them will of course lose everything."

ART. XII.—*The History of England.* Vol. XXI. By the Rev. T. S. HUGHES. London: Valpy. 1836.

THIS volume concludes the above-mentioned work, and brings down the history to our own day. We have frequently used the highest terms of commendation in reference to that portion of the publication, which merely required the supervision of an editor, and respecting its exterior as well as its other mechanical features. But very peculiar talents and judgment are called for, when a writer takes the chair of the historian, and has an original work to execute. The Rev. gentleman, who has, in the present instance, entered upon this difficult and important task, has acquitted himself with singular ability. There is much classic purity about his style; it is plain, easy, and grave. He possesses the rare art of condensation, while his opinions are decidedly constitutional, but liberal and enlightened. A short notice, however, can only deal in generalities; but a specimen of the performance will convey a juster character than any string of such vague epithets can do.

"The close of the Session of 1827 was soon followed by a public calamity, which again dismembered the government, and disappointed all those hopes, which the genius and enlightened principles of Mr. Canning had raised in the British nation. Parliament had no sooner separated, than this able Minister issued orders to the heads of different departments, that they should transmit to him accurate and detailed accounts of the expenses connected with their several establishments, with a view to the reduction of our national burdens. On the 15th of July he became seriously indisposed; but after a few days of rest he determined to resume his official duties, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his medical attendants; on the 25th he retired, for change of air, to the beautiful seat of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chiswick; but the fatigues and cares of office, with the desertion and bitter hostility of his ministerial colleagues, acting on a frame naturally irritable, and enfeebled by recent illness, hastened his dissolution, just when the ebullition of that hostility was contributing to develop his genuine constitutional principles. His disease terminated in a severe inflammation of the bowels; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures, he breathed his last, on the 8th of August, in the same room where his great predecessor, Charles James Fox, expired; he was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the foot of Mr. Pitt's grave, and his funeral, though private, was attended by a large concourse of noble and estimable persons, among whom there was scarcely one to whom the illustrious deceased was not endeared by the ties of relationship, or the recollections of friendship and kindness.

"The public character of Mr. Canning was clearly seen in the altered policy of our Government, both foreign and domestic, during his connexion with the Liverpool Administration: his ambition, like that of Chatham, to whom, as a minister and statesman, he bore the nearest resemblance, was lofty and imperious; but it was directed to noble ends—to the glory of his own country and the advancement, through her greatness, of the best interests of other nations; his anxiety was, that all should benefit, not only by her commercial prosperity, but by the blessings of her constitution; and when he was constrained to wield her thunders, it was only to check the spirit of despotic tyranny, and to keep Great Britain in her natural sphere, as the protectress of those who aspired to freedom. He exhibited a splendid contrast to certain characters of the present day; who, having entered on public life as the advocates of liberal and patriotic sentiments, have degenerated into bigoted defenders of antiquated opinions, and selfish supporters of intolerable abuses: Mr. Canning, on the contrary, though party introduced him into the senate, and Tory principles long secured to him a place in the Administration, gradually imbibed, and became insensibly influenced by, the free spirit of the British constitution; until at length, enlightened by experience, he cast off the trammels of that oligarchy, with which early ambition had associated him, but to which he owed no natural allegiance. Being determined to uphold the noble fabric, reared by our forefathers, he contemplated with horror any attempt to endanger its foundation, or to alter its character; but when he found that the principles which he once professed began to threaten its safety, he abandoned them as far as he thought expedient, and, conciliating his political opponents, without submitting to their dictation, he availed himself of their assistance to carry on his measures of regeneration. England regretted in him the most accomplished orator that the enlightened spirit of the age had yet produced; and the liberal portion of Europe mourned over the loss of his moral influence as a great calamity to the world at large."

ART. XIII.—*The Anglo-Polish Harp; a Psalter for the Restoration of the Poles (with Prefaces, &c.); to which are added Palmyra, and other Poems; as also Scenes from Longinus (with a Postscript).* By JACOB JONES, Esq. Barrister-at-law. Third Edition. London: Pickering. 1836.

THERE is a peculiarity of verbiage in the above title, but the singularities of the author will become far more manifest on a perusal of his tiny publication. And still, we do not dislike his singularities. He entertains, for instance, an extreme admiration of his productions, be they in prose or in verse, which shews that he is sincere and most hearty in his expressions. We discover, also, an earnestness and vehemence in his sentiments and their utterance, that cannot but be gratifying to all whose patriotic feelings are of a high order. It seems to us, however, that Mr. Jones is fuller of the fire of eloquence than the imaginativeness of the poetic temperament. We presume he is an energetic orator at the bar. Before presenting a specimen of his poetry, we must add, that from the dates attached to some of his pieces in this publication, it does not appear, although it be a third edition, that he is a prolific bard.

"HYMN OF LIBERTY.

(For Translation into the Polish Language).

"We are brothers
Nobly banded,
Scorning dangers,
Single-handed!
We were captives,
Sold to slavery;
We are freemen,
Thro' our bravery.
Chorus.—Sing, in chorus, thro' our bravery,
Down, for ever—down with slavery!
"When the despots
Fought and won us,
How ignobly,
Chains upon us!
When we rallied
'Twas in thunder,
And we rent
Those chains asunder.
Chorus.—Sing in chorus, 'twas in thunder,
When we rent those chains asunder.
"Now in triumph,
We are blending;
Now, our fame is
Never-ending;
For the captives
Sold to slavery,
Oh! are freemen,
Thro' their bravery!
Chorus.—Sing in chorus, thro' their bravery,
Down, for ever—down with slavery!"

ART. XIV.—*Report upon the Existing System of Public Medical Relief in Ireland, &c.* By the late SIR DAVID BARRY, M.D, and J. R. CORRIE, M.D. London: Groombridge. 1836.

THIS pamphlet has been drawn up to simplify and abridge the Reports given in by these gentlemen, who were Assistant Medical Commissioners to his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Poor in Ireland. The matter here condensed, as given in the large parliamentary folios, could be accessible but to few. It has been happily thought of, therefore, to present a mass of the most important facts concerning the vital interests of a large class of our fellow-creatures, in this cheap form; and the performance is worthy of the subject.

The classes of institutions examined by these Assistant Commissioners, were not all purely medical charities; they incidentally looked into houses of industry, mendicity establishments, and gaols; and the actual state and working of these various institutions has been more the object of their Report than sanitary or statistic information. The establishments, both as to class and number, investigated by them, were the following:—

County and city hospitals	15
Dispensaries	102

Fever hospitals	16
Lunatic asylums	7
Cholera hospitals	2
Lying-in hospitals	2
Houses of industry and mendicity	12
Gaols	10

It will thus be seen that a field of no ordinary extent and interest has been traversed by these Assistant Commissioners. The mode of their procedure seems to form an admirable example of diligence, impartiality, and enlightened philanthropy They found much to praise and much to blame—the result, however, being that they have recommended an entire alteration of the whole system examined by them. We extract two short passages.

"*The Getter-up of a Dispensary.*—A person practising medicine in a village, but having no diploma nor public professional certificate of any kind, takes advantage of the silence of the Dispensary Acts upon the subject of medical qualifications, gets up a dispensary, sets down the names of his patients to whom he furnishes drugs, as subscribers for sums as low as 2*s.* 6*d.*, and even 1*s.* per annum; he obtains an equivalent county grant, becomes cash-keeper and collector, makes all disbursements, audits his own accounts, pays to himself the rent of the dispensary (his own house), 33*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.*, collects the subscriptions of his subscribers, or rather the debts of his patients, and balances his annual accounts with a charge for such an item as 'bottles and lapping paper.'"—p. 10.

"In every instance we found the health of the inmates of the gaols excellent, and had the most positive assurances that the flesh and whole appearance of the prisoners are often improved after their committal, more especially after commital for slight offences; nor is this to be wondered at, when we know that the constant food of a large portion of the labouring poor and of their families, more particularly in the south-west of Ireland, is a scanty allowance of the *worst* kind of potato, the 'lumper, with a little salt; their clothing rags, both by day and night; their lodging a hut, seldom water-tight; their bed a little loose straw, on the bare earth; whilst with all these privations they are exposed to sudden changes of temperature, to wet and damp, and the baneful effects of intoxication by whiskey.

"It is a proof either that prisons have ceased to be places of adequate punishment in Ireland, or that the labouring poor must be miserably destitute, or perhaps of both, when the pittance and the cell of the gaol, with all their bitter restraint, are sought after as a source of relief, as we have reason to believe they are, in some cases. The remedy would be, to make things worse for the felon, and better for the honest, the impotent, and the destitute labourer."—pp. 22, 23.

ART. XV.—*The Romance of Nature; or, the Flower-season Illustrated.* By LOUISA TWAMLEY. The Plates engraved after Original Drawings from Nature by the Author. London: Tilt. 1836.

THE thought which first strikes the reader, on observing the above title, is that the subject is vast as well as one requiring very peculiar powers for its handling. We were therefore curious to see how the authoress would enter upon it; but the moment our eyes caught a sight of the following passage in the Preface, we felt that she had chosen a familiar field,

and that her pages, if they did not exhaust the subject, would at least throw light upon it, and teach the reader the art of pursuing the study for himself. She says, "Many flowers far more magnificent might have been selected; but it is the poetry of our own meadows, and lanes, and dingles, and 'little running brooks,' that I wished to point out to my readers. Had I only made acquaintance with flowers in the costly conservatory, or the trimly laid-out garden, (though I dearly love a garden,) I should not feel their beauty and blessings half so deeply as I now do. Wild flowers seem the true philanthropists of their race. Their generous and cheerful faces even give a kindly greeting to the troops of merry village children who revel in their blossomy wealth; and right welcome are they, gladdening the eyes of the poor mechanic when he breathes the fresh country air on Sunday, and gathers a handful of cowslips or daffodils, or prouder fox-gloves to carry home, and set in the dim windows of his pent-up dwelling. So dear and beautiful are wild flowers, that one would think every one *must* love them."

Miss Twamley begins with the Snow-drop, and the Crocus, and goes through the flowering seasons, spring, summer, and autumn, making a judicious selection—introducing, besides her own exquisite verses and pictorial illustrations, many prose as well as poetic pictures and addresses culled from the old English fathers of song. Two or three specimens of the descriptive and poetic matter which fills up these pages must suffice.

Here are a few of her own verses.

"The spring came forth; with her glance so bright,
Her song of glee, and her wing of light,
She hath flitted along o'er vale and hill,
That in Winter's deep sleep lay dark and still;
She hath warbled her cheerful arousing strain,
And they burst from her slumbers to life again.
She waved o'er the forests her magic wand,
And the leaves sprung forth 'neath her fairy hand;
The luxuriant lilac's bloom is there,
And laburnums waving their yellow hair.
* * * * * *
"O'er field and hedgerow, by bank and stream,
Her path we trace in the rainbow gleam;
Of the myriad flowers, that now unfold
Their treasures of silver and burnished gold."

Miss Twamley has read Shakespeare with discrimination, and indeed all the old bards from whom she borrows.

"Although every flower which our divine Shakespeare has mentioned claims from us an immortality of love, yet the Pansy seems especially dedicated to him. Other Bards have written most sweet and dainty conceits about the blushing rose, and the fair lily, and the blue violet, and many another gentle bud and gorgeous blossom; but none have so entirely appropriated any to themselves as Shakespeare has the 'Pansy freaked with jet.' He has given the fable to the flower, and a passage of more perfect poetical beauty cannot exist, than the scene where Oberon directs Puck to 'fetch him this herb.' How touchingly Ophelia mingles the Pansy in her gifts of token flowers:—'There's Pansies—that's for thoughts.'

"Herrick, in his usual quaint, fanciful way, gives a different account—

'How Pansies or Hart-ease came first.
Frolick virgins once these were,
Overloving, living here;
Being here their ends deny'd,
Ran for sweet-hearts mad, and dy'd.
Love, in pitie of their teares,
And their losse in blooming yeares,
For their restlesse here-spent houres,
Gave them hart's-ease turned to flowers.'"

But our authoress is not unworthy of the choicest company, as our next extract clearly proves.

"How delicious is a quiet shady lane in summer! I do not mean a broad carriage-road lane, but one of those little narrow winding dingles, arched over with wild-briar and woodbine, where the air is full of perfume, and the banks bright with flowers. How refreshing it is to step into such an one, from the sunny and shadeless fields, to sit beneath the hedge of hawthorn and hazel-bushes—

'Mong the gay weeds, and verdant grass: while high
Into the slumbering air majestic trees
Rear their proud leafy crests—below,
Singing along its shallow pebbly bed,
Sparkles a little rivulet, whose voice
Tells soothingly of summer's parching thirst
In its cool wave allayed; and murmurs oft
Its one unvaried tune, till listening ear
Of weary way-farer grows less acute,
And, lulled by its soft music, he is lapped
In some sweet dream of pleasant drowsyhed."

The superstitions and tales connected with many plants and flowers afford our authoress many opportunities for graceful illustration. But the following sweet fancies are evidence of the ease and beauty with which she can chaunt about the most ordinary appearances; and the reader may therefrom be satisfied, that her power is playful, and varied, equal to the association, whatever it may be, that attaches to the lovely tints that garniture the earth.

"We know they sleep: at eve the daisy small
Foldeth all up
Her blush-tipped rays; and the wave's empress shuts
Her star-lit cup:
And each fair flower, though some with open eye,
Listens, and yields to Nature's lullaby.
The nodding Foxglove slumbers on her stalk,
And fan-like Ferns
Seem poised still and sleepily, until
The morn returns,
With singing birds and beams of rosy light,
To bid them dance and frolic in delight.
The drowsy Poppy, who has all the day
Proudly outspread
His scarlet mantle, folds it closely now
Around his head;

And, lulled by soothing balm that his own leaves distil,
Sleeps, while the night-dews fall upon the moonlit hill."

A branch of Black-berries serves to introduce such pleasant and valuable suggestions as these:—

"If people would be but *wise* enough, through life, to derive enjoyments from such innocent pleasures as delighted them in childhood, we should find far fewer sour tempers, cold hearts, and narrow minds in the world. All, except positive idiots, are endowed by God with a portion of that beautiful poetry of existence, which in childhood is so conspicuously evident—teaching even the infant in the nurse's arms to snatch at flowers and laugh in the sunshine. Fortunately for the rising generation, the study of Natural History is becoming 'fashionable,' and heartily do I pray that to be natural in heart, mind, and feeling, may become fashionable too."

ART. XVI.—*The Popular Encyclopedia.* Part VIII. Glasgow: Blackie and Son. 1836.

We have received the last published Part of this most useful and very talented work—even when the additions made to its original contents are only regarded. It includes the matter properly belonging to its extent and plan, that stands between the alphabetical heading—*Ledyard and Mississippi Valley;* an exceedingly interesting portion of the work, if the subjects announced under the words Light, Linen, Luther, &c., alone are considered. But this Lexicon of science, literature, and art, is already so well known, and we have before spoken so strongly in its praise, that we need only inform our readers of the recent publication of the present Part, to acquit ourselves of the duty which they and the publishers have a right to expect at our hands. The drawing and engraving of the prefixed plates are the only faulty features which we have on this occasion observed. The figures are also too numerous and crowded on each plate, to serve for ready reference.

ART. XVII.—*Moore's Elements of the Greek Language. Translated from the Latin. With a few Alterations and Additions. For the Use of Junior Students.* Glasgow: Ogle and Son. 1836.

It may well excite surprise, that such an excellent elementary work as Moore's Greek Grammar, should have hitherto only been taught through the medium of the Latin language. And yet, such has been the case, even in Scotland, where it is by far the most generally employed Manual that exists. Our cautious and intelligent neighbours, however, if slow are sure improvers and reformers; and hereafter, we anticipate that the absurd prejudice and practice which held that a Grammar of a dead language could be best taught by means of another dead, though classical language, in so far as Moore's Grammar is concerned, will fall into desuetude. Germany has taken the lead in this philological reform, and her labours and conquests may well warrant imitation by the whole civilized and learned world. For ourselves, we can positively declare, that although Moore's Grammar was the book which, in our boyhood and stripling years, had to be often handled, and wearifully hammered, its rules and notes being in a

language not half so familiar to us as the English, did just so much the more impose upon it the character of an arbitrary and unimpressive code. We are therefore glad to see this edition and translation, and can earnestly recommend it to teachers and students throughout the empire.

ART. XIII.—*Popular Songs of the Germans, with a Translation of all Unusual Words and Difficult Passages, and Explanatory Notes.* By W. KLAUER-KLATTOWSKI, 12mo. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1836.

THESE songs form the first volume of a series which the learned editor purposes to superintend and publish, and which are to present, in an elegant and compendious shape, the beauties, the flowers, the anthology of the German muse, in so far as this department of poetry is concerned. The German language is every day becoming better known in this country, and its power as well as riches more fully appreciated than ever. Perhaps a more favourable criterion of its compass, expression, and delicacy cannot be chosen than what its popular songs offer; for, unlike those of some other countries in Europe, England, for example (not including Scotland or Ireland,) the lyrical effusions of Germany are full of poetic sentiment, and exquisite appeals to national feeling. Of the present collection, we cannot in a few words speak more justly, than to say that it has been chosen with nice discrimination. The names of several writers dear to fame, which are affixed to many of these songs, are of themselves sufficient to recommend the selection—such as Schiller, Bürger and not a few other masters of song. The Editor's Translations and Explanatory Notes will be of great service to all students of the German language, whose scholarship is inferior to that of the learned Professor himself. We hope and believe that the countenance which he will receive from the British public, and especially from the numerous persons of high rank in society, whose acquirements and tastes, as respects the language in which these effusions are written, are particularly advanced, will be a sufficient encouragement to him to proceed with the remaining volumes of the intended series.

ART. XIX.—*The Christian Lacon.* By W. MARTIN. London: W. Darton and Son.

LIKE all the small-sized works which this respectable firm publishes, "The Christian Lacon" is really *multum in parvo.* The subjects are selected and treated with good judgment and taste, and frequently there is a dash of original thought thrown into the sentiments, which are always neatly expressed. The work, indeed, furnishes an excellent manual of religious and moral lessons, and while the exterior cannot fail to attract and gratify the sight, its contents will impress the heart. We do not know where, for the same price, there can be found an equally valuable book, or one better suited to be presented to the young. Even the middle-aged will find "The Christian Lacon" a work that bestows upon many truths and sentiments upon which they may have previously thought confusedly or ineffectively, a point and an emphasis that can never again be lost. The performance does the head and heart of Mr. Martin great credit and without a single reservation we earnestly recommend it to the public.

THE

MONTHLY REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1836.

ART. I.—*On the Miraculous and Internal Evidences of the Christian Revelation, and the Authority of its Records.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. and LL.D. Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. Glasgow: Collins.

THERE is not one of the many books which Dr. Chalmers has published, that has contributed more, or probably so much, to his celebrity, as his Evidences of Christianity. On the first appearance of the work in Brewster's Encyclopedia, the massiveness and grandeur of his intellectual powers were at once acknowledged, though from that moment down to the present day, he has been constantly adding to his name a better understood and more widely diffused renown. On the first appearance of these Evidences, he took, by general consent, his place in the foremost rank of reasoners, and became a tower of strength among divines on the side of orthodoxy. Nay, so much honour did he bring to the party in the church to which he attached himself, that, in his own country, the fashion of the day changed, and to be a strict, an unflinching preacher of the peculiar doctrines of the New Testament, was no longer a presumed ground of disparagement, whether fastidiousness of taste, philosophical acuteness, or originality of illustration were regarded. We look upon it, indeed, to have been a conquest most beautiful and valuable in the history of the triumphs of truth, which he has achieved by the united force of his writings, his pulpit ministrations, and his life.

In accordance with a practice which of late years has become general, a complete and uniform edition of the reverend author's works has been begun, several volumes of which are already in the hands of the public. The original treatises are sometimes enlarged, completing the writer's views on particular subjects, so as to give to these portions of the series the character of new works. In an eminent degree has this been the case with these Evidences, which now occupy two handsome duodecimo volumes. The new matter is chiefly devoted to an exposition of the Internal Evidences, the dis-

cussion of Hume's arguments on Miracles, revived by Laplace in l is Essay on the Doctrine of Probabilities, and several chapters on tne Canon and Inspiration of Scripture. Now, although in this new matter, and especially when bestowed upon subjects of such paramount importance as those just mentioned, there is a splendid field for critical observation, it will not be expected that we should attempt more than point out a few specimens of the literary excellence of the work. It is our study to avoid purely theological discussions, or to profess in our public capacity any particular religious creed. But, still, without doing so, we may, consistently enough with the character of this journal, call the attention of our readers to eloquent reasoning and diction, wherever it is to be found, and not the less warrantably, that this eloquence is lavished upon themes, of all that man can contemplate, the most worthy of such a display.

It is impossible to listen to Dr. Chalmers, either as heard in the pulpit or his writings, without very speedily discovering that he is a great mannerist—that his manner and matter are reciprocally characteristic; or without becoming convinced, that however natural and forcible it may appear in his case, it would be a very dangerous thing to imitate him. The truth is, that nothing but genius, and genius of precisely the same kind, could render a similar manner, phraseology, and arrangement of ideas tolerable. On entering upon any subject, it is his constant practice to lay down and illustrate some general but strong principle, which very probably appears to his hearers as totally unconnected with the theme given out; but upon which he expatiates till, were it not from the energy of his language, and the wonderful variety of illustrative images produced, the theme might seem needlessly laboured. But at length he breaks new ground, and, with his established principle in his firm and strenuous grasp, plants it by the side of the main point, or rather upon an eminence that commands a complete survey of the doctrine to be enforced; and now from this eminence he fires right and left, enlarging by each volley a clear avenue to the thing aimed at—paving the way with an endless variety of beauties, which, however, delight fully as much by the appeals made to the understanding, as by the awakenings of the imagination. In short, Dr. Chalmers possesses the enviable gift, in an extraordinary degree, of not only convincing his hearers, (it seems sometimes to be too much in the style of taking them captive by force,) but of communicating the feeling that the mind has caught a portion of his powers, and that in future it will be able to take up his train of thought and manner of argument, for private exercise and improvement.

On turning to the present volumes to extract a few specimens of his manner and matter, it may be proper to mention, that he places his argument with Hume at the outset of the work, thereby

endeavouring, before entering on the evidence from human testimony for the miracles of the Gospel, to show that it is competent for such testimony to establish the truth of a miracle—a thing which Hume denies; and this, we think, the author accomplishes perfectly, without adopting the reasoning employed by Dr. Campbell, in his celebrated answer to Hume, but by admitting certain of Hume's premises, and deducing from them their legitimate conclusions. But we are not going to attempt making an abridgment of the metaphysical argument: our purpose is quite different; it is merely to exhibit so much of the contents of these volumes as will entice every one to make himself master of them, believing as we do that they present by far the ablest arguments on the subjects discussed that have ever been brought to the aid of the Christian cause.

The first chapter furnishes an admirable example of the author's method of entering upon a subject. It treats of "the Cognizance which the Understanding takes of its own Processes," and opens in the following manner.

"It has often been said of man that he is the greatest of all mysteries to himself. What hath led to this saying is his profound ignorance of that which is so immediately about him as his own sentient and moral and intellectual economy. It is strange that to him the most deep and difficult secrets are those which lie nearest to him. Yet so it is—and however inscrutable he may find Nature to be in all her departments, yet never does he find her more so than among the recesses of his own internal system, and amid the hidden workings of his own nature.

"But it is of the utmost practical importance to remark that though man knows not the processes of that complex economy by which it is that he moves and feels and thinks, it is not necessary that he should, in order either to move aright, or to feel aright, or even to think aright. In as far as the merely animal constitution is concerned, this is quite palpable. That the processes of this constitution should go rightly forward it is not necessary that he should understand them. He does not need to study anatomy that he might find his way to the appropriate muscles by which to move and turn himself. It is not by any intelligent guidance of his that the processes of digestion and secretion and circulation are regulated. The creature may be upheld in living play and in the healthful enjoyment of life, although he should never have taken lessons on Physiology, or speculated till he had lost his way among the arcana of vitality and the vital principle. That the machinery of his own internal system may be kept prosperously a-going it is no more required that he should look inwardly, than that he should look outwardly or upwardly to the Heavens lest the mechanism of the Planetary system should go into unhingement."—vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

"All this is abundantly obvious—but it has not been sufficiently attended to, that the remark is nearly as applicable to man's moral as to his animal constitution. That this constitution be in a wholesome state, or that its various faculties and functions should be in right adjustment, it is not necessary for man the owner of this constitution, to take a reflex view

of it, or become theoretically acquainted with the nature and the workings of this inner mechanism. What has been said of physical may be as emphatically said of moral and spiritual health. The vigorous clown may have all the use or enjoyment of it—while all the science of it belongs to the sickly valetudinarian. And in like manner the first may never have heard of a moral sense, and yet both promptly discern and powerfully feel the obligations of morality—while the second can subtly analyze that conscience, whose authority he bids away from him. The truth is, that often when man is most alive to the sense of what is duteous and incumbent, it is not to himself that he looks—but to a fellow man whether an applicant for justice or charity who at the time is present to his sight, or to God the sovereign claimant of piety and of all righteousness, who at the time is present to his thoughts. So that all the while he may have been looking outwardly to an object, and never once have cast an introverted view upon himself the subject. He may have been looking objectively or forth of himself, and never subjectively or towards himself."—vol. i, p. 15.

"When it is said of the common people that they are not logicians, this may be true if it be meant, that they seldom take a reflex view of the processes of intellect, and are strangers to the terms of that nomenclature by which these processes are described. But that is not to hinder their going most correctly and intelligently through the processes themselves. Though incapable of the reflex, they may be abundantly capable of the direct process—and on a thousand subjects calling forth the exercise of mind, but which are apart from the subject of mind itself, they do evince a shrewdness and penetration for which too little credit is given to them. Generally speaking, an unlettered workman knows nothing of the philosophy of testimony—yet without this knowledge he may be accurately impressed by the importance of any actual or specific testimony which is brought within his reach. On the strength of those instinctive principles of belief which are in busy operation within him, though he himself hath never taken account of them; and on the strength of his general and accumulated experience—he may have a very correct sense of the verisimilitudes that belong to many a question. The whole of the judging process may have been accurately gone through by him, though the metaphysique of the process should be wholly inaccessible to himself, or even though it should be equally inaccessible to the most subtle and philosophical of discerners. This does not hinder the process from going on rightly. The mechanism of the inner man works, though he never looks at the working of it. The judgment which is part of that mechanism may do its part and do it soundly and well—so as that evidence shall have its just impression upon him, though the philosophy of that evidence was never once the subject of any reflex investigation."—vol. i, pp. 38—40.

After noticing that it never was imagined, till about the middle of the last century, that the very nature of a miracle resisted proof, so as to place it beyond the reach of any testimony, and that this discovery was grounded on the considerations of a general logic, when taking cognizance of the properties of the reasoning mind, and not when actually engaged in the direct process of estimating the evidence for the miracles of the Gospel, we have the following remarkably happy

comparison between the philosophers of England and Scotland, and, indeed, between the characteristic genius of the people of the two countries.

"The savans of our nation have certainly a greater taste and inclination for the reflex process, while it is more the property of our southern neighbours to enter, vigorously and immediately and with all that instinctive confidence wherewith nature has endowed us, on the business of the direct one. Our general tendency is to date our argument from a higher point than the English do—to reason for example about reasoning, before we proceed to reason about the matter on hand. Nay, we are apt to be so far misled as to think that we should thoroughly comprehend the nature and properties of the instrument or ratiocination, before we proceed to the use of it. We must do this, it is thought, else we do not begin at the beginning—though in fact this were just such a beginning as that of the labourer who should imagine that ere he enters with the spade in his hand on the work of digging, he must first have computed the powers of its wedge, or ascertained the specific weight and cohesion of its materials. There is upon an infinity of subjects, much intellectual labour, that may be most prosperously gone through, without any anterior examination on our part of the intellectual faculty. Our disposition in many a question is to move a previous question which must be first settled, ere we hold ourselves in a condition for starting fair with the one immediately before us. The English again, to borrow another phrase from their own parliamentary language, are for proceeding to the order of the day. And they are not deceived in the result—just because nature has not deceived them, nor has she given original principles to her children for the purpose of leading them astray. They are like men set forth on the survey of a landscape, and who proceed immediately to the business of seeing—whereas the others, ere they shall have any dealing with the objects of vision, must have settled their account with the instrument of vision—so that while the former are looking broadly and confidently outwards on the scene of observation, the latter are speculating on the organ and its retina, or have their thoughts intently fastened on that point whence the optic nerve issues from its primitive obscurity among the convolutions of the brain. Now this is what our friends in the south seem to have no patience for. Their characteristic is not subtlety of discrimination on the powers and principles of the mind—but often admirable soundness and sagacity in the direct application of their powers to the practical object of coming to a right judgment on all important questions. Dr. Paley stands forth in full dimensions as an exemplar of this class. Strong and healthful in his faculties, he turns them to the immediate business before him, without one reflex look at the faculties themselves. He bestows on the argument of Hume a few touches of his sagacity—but soon flings it as if in distaste or intolerance away from him. We hold this to have been the general reception of it in our sister kingdom—and while taken up in grave and philosophic style by Campbell and Brown and Murray and Cook and Somerville and the Edinburgh Reviewers, it seems to have made comparatively little impression on the best authors of England—on Penrose for example, who bestows on it but slight and cursory notice, and Le Bas, who almost thinks it enough to have barely characterized it as a wretched fallacy."—vol. i, pp. 42—44.

On proceeding to consider "Man's instinctive Belief in the Constancy of Nature," the learned author argues, that the use of experience is not to strengthen our faith in the constancy of nature's sequences, but to inform us what the consequences actually are. The argument arising from this general position is pursued with the closest and most demonstrative effect; but to which nothing short of a careful study of the entire chapter and context can do justice. The reasoning in this part of the work is particularly adapted for those who have been bewildered and misled by the metaphysics of Hume and his followers. We are next introduced to the heart of the case, so to speak, in this controversy, the third chapter treating of "the Sufficiency of Human Testimony for the Proof of Miracles." As before stated, Dr. Chalmers relinquishes Campbell's premises, who, in opposition to Hume, has recourse to an aboriginal instinct of the understanding, whereas the historian grounded the origin of our faith in testimony on experience. Now, our author undertakes to prove Hume's conclusion to be wrong, not *because* but *although* his premises should be right.

"Certain it is, that in all arguments, the unnecessary multiplication of first principles ought to be avoided. This has more than once been resorted to for the defence of religion—but not, we fear, without giving to its enemies the impression of a desperate cause. When Hume alleged our want of experience in the making of worlds, and would have built his Atheism on the assertion that the world was a singular effect, this was met by Reid and Stewart with their counter-affirmation, that the argument for design as indicated by the beneficial adaptations which our Universe exhibits was not grounded on experience at all—but that this design could be read immediately by the mind, through a distinct faculty of prompt and peculiar discernment which they were pleased to ascribe to it. And, in like manner, when the same infidel philosopher alleged our want of experience for miracles, and would have built his Deism on the assertion, that our variable and defective experience for the truth of testimony could never so outweigh our uniform experience against the truth of miracles, as to make it possible that the credit of such extraordinary events should ever be established by the report of our fellow-men—this was met by Dr. Campbell with the assertion of an evidence in testimony apart from experience and independent of experience. It was certainly a signal honour done to the intellectual tactics of Mr. Hume, that for the protection of our cause, two new principles had to be invented, wherewith to complicate still more, the philosophy of our mental constitution. Yet without such device, we think, that in both instances, the mischief of his argument might be neutralized—and that without the allegation of any mystic or peculiar tact whatever, both our belief of contrivance in Nature, and our belief of miracles from testimony might be made to rest on an experimental basis."—vol. i, pp. 90—92.

Hume's argument is, that we have never experienced a violation of the laws of nature, but we have often experienced the falsehood of testimony, and that it is not in the power of testimony to esta-

blish the truth of such a violation. To meet this, Dr. Campbell asserts, that our faith in testimony is a distinct principle from our faith in experience; whereas the author distinguishes between kinds of testimony, and maintains, that experience affords us unerring presumptions in certain cases in its behalf, and that men rely upon such examples with as complete confidence as they ever do upon what are usually denominated the operations of the laws of nature; that, in fact, it is a perfectly apprehended law of nature, that certain sorts of testimony should be unerringly true.

"We affirm that a testimony is conceivable—nay, that a testimony has often been given, having such marks and characteristics, of truth accumulated upon it, and in such circumstances of unlikelihood or moral impossibility of its falsehood, that we can aver with the utmost confidence of such testimony, that it never has deceived us and never will. What Mr. Hume charges testimony *in the general* with, is very often realized in one species of testimony—not so often, in a second—less frequently in a third—much seldomer, in a fourth—with the exceeding rarity of an occurrence quite marvellous, in a fifth—and never, in a sixth species of testimony. The subtle error of Mr. Hume's sophistry lies in this, that he makes all testimony responsible, for all the instances of falsehood—whereas he should make each species responsible only for its own instances. This needs well to be pondered—for, it is really here, that the whole plausibility of his argument lies. The sophistry retains its force, so long as we look to testimony in the gross—divide the testimony into its kinds, and the sophistry is dissipated.

"In estimating the credit of a narration, our confidence in the things which are testified, is according to the kind of testimony. It makes no deduction from this confidence, to be told, that testimony has often deceived us. We reply, has this kind of testimony deceived us? It were thought a strange procedure in ordinary life, to lay upon one man of strict and undeviating honesty, any portion of the discredit, which is attached to another man who is habitually an impostor, or who has been detected even in one instance of fraud or falsehood. It were equally strange, to lay upon testimony, marked throughout by all the characters, and accompanied with all the pledges of integrity, the burden of that distrust which belongs to testimony, of specifically distinct, nay opposite characteristics. To recur to an illustration already given, from tide-gauges constructed on different principles, and so differing in their results, those of one species being more and of another less correct in their indications of high and low-water. That tide-gauges in general have deceived us, is surely no good reason, why we should suspect the intimations of that sort of tide-gauge which never deceived us. It were not very discriminating to accumulate the burden of all the discredit which attaches to the worst kinds of the instrument, and lay it on the best kind of instrument—to collect into one sum, the failures of the one which has been found erroneous once in ten times, and of the other which has been found erroneous once in twenty times, and of the other which has been so found once in fifty times, and of the other once in a hundred—and, to make this sum go in deduction from the credit of that instrument which has never been found erroneous at all. This

were most irrational with the testimony of these mechanical; and it were just equally irrational with the testimony of moral instruments. It is, however, the very irrationality into which Mr. Hume has fallen. He charges the general testimony of human witnesses with falsehood; and he makes this charge adhere, to all and to every sort of testimony. He holds it enough to set aside the credibility of reputed miracles, that we never experienced miracles to be true; but that we have often experienced testimony to be false. We ask, did he ever experience *this sort* of testimony to be false? He tells us that we are never deceived by trusting to the constancy of nature; but that testimony often deceives us. We ask, did *such* testimony ever deceive us? The way in which we would meet the general charge of Mr. Hume against testimony, is, by the separation of testimony into its kinds, and making each kind responsible for itself. Each kind has its own special prognostics: and, as in all other cases of experience, each has its own corresponding result. It were strange to anticipate, from testimony having one set of prognostics, the result which belongs, to testimony having another set of prognostics. But this is just what Mr. Hume has done. He lays on the kind of testimony which is quite unexcepted, the burden of the exceptions, that belong to other and inferior kinds of testimony. He infers, that because certain species of testimony have deceived us—this species, the purest and the highest, may deceive us also. He does not sink the highest to the discredit of the lowest; but he, at least, lays upon it a deduction equal in amount to an average, taken from all sorts and all instances of testimony. He would lay upon the testimony that never once misgave, the guilt and the suspicion of all the misgivings that ever took place in testimony—and, because he is able to plead the constancy of nature, against the deceit or the uncertainty that belongs to certain classes of testimony—he thinks that he might plead it against that class of testimony, whose truth is unfaltering as are the ordinances of nature, as constant and immutable as any of her laws."—vol. i, pp. 94—97.

"Give me an individual with all the indications, both in his manner and conduct, of perfect moral honesty—let me recognise, whether in his oral or written testimony, a directness, and a simplicity, and a high tone of virtuousness, and withal a consistent while minutely circumstantial narrative, which all experience declares to be the signs and the characteristics of an upright testimony—let me understand that he forfeited every interest which is dear to nature, the countenance of friends, the affection of relatives, the comfort and security of home, the blessings of domestic society, the distinctions as well as the pleasures of affluence, and lastly the enjoyment of life itself, in a resolute adherence to the avowals which he made, and which had brought upon him such a weight of persecution and odium—let me plainly see that there is nothing in the whole exhibition, which can either mark the falsehood of imposture or the frenzy of enthusiasm—let me know the subject-matter of his attestation to be some palpable fact, addressed to senses which could not be deceived, because, instead of a momentary glare there was daily and repeated converse with a visible thing, and where both the sight and the touch lent to each other a mutual confirmation—let me further make the supposition that the statement in question was the resurrection of one from the dead, and who had been seen to expire by thousands of assembled witnesses.—If, it be objected that the

truth of such a fact would imply a phenomenon wholly unexampled in the history of the species, our reply is, that the falsehood of such a testimony would imply a phenomenon equally unexampled in the history of the species —if it be said, that we have no experience of such an event turning out to be real, it may be said as truly, that we have no experience of such an averment turning out to be fallacious; and the one singularity, if it do not overmatch the other will at least neutralize it. There is nothing in the occasional falsehood of other and inferior grades of testimony, which can inflict discredit or disparagement upon this. It stands aloof from all the suspicion which attaches to these, because exempted from all those similarities which make it questionable like these. The renovation of a lifeless corpse that had been laid in the tomb, but emerged from it again in the full possession of wonted activity and consciousness, is said to be a miracle—but equal, at least would be the miracle of either a falsehood or an error in him, who throughout the whole of a life devoted to the highest objects of philanthropy, made constant assertion of his having seen and handled and companied with the risen man—who maintained this testimony amid the terrors and the pains of martyrdom—and in the words of such an exclamation as 'Lord Jesus receive my spirit,' breathed it out as the last and the dying utterance of his faith."—vol. i, pp. 102—104.

These are fair specimens of the author's line of argument on Hume's objection to the truth of miracles, and of his peculiar style; but no mutilated account of the work can afford anything like a full view of the climax to which he rears the whole of his reasoning, or of the innumerable passages of the most masculine thought and energetic eloquence which occur in these volumes. A hasty summary of a few more of the paragraphs which the learned professor has bestowed on the metaphysical portion of the work, cannot be unwelcome.

There is a masterly section devoted to the consideration of "the Power even of a Single Testimony to accredit Improbable or Singular Events." It seems indeed to us, that in the passage last cited, this principle has been stated with a force that falls not short of being convincing. But Dr. Chalmers is not content with the truth as beheld merely in one aspect, but disports himself, as it were, with a luxuriance of illustration, and a fertility of conception, around the temple wherein that truth shines, that are as delightful as they are demonstrative. The passage alluded to, has at least established an equipoise between the unlikelihood of a marvellous occurrence being real, and the unlikelihood of its supporting testimony being deceitful. But an overpassing force, as he terms it, is required on the part of the latter, ere the length of a positive evidence is reached in behalf of the former; and this he proceeds to bring forward. He says, a man may be convinced of the truth of an event wholly unexampled in history, by a single act of perception, and that the same result may attend the reality of an object wholly unexampled in nature. For instance, should there be low-water at the regular time of high-water, one glance at the shore, should he be consciously

awake and in his right senses, would convince a man of its reality; and this because the number of times in which, to his observation, a regular tide never has misgiven, is but an insignificant fraction, when compared with the number of times in which his eye has never deceived him. He is verifying the informations of his eye every minute of his waking history. And what is true of the testimony of a tide-gauge, or of the eye, may be alike true of the testimony of a moral instrument. Yea, as there are circumstances which enhance, and that to an indefinite extent, the evidence of the senses, so may the evidence of testimony be enhanced, and that without calling in the aid of other witnesses.

"In like manner, as to verify some strange information by the eye we try the goodness of that organ upon other objects of sight—so to verify some equally strange information brought us by a fellow-man, we may try his fitness as a medium of conveyance for other informations. It is thus that if we find an unexcepted honesty and an unexcepted accuracy of remembrance in his depositions as to all other things, this fortifies our confidence in his deposition as to the thing in question. And then, when satisfied in this way, that he is a faithful and competent informer, there does lie a strength in his repeated asseverations—just as when there is a consciousness of a wholesome state of the organs, strength is given to the evidence of the senses by the repeated looks that we cast on any object which may be placed before us. Every time that he testifies anew the thing at issue, he makes another draught upon his memory by which to verify the correctness of his recital, and another draught upon his moral principles that would be exposed to violence by the recital of a falsehood. If we have already demonstrated of certain testimony, that the thing which it depones to is not more extraordinary than would be the falsehood of its own deposition, then by this one deposition an equipoise is gained between the truth of the matter in question and its falsehood. But surely the testimony gathers in strength, by its being repeated and persisted in—so as to make the supposition of its truth outweigh that of its falsehood. It is always, we should imagine, reckoned a favourable circumstance, that a witness perseveres in his story—and more especially if he do so, not only when put anew to the question by others—but should he, in coming forth with it spontaneously, prove how intimately the conviction of it is blended with the whole system and habitude of his thoughts—and still more should he, at every fresh utterance, incur a fresh danger and inconvenience, which he might easily have avoided. It is thus, that through the medium of but one acquaintance, of whose soundness and integrity I have the daily and accumulating evidence, I might come to the moral certainty even of a miracle, should he thus persevere both in vouching for it by a constant testimony, and in proceeding on it by the whole habit and regulation of his life. Such a witness as this may be regarded as an organ through whom I receive the knowledge of what happens at a distance, just as a telescope or even an eye is the organ by which I become acquainted with the appearance and reality of distant objects. And, just as I gain an augmented confidence in the informations of the latter, when upon repeated trials I find the same consistent appearance of some visible phenomenon presented

to my notice—so, in the repeated and consistent testimonies of the living organ, the human informer, there would seem at each time to be a new guarantee for the truth of his one averment."—vol. i, pp. 120—122.

Again, a multiple force may be given to the evidence of the senses, not only by a number of distinct trials with the organ, as in the case of sight. In an anomalous low-water, certain rocks familiar to the observer, if seen, and dry, would afford a distinct proof of the trueness of his perception. In like manner, the testimony of a single human witness admits of equal accessions to the force of its evidence, if all that is testified besides be either known to be true, or in perfect keeping with the principal deposition. By these and other considerations, the author convincingly shows, how complete may be the evidence of a single witness in accrediting improbable or singular events. But the Christian cause is not dependent on the testimony of a single witness, but has ample recourse to the power which lies in the concurrence of distinct testimonies. Having previously freed the argument in the abstract from the objection of Mr. Hume, the discussion now passes to the actual state of the testimony which does exist in behalf of Christianity, which testimony is thus outlined.

"There, we behold an indefinitely greater strength of evidence than that afforded by the twelve men who make up the supposed case of Dr. Paley. Those ages of unquestionable martyrdom furnish us with thousands—and, in each of their dying testimonies, we behold a separate argument in favour of the Christian miracles, as strong as the objection laid to their charge, on the score of dissimilarity to all example and experience. The argument, grounded on the combination of such testimonies, exceeds all computation—and, whatever strength there may be in the consideration, that never did such an event as the resurrection of our Saviour before occur in the annals of our species, it is overpassed by the more than million-fold strength of the reply, that never did there occur in the annals of our species, the falsehood of any one such testimony, as that whereof we can allege the consent of many thousands to the fact in question. We have not only the countless depositions of witnesses absolutely without exception—but these multiplied in force and effectiveness times without number, by witnesses of every inferior grade beneath them—men of probity and good sense, though not signalized by martyrdom—authors who have left their written testimonies with every character both of simplicity and earnestness behind them—oral witnesses accredited by their sufferings or their readiness to suffer, and as numerous as were the individual members of all the Christian churches in the days of the apostles—the testimony of a whole nation of enemies, and that signified in a way the most expressive, even by their silence on the subject of the Christian miracles, those best vouchers for a faith which they detested—a like silence, virtually expressive of the same thing, among the hosts more numerous still, of provoked and persecuting Gentiles—the utter destitution of all credible testimony or credible proof against the cause, among its adversaries—while among its friends, a multitude of distinct and separate and wholly

independent testimonies, each followed by a track of historic evidence and light that comes after it, and altogether composing a broad stream of effulgence that has borne down the gospel story on such characters of brightness as no distance of time can obscure, and as, in fact, the researches of each successive generation among the documents of antiquity only serve to irradiate the more. When Mr. Hume appeals to our experience of the falsehood of testimony, we ask, if ever on the face of the earth, there has been the experience of the falsehood of such testimony—or rather, when we think of the rapid progression by which it grows and multiplies with every new accession that is made to it, may we confidently affirm of its evidence, that no anomalies in nature or history however unexampled, that no miracles however stupendous, can withstand it."—vol. i, pp. 136—138.

Well may Dr. Chalmers caution sceptics, who complain of the tax on their credulity, when they are called upon to put faith in miracles, and say, "Let them have a care, lest they, all the time, should, in reference to the miracles of the Gospel, be resisting a claim upon their belief, many million-fold greater than is possessed even by the commonest events in the history of ages."

We have just one extract more to introduce, connected with Mr. Hume's scepticism, which deserves to be conned over times without number, not merely as a complete exposure of his sophistry and inconsistency, but as an exercise for the closest and clearest distinctions which that philosopher's subtleties can be subjected to. The passage, indeed, furnishes a beautiful display of a master-mind calmly and confidently dissecting the most dangerous and artful fallacies.

"Before taking leave of Mr. Hume, let us endeavour to point out by what dexterity it was, that he managed to construct two plausible arguments—the first on the side of Atheism, the second on the side of Deism. The reader will recollect his atheistical argument grounded on the allegation of the world being a singular effect—and that we could not therefore reason to its cause, as we can to the cause of any other consequent whose antecedent we had ourselves observed on some former occasion. We met that argument by the counter-allegation, that though the world viewed in its totality and as a compound aggregate was singular, yet that it had a something in common with all those productions which were the effects of a designing cause, and that in respect of that thing it had no singularity. There is the adaptation of means to *an* end in the world, as distinct and discernible as there is such adaptation in a watch—and as it is adaptation, and that alone, in the watch, which indicates the watchmaker, so it is adaptation, and that alone, in the world, from which we infer a world-maker. Now we should like to notice a kind of reverse artifice to this in the construction of his other argument. In devising the first argument, he specialized the world from all kindred phenomena, notwithstanding the common property of adaptation which it had along with them. In devising the second argument, he confounded the first and highest sort of testimony with all the sorts, notwithstanding the special property by which it stands distinguished from the rest. In the

first argument, he overlooks the common property, and specializes—in the second, he overlooks the special property and confounds. Whether it proceeded from design or the want of discrimination, we know not—but when he looked to the world and pronounced it singular, he made no mention of that in the world, which likens it to all other examples of mechanism. And when he looked to the best and highest species of testimony and pronounced it fallacious, because under the general name of testimony instances of error and falsity were comprehended, he made no mention of that in the superior which distinguished it from all the other and inferior species of testimony. In the one case, where there is a common ingredient, yet he would specialize and separate from all. In the other case, where there is a special ingredient, yet he would confound and reduce it to a state of commonness with all. He calls the world singular, when the one thing which it has in common with others, is that on which may be founded the inference of a God. He calls the christian testimony common, when the one thing, which it has in contradistinction to many other testimonies, is that on which may be founded the inference of a revelation from God. He views the world in its singularity; and, when so doing, overlooks the common attribute which it possesses, and which constitutes the strength of the theistical argument. He views testimony in its generality; and, when so doing, overlooks the special property which it possesses, and which constitutes the strength of the christian argument. He chooses, in the first instance, to discriminate where there is no difference, or at least no difference of argumentative effect against the existence of a God. He chooses in the second instance to confound where there is a difference, and a difference of the utmost argumentative effect in favour of revelation. In both he hath violated, though by cross and contradictory methods, a principle of logic—and it needs but a logical rectification to restore both, to the argument for a God and to the argument for Christianity, the strength which belongs to them."—vol. i, pp. 139—142.

We pass over entirely the chapters on the miraculous evidence for the truth of Christianity. In the former editions of the present work, many of our readers must have become acquainted with this portion of it. The second volume before us commences with the Internal Evidences. Here there are important additions to the original publication and matter, which, we believe, will obtain the particular study of theologians. It suits not, however, our handling, excepting as furnishing some of the strongest characteristics of the author's modes of thinking and writing. For this end we shall look into the chapter which treats of what he calls "the Portable Character of the Evidence for Christianity." Here, whoever has listened to one discourse of the reverend professor, will at once recognise him. We have heard it remarked, that he cherishes but comparatively few ideas. The truth, however, is, that these ideas are necessarily few, because they represent and compass first principles, though under and within them the whole circle of truth, science, and moral beauty naturally gathers. But to return to one of

the most frequently traversed fields and regions of beautiful moral feeling which the author cultivates in his public and private ministrations:—

"What is the experience of those who make this attempt—who go forth among the households of the poorer classes, not with the offer of silver and gold for of such they may have none, but with the offer of their devotions through the week and of their christian advice upon the Sabbath—whose only errand is as the messengers of Christianity—the bearers of its comfort to their sick and dying, of its lessons whether of warning or encouragement to themselves and to their children? The pleasing discovery of which every day is now multiplying the instances is, that, with the exception perhaps of not one in a hundred, the religious philanthropist finds a cordial admittance at every door—that, generally and almost universally, there is a welcome and a good will attendant upon his footsteps, a grateful response to the overtures wherewith he is charged; and, though he comes in what might be held a somewhat invidious capacity, as a reformer of their habits and a reformer of their lives, that nevertheless he makes good his entry not into their habitations only but into their hearts; and that, if he but concentrate his attentions on a territory small enough for becoming the acquaintance of all the families, he will earn, as the fruit of his moral and benevolent assiduities, the confidence and the affection of all. We do not say that he will gain over the convictions of all; but, by dint of his fidelity and honest friendship in the midst of them, he will very nearly gain over the kindness of all. He may not secure a full acceptance for Christianity. But to a great extent he will secure at least a hearing for it. Such at least is the common finding of those, who have attempted in a sustained way, to make a lodgment for the ministrations of the Gospel in the churchless villages and before unentered city recesses of our own land—teeming with unknown and hitherto neglected myriads of immortal creatures, among whom Christianity has been suffered to wane into extinction; but who, nevertheless, have still the human feelings and the human consciences by which to find a way to them. There is a natural cordiality almost with all, in virtue of which the bearers of the truth are welcomed, when, in the prosecution of this their moral and benevolent enterprise, they make their descent upon the families. But this alone would not suffice, but for that credibility in the truth itself, which introduces it first to the attention, and then wins for it the full and final acceptance of the mind; and, to meet this, there is a natural conscience in all, which, made awake and intelligent by the Spirit of God, can take knowledge of the word that is spoken, and do homage to the divinity which is therein manifested."—vol. ii, pp. 178—180.

Nothing, the author declares, can be more companionable, and if not courtly at least courteous, than that which is habitually experienced in these rounds of pastoral or missionary visitation. What Howard on the walk of general benevolence realized in prisons, any other man, he continues, will realize in parishes, in country hamlet, or city lane. He then complains of those philanthropists and patriots who have the amelioration of humanity constantly in their mouths, nay, perhaps honestly in their hearts, but who fondly indulge the

wholesale speculation of regenerating the world by some mighty expedient which is to do it in bulk. The thing, however, he maintains, in so far as human efforts can go, must be gone about inductively; and now, with all his accustomed richness of thought and loveliness of moral picturing, he returns to the piecemeal process, and the instruments of operation that alone can be wisely calculated upon.

"Depending first on the power wherewith the kindness of those who are the messengers or the bearers of christian truth operate upon human feelings, and secondly on the power wherewith the self-evidence of the truth itself operates upon human consciences. On these we need expatiate no further; but we might at least remark how precious, we had almost said how proud an achievement it is, when, by dint of these, the people of one district nay, but one family or one individual, is transformed. Apart from the consideration of immortality, we know not a spectacle of greater worth, and we may add of greater tastefulness and beauty, even beauty of the highest order as belonging to the moral picturesque, than a christian peasant—whose virtues are seen in all the greater lustre that they are arrayed in homely garb, or have taken root in a tenement of poverty—like the enhanced loveliness of a picture, made to stand out all the more strikingly, by the darkness of the ground on which it is projected. Perhaps it is this contrast between light and shadow which causes it to be so fine an exhibition, when deep and thorough religious principle takes up its abode in the heart of an ordinary workman. But, however this may be certain it is, that, as there is no one event that serves more to strengthen the foundation, so there is none which serves more to grace the aspect of human society —whether we look to his well-ordered household through the week, or to his well-filled family pew upon the Sabbath. If there be one sound more like the music of paradise than another, it is when the simple voice of psalms arises in morning or evening orisons from the lowly cottage; or one spectacle more rich in promise, even the promise of fruit for immortality, it is when a cottage family is seen in full muster at the house of God. There is altogether such a refreshing moral healthfulness in the Christianity of humble life, that we feel for it, for the Christianity of artificers and tradesmen, a profounder homage than for the Christianity either of accomplished men of affluence, or of profound and learned theologians. The greatest of all national blessings, certainly the greatest national reform, were to bring within reach of all, the means of this best and highest education. Herein lie the true dignity of man, the proudest rights and investitures of humanity. This is the genuine majesty of the people—unknown to mock patriotism, that seeks for the hosannahs of the multitude in another way and by other promises, which, never realized, only serve to flatter and deceive them.

"They who incredulously regard the people as beyond the reach of this achievement, must be ignorant of that evidence in our religion which is addressed to the consciences of men—which evidence indeed is the great, if not the only instrument of christianization, both in and out of Christendom. To this evidence in fact we owe the great bulk of our home Christianity. We on this subject make our confident appeal to the ministers

of the Gospel, and bid them tell what that is which originates and which fashions the Christianity of their own people. Was it a series of lectures on the Deistical controversy? Was it the argument of Paley or of Leslie or of Butler that germinated their faith? Whether was it the doctrine in the book or the history of the book that was the instrument of their conversion? That the people might see the truth of the Gospel had they to plant an historic ladder, ascending from the present age to that of the Apostles—or, by the lights of criticism and erudition, had they to guide them by a series of indices along the historic pathway, till they could lay their hands on the authenticity of the books of the New Testament; or the certainty of the narrative contained in it? If they have faith at all they have a reason for their faith. They do see the truth of the Gospel—and the question is whether they see it immediately, in the light of scripture doctrine; or mediately, in the light of historical demonstration. When we enter the house of one of our cottage patriarchs, and examine the library which lies in little room upon his shelves—we may there find what that is which has begun, and what that is which aliments his Christianity. They are not books on the external history of the Bible. They are the Bible itself, and books on the internal substance and contents of the Bible. They are the Flavels and the Guthries and the Richard Baxters of the puritanic age who are his favourites—men who say little or nothing on the argumentative evidence of scripture; but who unfold the subject matter, and who urge and urge most impressively on the consciences of their readers the lessons of scripture. In a word, it is by a perpetual interchange between the conscience and the Bible that their Christianity is upholden—by a light struck out between the sayings of the one and the findings of the other. It is not a light which is out of the book, but a light which is in the book, that commences and sustains the Christianity of our land—the Christianity of our ploughmen, our artizans, our men of handicraft and of hard labour."—vol. ii, pp. 192—195.

This is Dr. Chalmers all over; and yet much more, tending to the same warm and delightful picturings, we might quote: for he loves to expatiate in such fields of practical Christianity as these; nor, after once entering upon them, can he soon find courage to withdraw. But we must hasten to a close, though hundreds of passages, as beautifully argumentative or philanthropic as any we have quoted, might be adduced from these volumes. It is impossible, however, in turning over the leaves, not to linger on certain happy descriptions or exquisite aphorisms, which everywhere gem them. For example, when characterizing the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, he says, "The Bible is divinely perfect; yet in one sense may be regarded as the compound result of the natural and the supernatural—not so natural as to have one tinge of nature's infirmity adhering to it—not so supernatural as wholly to suspend and overbear the laws of man's mental constitution. It is thus that each prophet and historian and apostle of Scripture preserves his own characteristic and complexional variety of style and manner." This description conveys not a new idea, but we never found it so

succinctly and forcibly expressed before. It is taken from the last branch of these Evidences, viz. that which treats of "the Books of the Jewish and Christian Revelation, and the degree of Authority which belongs to them." Connected with this part of the work, there are not a few subjects incidentally handled, which bear forcibly upon other topics, some of them of engrossing importance at the present time. The following paragraph possesses in this way a double value.

"In these circumstances we must perceive the importance of a Church, as an institute for the secure and copious transmission of the records of inspiration. Even though in centuries of corruption and darkness, the use of or demand for the scriptures should have so far subsided, as that all the copies of them, which, in better times, might have been found throughout the habitations of the people, had either been destroyed by the hand of violence, or perished by their own natural decay—the same causes of extermination did not take full effect in those numerous establishments, which had been raised for the maintenance and accommodation of ecclesiastics, by the piety or the superstition of other times. They were in fact the monks and men of various sacred orders in the Christian church, who performed the same service in behalf of the scriptures, which, under the old dispensation, was done by the priests and Levites of Israel. It is true that they partook in the general lethargy of the period; and very many of them made little or no use of their sacred records—yet it is well that these found an asylum in the bosom of convents; and were suffered to lie, though perhaps to lie unread, in places of keeping, respected even through the days of fiercest barbarism, and where, if not useful, at least they were safe. And we know that light and learning did not undergo a total extinction among the ecclesiastics of Christendom—insomuch that to their numerous transcriptions, we mainly stand indebted, both for those manifold copies of the Bible, and those precious relics of ancient literature, to which the mind of Europe awoke at the commencement of the middle ages. It is thus that the Scriptures were piloted across this thick and dreary millennium, and that with hundred-fold greater certainty and abundance, than were the best and most respected classics of Greece and Rome. In other words, at the revival of learning, the learned of the priesthood had a hundred-fold better materials for the determination of their questions, respecting the genuineness and authorship of the sacred writings—than the learned of general society had, for the genuineness and authorship of all other writings. To the Jewish and the Christian churches respectively, were committed the oracles of God: and so adapted were both institutes, even in spite of the numerous corruptions into which they fell, for the safe custody and the sure transmission of them—that, greatly beyond all the other memorials of past ages, have the Old Testament on the one hand and the New Testament on the other, descended on a firmer historic pathway and with a far surer light of historical evidence, by which to identify and recognise them." vol. ii, pp. 414—416.

There have been many plausible objections urged against the reasonableness of the faith of a people, who, as a body, are alleged to be incapable, or unprepared to try its credibility by proper evi-

dence. Dr. Chalmers, however, adduces various analogies, by which the Christian education of a community may be illustrated and vindicated. Thus, a people do certain things first at the bidding of others; and in virtue of so doing, they are made to behold certain truths, not with the eyes of others, but with their own eyes. Again, what the learned could predict by one medium of proof, the unlearned can afterwards perceive by another medium of proof. What the learned have discovered through the external evidence to be Scripture of divine origin, the unlearned may at length believe on the authority of their own observation. The most striking illustration of this position is to be found in the following analogy, with which we close these precious volumes.

"We have long thought that in the education of artists, there is a beautiful and effective illustration of the same process—an actual experience of the most eminent in that department, admitted by many of them as a fact, though we have not yet met with an adequate or philosophical explanation of it in any of their writings. What we advert to is the difficulty, which a young practitioner or student of painting would find, if, placed amid a large and indiscriminate collection of pictures, he was left to discover the works of the best masters for himself; and how much it expedites the formation both of his judgment and his taste, to be told of them beforehand, so as that he might limit his contemplations or his studies, to the specimens of first-rate excellence which have been pointed out to him. The merits which he could not perhaps have discovered through a whole lifetime, he will, in the course of a few weeks, come to discern. He at length shares in the general taste and feeling of the connoisseurs, and that, not at the bidding or on the authority of others, but with a just and well-grounded perception of his own. It is most instructive to mark the respective parts, which the external and internal evidence have in this process; and how, by acting at first at the bidding or on the testimony of his informers, when they told him which the works were of Raphael and Rubens and Vandyke and Titian—he is landed incalculably sooner than if he had been abandoned to himself, not in a factitious, but in an honest and well-grounded admiration of their respective beauties. Now all we affirm is, that what has been found experimentally, both to originate and to expedite the solid education of an artist, might originate and expedite too the solid education of a Christian. If the former is better of being told beforehand, what the works are which men of a heaven-born genius have executed—the latter is better of being told in like manner, what the books are which prophets and apostles under the guidance of heavenly inspiration have written. It is by an external evidence, that the knowledge of both sorts of productions is transmitted from generation to generation; but it is by an internal evidence that the disciples of each generation are formed—whether in the schools of art, or in the schools of religion. There is no overbearing of the human faculties, no prostration of mind to authority or to the mandates of an earthly superior—in either of the processes. All that authority does is, not to bid us believe; but to bid us attend and to point out the objects of attention. It is well that, in virtue of so many authentic

collections, there is an external evidence by which we are enabled to point out rightly, what may be termed the canonical pictures of other days. And it is in every way as well, that, in virtue of so many Churches in Christendom, each in itself a vast repository of ecclesiastical documents, we have a most abundant external evidence—by which we are enabled to point out rightly the canonical, and to distinguish them from the apocryphal scriptures of other days. It is not, however, by force of the external but of the internal evidence, that the enamoured artist kindles into admiration of the great examples which are set before him. Neither is it by force of the external but of the internal evidence, that the Christian peasant kindles into admiration, and his heart burns within him when the great examples and lessons of the sacred record are opened to his view. Neither may have even so much as thought of the historical evidence, for the authenticity of the works studied by the one with the devoutness of an amateur; of the writings studied by the other with the devoutness of a religionist. Both may be genuine and well-founded disciples of their respective schools notwithstanding. And thus it is that our Bible, our well-argued and well authenticated Bible, has proved an instrument for the solid education of millions who are strangers to every external argument on which the authenticity of the whole and of all its parts is vindicated. Of the outward credentials for the book they know nothing. They are the contents within the book, to which we stand indebted for all the faith, and that not a superstitious but an enlightened faith, that exists in Christendom. It is to the reading of the Bible that we owe this result—as put into the hands of children by the fathers of families; or circulated, under the auspices of its Church, among the people of a kingdom."—vol. ii, pp. 424—427.

ART. II.—*Astoria; or the Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.* By WASHINGTON IRVING. 3 vols. London: Bentley. 1836.

MR. IRVING has upon this occasion come upon us by surprise. We also venture to say, that not one of a thousand expected to meet him in his present garb; but, at the same time, we predict, that since his "Bracebridge Hall," or even his "Sketch Book," there has not come from his hand a more welcome visitant. Astoria! "It must be a novel," we hear almost every reader exclaim. But a work of fiction it is not, though fuller of adventure and strange deeds of peril, than fancy, perhaps, can feasibly put together. In short, Astoria is the subject of a narrative, wherein the history of a magnificent mercantile speculation—its origin, progress, and mishaps are described—belonging to our own day, and on the part of individuals with whom we necessarily sympathize in a special degree—of a daring "Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains," connected with the fur-trade adventures which have taken place, and are still the principal sources of wealth for civilized nations, in the wilds of North America; bringing before us, among many other arresting

particulars, the narrowest escapes, and the most tragical issues connected with flood and field, of which we have ever heard.

We are not going to follow the story of the fortunes which form the subject of these three engaging volumes, with any studied closeness, but only to catch a sketch or a portion of the narrative in a few instances, from which may be obtained a descriptive sample of the events recorded in the work, as well as of Mr. Irving's accustomed ease, grace, variety, and purity of taste as a writer.

The story, as before stated, regards an era in the progress of the fur-trade, which, as the author expresses it, gave early sustenance and vitality to the great Canadian provinces. These provinces were destitute of the precious metals, at first the leading objects of American enterprise. But the French adventurers, who settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence, found, that in the rich peltries of the interior, they had sources of wealth that might soon rival the mines of Peru, and greedily began to barter for them with the Indians. The most valuable furs becoming scarce in the immediate neighbourhood of the settlements, a wider range was naturally taken by the natives than before, when some of the white traders or their dependants would accompany the expeditions, and share in the toils of the chase—thus becoming acquainted with the hunting grounds, and the remote tribes. Mr. Irving says—

"A new and anomalous class of men gradually grew out of this trade. These were called *coureurs des bois*, rangers of the woods; originally, men who had accompanied the Indians in their hunting expeditions, and made themselves acquainted with remote tracts and tribes; and who now became, as it were, pedlars of the wilderness. These men would set out from Montreal with canoes well stocked with goods, with arms, and ammunition, and would make their way up the mazy and wandering rivers that interlace the vast forests of the Canadas, coasting the most remote lakes, and creating new wants and habitudes among the natives. Sometimes they sojourned for months among them, assimilating to their tastes and habits with the happy facility of Frenchmen; adopting, in some degree, the Indian dress, and not unfrequently taking to themselves Indian wives.

"Twelve, fifteen, eighteen months would elapse without any tidings of them, when they would come sweeping their way down the Ottawa in full glee, their canoes laden down with packs of beaver skins. Now came their turn for revelry and extravagance. 'You would be amazed,' says an old writer, already quoted, 'if you saw how lewd these pedlers are when they return; how they feast and game, and how prodigal they are, not only in their clothes, but upon their sweethearts. Such of them as are married have the wisdom to retire to their own houses; but the bachelors act just as an East Indiaman and pirates are wont to do; they lavish, eat, drink and play all away as long as the goods hold out; and when they are gone, they even sell their embroidery, their lace, and their clothes. This done, they are forced upon a new voyage for subsistence.'"

The abuses arising from these irregular traders called forth a

measure from the French government, by which licensed adventurers were alone permitted to repair to the interior for skins. Even these authorized parties degenerated, and fortified posts came to be established at the confluence of the rivers and lakes, for the protection of the trade. The French merchant, says the author, at his trading-posts, in these primitive days of Canada, was a kind of commercial patriarch. With the lax habits and easy familiarity of his race, he had a little world of self-indulgence and misrule around him. He had his clerks, canoe men, and retainers of all kinds; he had his harem of Indian beauties, his troop of half-bred children, and a louting train of Indians, in the intervals of their hunting expeditions.

But the French traders of Canada were at length obliged to compete with the British of New York, who inveigled the Indian *coureurs des bois* to their posts, and trafficked with them on more favourable grounds. Various wealthy companies were established; the Canadas were lost to the French in 1762, and the fur business assumed new characteristics of magnificence and sway. We need not follow the progress and relations of these several companies, but simply remark, that a spirited German, named John Jacob Astor, about the year 1794, entered into a contract concerning the trade in question, and pursued it with extraordinary spirit; the enterprises to which he gave birth, forming the principal share of the subject-matter of these volumes. Taking certain discoveries which had been made, as lights, he established a trading line of communication across the American continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the principal trading posts being fixed along the Missouri and the Columbia, and at the mouth of the latter founding the great mart; so that all the Indian trade, both of the interior and of the coast, might converge to this point. A land expedition proceeded across the Rocky Mountains for the mouth of the Columbia river, while the *Tonquin* was despatched to carry out by sea, the people, stores, ammunition, and merchandise, requisite for establishing a fortified post at the same point. We first of all keep with the voyagers, who were put under the command of a man, whose characteristic qualities Mr. Irving, with his accustomed truth and felicitous touches, brings out to the life. Captain Thorn is the name of this hero, whose ship's company and passengers consist of exceedingly heterogeneous materials. He had, for example, besides artisans and several clerks, some of whom were experienced in the fur-trade, thirteen *voyageurs*, who belonged to Canada. "These persons," says the author, "form a kind of confraternity in the Canadas, like the arrieros, or carriers of Spain, and, like them, are employed in long internal expeditions of travel and traffic; with this difference, that the arrieros travel by land, the voyageurs by water—the former with mules and horses, the latter with batteaux and canoes." These men, we are farther informed, in the author's most picturesque style, are generally of

French descent, inheriting much of the light-heartedness of their ancestors, and mutually obliging. They are submissive to their employers, capable of enduring great hardships, and never more happy than when on long and rough expeditions. Their dress is characteristic enough, being generally half civilized and half savage. "They wear a capot, or surcoat, made of a blanket, a striped cotton shirt, cloth trousers, or leathern leggings, moccasins of deer skin, and a belt of variegated worsted, from which are suspended the knife, tobacco pouch, and other implements. Their language is of the same piebald character, being a French patois, embroidered with Indian and English words and phrases."

The Tonquin sailed from New York in September, 1810, and in March, 1811, reached the mouth of the Columbia river. Perils and losses had already been sustained, nor were they near an end. For instance, a boat with four hands is sent out, and does not return. Several of the natives come on board, but give no information regarding the party that was missing.

"Parties now went on shore and scoured the neighbourhood. One of these was headed by the captain. They had not proceeded far when they beheld a person at a distance in civilized garb. As he drew near he proved to be Weekes, the armourer. There was a burst of joy, for it was hoped his comrades were near at hand. His story, however, was one of disaster. He and his companions had found it impossible to govern their boat, having no rudder, and being beset by rapid and whirling currents and boisterous surges. After long struggling they had let her go at the mercy of the waves, tossing about, sometimes with her bow, sometimes with her broadside to the surges, threatened each instant with destruction, yet repeatedly escaping, until a huge sea broke over and swamped her. Weekes was overwhelmed by the boiling waves, but emerging above the surface, looked round for his companions. Aiken and Coles were not to be seen; near him were the two Sandwich islanders, stripping themselves of their clothing that they might swim more freely. He did the same, and the boat floating near to him he seized hold of it. The two islanders joined him, and, uniting their forces, they succeeded in turning the boat upon ther keel; hen bearing down her stern and rocking her, they forced out so much water that she was able to bear the weight of a man without sinking. One of the islanders now got in, and in a little while bailed out the water with his hands. The other swam about and collected the oars, and they all three got once more on board.

"By this time the tide had swept them beyond the breakers, and Weekes called on his companions to row for land. They were so chilled and benumbed by the cold, however, that they lost all heart and absolutely refused. Weekes was equally chilled, but had superior sagacity and self-command. He counteracted the tendency to drowsiness and stupor which cold produces, by keeping himself in constant exercise; and seeing that the vessel was advancing, and that every thing depended upon himself, he set to work to skull the boat clear of the bar, and into quiet water.

"Towards midnight one of the poor islanders expired: his companion

threw himself on his corpse and could not be persuaded to leave him. The dismal night wore away amidst these horrors: as the day dawned Weekes found himself near the land. He steered directly for it, and at length with the aid of the surf, ran his boat high upon a sandy beach.

"Finding that one of the Sandwich islanders yet gave signs of life, he aided him to leave the boat, and set out with him towards the adjacent woods. The poor fellow, however, was too feeble to follow him, and Weekes was soon obliged to abandon him to his fate and provide for his own safety. Falling upon a beaten path he pursued it, and after a few hours, came to a part of the coast where, to his surprise and joy he beheld the ship at anchor, and was met by the captain and his party.

"After Weekes had related his adventures, three parties were despatched to beat up the coast in search of the unfortunate islander. They returned at night without success, though they had used the utmost diligence. On the following day the search was resumed, and the poor fellow was at length discovered lying beneath a group of rocks, his legs swollen, his feet torn and bloody from walking through bushes and briars, and himself half dead with cold, hunger, and fatigue. Weekes and this islander were the only survivors of the crew of the jolly-boat, and no trace was ever discovered of Fox and his party. Thus eight men were lost on the first approach to the coast; a commencement that cast a gloom over the spirits of the whole party, and was regarded by some of the superstitious as an omen that boded no good to the enterprise.

"Towards night the Sandwich islanders went on shore, to bury the body of their unfortunate countryman who had perished in the boat. On arriving at the place where it had been left, they dug a grave in the sand, in which they deposited the corpse, with a biscuit under one of the arms, some lard under the chin, and a small quantity of tobacco, as provisions for its journey in the land of spirits. Having covered the body with sand and flints, they kneeled along the grave in a double row, with their faces turned to the east, while one who officiated as a priest sprinkled them with water from a hat. In so doing he recited a kind of prayer or invocation, to which, at intervals, the others made respones. Such were the simple rites performed by these poor savages at the grave of their comrade on the shores of a strange land; and when these were done, they rose and returned in silence to the ship, without once casting a look behind."

At length Captain Thorn anchored in the harbour of Neweetee, much against the advice of his Indian interpreter, who warned him of the perfidious character of the natives of that part of the coast. Mr. M'Kay, however, went on shore, and was received with great professions of friendship; but before he returned to the ship, numbers of the natives had come on board to trade, and having learnt the art of bargaining, gave offence to the blunt and stern captain, who packed them off without ceremony and with insults. The morning after this, numbers of the Indians again approached the vessel, pretending to be more eager to trade, and apparently without being armed. The main articles sought by them in barter were knives. As fast as some were supplied they moved off, and others succeeded. The Tonquin was about to sail; the anchor was nearly up, the canvass

was loose, and Captain Thorn again, in a peremptory tone, ordered the ship to be cleared.

"In an instant a signal yell was given; it was echoed on every side, knives and war-clubs were brandished in every direction, and the savages rushed on their marked victims.

"The first that fell was Mr. Lewis, the ships' clerk. He was leaning, with folded arms, over a bale of blankets engaged in bargaining, when he received a deadly stab in the back, and fell down the companion-way.

"Mr. M'Kay, who was seated on the taffrail, sprang on his feet, but was instantly knocked down with a war-club and flung backwards into the sea, where he was despatched by the women in the canoes.

"In the mean time, Captain Thorn made desperate fight against fearful odds. He was a powerful as well as resolute man, but he had come upon deck without weapons. Shewish the young chief singled him out as his peculiar prey, and rushed upon him at the first out-break. The captain had barely time to draw a clasp-knife, with one blow of which he laid the young savage dead at his feet. Several of the stoutest followers of Shewish now set upon him; he defended himself vigorously, dealing crippling blows to right and left, and strewing the quarter-deck with the slain and the wounded. His object was to fight his way to the cabin, where there were fire-arms; but he was hemmed in with foes, covered with wounds, and faint with loss of blood. For an instant he leaned upon the tiller wheel, when a blow from behind, with a war-club, felled him to the deck, where he was despatched with knives and thrown overboard.

"While this was transacting upon the quarter-deck, a chance-medley fight was going on throughout the ship. The crew fought desperately with knives, handspikes, and whatever weapon they could seize upon in the moment of surprise. They were, however, soon overpowered by numbers, and mercilessly butchered.

"As to the seven who had been sent aloft to make sail, they contemplated with horror the carnage that was going on below. Being destitute of weapons they let themselves down by the running rigging, in hopes of getting between decks. One fell in the attempt, and was instantly despatched; another received a death-blow in the back as he was descending; a third, Stephen Weekes, the armourer, was mortally wounded as he was getting down the hatch-way.

"The remaining four made good their retreat into the cabin, where they found Mr. Lewis, still alive, though mortally wounded. Barricading the cabin door, they broke holes through the companioyn-wa, and, with the muskets and ammunition which were at hand, opened a brisk fire, that soon cleared the deck. * *

"For the remainder of the day no one ventured to put off to the ship, deterred by the effects of the fire-arms. The night passed away without any further attempt on the part of the natives. When the day dawned, the Tonquin still lay at anchor in the bay, her sails all loose and flapping in the wind, and no one apparently on board of her. After a time, some of the canoes ventured forth to reconnoitre, taking with them the interpreter. They paddled about her, keeping cautiously at a distance, but growing more and more emboldened at seeing her quiet and lifeless.

One man at length made his appearance on the deck, and was recognised by the interpreter as Mr. Lewis. He made friendly signs, and invited them on board. It was long before they ventured to comply. Those who mounted the deck met with no opposition; no one was to be seen on board, for Mr. Lewis, after inviting them, had disappeared. Other canoes now pressed forward to board the prize; the decks were soon crowded, and the sides covered with clambering savages, all intent on plunder. In the midst of their eagerness and exultation, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. Arms, legs, and mutilated bodies were blown into the air, and dreadful havoc was made in the surrounding canoes. The interpreter was in the main chains at the time of the explosion, and was thrown unhurt into the water, where he succeeded in getting into one of the canoes. According to his statement the bay presented an awful spectacle after the catastrophe. The ship had disappeared, but the bay was covered with fragments of the wreck, with shattered canoes, and Indians swimming for their lives, or struggling in the agonies of death; while those who had escaped the danger remained aghast and stupified, or made with frantic panic for the shore. Upwards of a hundred savages were destroyed by the explosion, many more were shockingly mutilated, and for days afterwards the limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown upon the beach.

"The inhabitants of Neweetee were overwhelmed with consternation at this astounding calamity, which had burst upon them in the very moment of triumph. The warriors sat mute and mournful, while the women filled the air with loud lamentations. Their weeping and wailing, however, was suddenly changed into yells of fury at the sight of four unfortunate white men, brought captive into the village. They had been driven on shore in one of the ship's boats, and taken at some distance along the coast.

"The interpreter was permitted to converse with them. They proved to be the four brave fellows who had made such desperate defence from the cabin. The interpreter gathered from them some of the particulars already related. They told him further, that, after they had beaten off the enemy, and cleared the ship, Lewis advised that they should slip the cable, and endeavour to get to sea. They declined to take his advice, alleging that the wind set too strongly into the bay, and would drive them on shore. They resolved, as soon as it was dark, to put off quietly in the ship's boat, which they would be able to do unperceived, and to coast along back to Astoria. They put their resolution into effect, but Lewis refused to accompany them, being disabled by his wounds, hopeless of escape, and determined on a terrible revenge. On the voyage out, he had repeatedly expressed a presentiment that he should die by his own hands; thinking it highly probable that he should be engaged in some contest with the natives, and being resolved, in case of extremity, to commit suicide, rather than be made a prisoner. He now declared his intention to remain on board of the ship until daylight, to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, then to set fire to the powder magazine, and terminate his life by a signal act of vengeance. How well he succeeded has been shown. His companions bade him a melancholy adieu, and set off on their precarious expedition. They strove with might

and main to get out of the bay, but found it impossible to weather a point of land, and were at length compelled to take shelter in a small cove, where they hoped to remain concealed until the wind should be more favourable. Exhausted by fatigue and watching, they fell into a sound sleep, and in that state were surprised by the savages. Better had it been for those unfortunate men had they remained with Lewis, and shared his heroic death: as it was they perished in a more painful and protracted manner, being sacrificed by the natives to the manes of their friends, with all the lingering tortures of savage cruelty. Some time after their death, the interpreter, who had remained a kind of prisoner at large, effected his escape, and brought the tragical tidings to Astoria."

The intelligence of the loss of the Tonquin did not reach Mr. Astor until many months afterwards. But, says Mr. Irving, "he indulged, however, in no weak and vain lamentation, but sought to devise a prompt and efficient remedy." He even attended the theatre on the evening when the fatal tidings reached him; and, according to the characteristic temperament of a sanguine projector, replied to one who expressed his astonishment at seeing him at such a place of amusement, "What would you have me to do? would you have me stay at home and weep for what I cannot help?"

The land expedition was conducted by a Mr. Hunt, who encountered a goodly series of such hardships as frequently fall to the share of travellers through inhospitable regions. But we do not follow him with more closeness than we did the unfortunate commander of the other branch of the enterprise. A few sketches and particulars will sufficiently exhibit the nature of the interest attaching to these volumes, and recommend them to our readers, as containing a record of events of an extraordinary character, whether the work be regarded as a stirring narrative, or as furnishing a proof of the schemes and exertions which a mercantile spirit originates. We quote from this part of these volumes a description of an Indian chief.

"It is this tribe of whose chief, the famous Washing-guh-sah-ba, or Blackbird, such savage and romantic stories are told. He had died about ten years previous to the arrival of Mr. Hunt's party, but his name was still remembered with awe by his people. He was one of the first among the Indian chiefs on the Missouri to deal with the white traders, and showed great sagacity in levying his royal dues. When a trader arrived in his village, he caused all his goods to be brought into his lodge and opened. From these he selected whatever suited his sovereign pleasure; blankets, tobacco, whiskey, powder, ball, beads, and red paint; and laid the articles on one side, without deigning to give any compensation. Then calling to him his herald or crier, he would order him to mount on top of the lodge and summon all the tribe to bring in their peltries, and trade with the white man. The lodge would soon be crowded with Indians bringing bear, beaver, otter, and other skins. No one was allowed to dispute the prices fixed by the white trader upon his

articles; who took care to indemnify himself five times over for the goods set apart by the chief. In this way the Blackbird enriched himself, and enriched the white men, and became exceedingly popular among the traders of the Missouri. His people, however, were not equally satisfied by a regulation of trade which worked so manifestly against them, and began to show signs of discontent. Upon this a crafty and unprincipled trader, revealed a secret to the Blackbird, by which he might acquire unbounded sway over his ignorant and superstitious subjects. He instructed him in the poisonous qualities of arsenic, and furnished him with an ample supply of that baneful drug. From this time the Blackbird seemed endowed with supernatural powers, to possess the gift of prophecy, and to hold the disposal of life and death within his hands. Wo to any one who questioned his authority or dared to dispute his commands! The Blackbird prophecied his death within a certain time, and he had the secret means of verifying his prophecy. Within the fated period the offender was smitten with a strange and sudden disease, and perished from the face of the earth. Every one stood aghast at these multiplied examples of his superhuman might, and dreaded to displease so omnipotent and vindictive a being; and the Blackbird enjoyed a wide and undisputed sway. * *

"He still retained his fatal and mysterious secret, and with it his terrific power; but, though able to deal death to his enemies, he could not avert it from himself or his friends. In 1802 the small-pox, that dreadful pestilence, which swept over the land like a fire over the prairies, made its appearance in the village of the Omahas. The poor savages saw with dismay the ravages of a malady, loathsome and agonizing in its details, and which set the skill and experience of their conjurors and medicine men at defiance. In a little while, two-thirds of the population were swept from the face of the earth, and the doom of the rest seemed sealed. The stoicism of the warriors was at an end; they became wild and desperate; some set fire to the village as a last means of checking the pestilence; others in a frenzy of despair, put their wives and children to death, that they might be spared the agonies of an inevitable disease, and that they might all go to some better country.

"When the general horror and dismay was at its height, the Blackbird himself was struck down with the malady. The poor savages, when they saw their chief in danger, forgot their own miseries and surrounded his dying bed. His dominant spirit, and his love for the white men, were evinced in his latest breath, with which he designated his place of sepulture. It was to be on a hill or promontory, upwards of four hundred feet in height, overlooking a great extent of the Missouri, from whence he had been accustomed to watch for the barks of the white men. The Missouri washes the base of the promontory, and after winding and doubling in many links and mazes in the plain below, returns to within nine hundred yards of its starting place; so that for thirty miles navigating with sail and oar, the voyager finds himself continually near to this singular promontory, as if spell-bound.

"It was the dying command of the Blackbird that his tomb should be upon the summit of this hill, in which he should be interred, seated on his favourite horse, that he might overlook his ancient domain, and be-

hold the barks of the white men as they came up the river to trade with his people.

"His dying orders were faithfully obeyed. His corpse was placed astride of his war-steed, and a mound raised over them on the summit of the hill. On top of the mound was erected a staff, from which fluttered the banner of the chieftain, and the scalps that he had taken in battle. When the expedition under Mr. Hunt visited that part of the country, the staff still remained with the fragments of the banner; and the superstitious rite of placing food from time to time on the mound, for the use of the deceased, was still observed by the Omahas."

Mr. Irving has, from such materials as personal journals and commercial letters—availing himself, at the same time, in his more general descriptions, of the aids furnished by published travels—constructed a work, which possesses more value than one has a right to expect in a story of adventure. Such are the stores of his own fancy, and the art of his well-practiced pen, that many rich glimpses of human nature, as well as of remarkably striking scenery, are everywhere to be obtained from these pages. It is, besides, impossible to be amused or arrested by the picture he presents, without being bettered, and also made to feel the consciousness of this humanizing effect of his power. Mr. Hunt's journey especially abounds with these happy reflections, yet apparently artless tokens of his heart and head. We do not know any writer who can convey, for example, by means of a few touches, and as if unwittingly, the breadth of individual character more completely, whether when outlining a picture, or making his actors exhibit themselves. Here is a specimen.

"We will add another anecdote of an adventure with a grizzly bear, told of John Day, the Kentucky hunter, but which happened at a different period of the expedition. Day was hunting in company with one of the clerks of the company, a lively youngster, who was a great favourite with the veteran, but whose vivacity he had continually to keep in check. They were in search of deer, when suddenly a huge grizzly bear emerged from a thicket about thirty yards distant, rearing himself upon his hind legs with a terrific growl, and displaying a hideous array of teeth and claws. The rifle of the young man was levelled in an instant, but John Day's iron hand was quickly upon his arm. 'Be quiet, boy! be quiet!' exclaimed the hunter, between his clenched teeth, and without turning his eyes from the bear. They remained motionless. The monster regarded them for a time, then, lowering himself on his fore paws, slowly withdrew. He had not gone many paces before he again turned, reared himself on his hind legs, and repeated his menace. Day's hand was still on the arm of his young companion, he again pressed it hard, and kept repeating between his teeth, 'Quiet, boy!—keep quiet!—keep quiet!'—though the latter had not made a move since his first prohibition. The bear again lowered himself on all fours, retreated some twenty yards further, and again turned, reared, showed his teeth, and growled. This third menace was too much for the game spirit of John Day. 'By Jove!'

exclaimed he, 'I can stand this no longer,' and in an instant a ball from his rifle whizzed into the foe. The wound was not mortal; but, luckily, it dismayed instead of enraging the animal, and he retreated into the thicket.

"Day's young companion reproached him for not practising the caution which he enjoined upon others. 'Why, boy,' replied the veteran, 'caution is caution, but one must not put up with too much even from a bear. Would you have me suffer myself to be bullied all day by a varmint!'"

Many of our readers must have met with the term *caches*, when perusing the accounts which North-west discoverers give of the stratagems they have resorted to, for the preservation of provisions or other materials, and for which they may have future need. The description which we next copy will show the workmen in the very process of forming one of these hiding-places, almost as clearly as if they were beheld at the actual operation.

"The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle cloths, and other coverings, are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different colour from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream, and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such a manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck; the loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage; all tracks are obliterated; the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right

next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way to conceal the amount of three tons' weight of provision or merchandise, in the course of two days."

Mr. Astor's speculation was unlucky; and, at the close of these volumes, the reader cannot but participate strongly in the author's forcible expressions, when he says, "It is painful at all times to see a grand and beneficial stroke of genius fail of its aim." It would appear, that he appealed in vain to the government of the United States for its countenance and support; and the reflections which Mr. Irving, in consequence of this neglect, throws out, communicate an impressive lesson; which forms a suitable conclusion to the work, and our extracts from it.

"We repeat, therefore, our sincere regret, that our government should have neglected the overture of Mr. Astor, and suffered the moment to pass by, when full possession of that region might have been taken quietly, as a matter of course, and a military post established without dispute at Astoria. Our statesmen have become sensible, when too late, of the importance of this measure. Bills have repeatedly been brought into congress for the purpose, but without success; and our rightful possessions on that coast, as well as our trade on the Pacific, have no rallying point protected by the national flag, and by a military force.

"In the mean time, the second period of ten years is fast elapsing. In 1838, the question of title will again come up, and most probably, in the present amicable state of our relations with Great Britain, will be again postponed. Every year, however, the litigated claim is growing in importance. There is no pride so jealous and irritable as the pride of territory. As one wave of emigration after another rolls into the vast regions of the west, and our settlements stretch towards the Rocky Mountains, the eager eyes of our pioneers will pry beyond, and they will become impatient of any barrier or impediment in the way of what they consider a grand outlet of our empire. Should any circumstance, therefore, unfortunately occur to disturb the present harmony of the two nations, this ill-adjusted question, which now lies dormant, may suddenly start up into one of belligerent import, and Astoria become the watchword in a contest for dominion on the shores of the Pacific."

ART. III.—*The Great Metropolis.* By the Author of "Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons." 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley. 1836.

THE moment that we first heard of this work, and that it was by the author of "Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons," we felt assured that it would be equally popular with its predecessors, each of which have gone through several editions, we believe. The very title conveyed a strong presumption that the book would interest a great number of readers; for how is it possible for any

one, who has a general knowledge of London, to fill two volumes with sketches of its sights and its life, without collecting an immense multitude of subjects that are humorous or pathetic, or in some way calculated to engage the attention of every person who is acquainted with the English language? To the citizens of the "Great Metropolis" themselves, the person who makes it his business to gather the facts which the aspect and the history, past or present, of that extraordinary place offers, such a book must contain much that they will like to know, were it but to direct their notice, and enlarge their store of anecdotes, in the course of their metropolitan walks. But to country cousins, whose visits to London are few or brief, and still more to those who continue entire strangers to its wonders, but who are apt to form erroneous and exaggerated notions of its appearance, its scenes, and its secrets, a work, upon the plan of the present, cannot fail of being much sought after. We therefore say, the simple announcement of the book, and of its plan, assured us that it would obtain an extraordinary circulation. But when it was added, that the performance was by the author of "Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons," and remembering his smart and lively manner, his sketching talents, and gossiping facility of description, the presumptive assurance was enlarged and confirmed to us, that the book would be one of the most amusing and curious that had for a long time issued from the press. Nor has the actual perusal of it belied the general accuracy of our preconceptions.

To be sure, London, "The Great Metropolis," the centre of civilization, commerce, and liberty for the whole world, is a measureless theme, and necessarily becomes too vast for the knowledge of any one individual to grasp. It is, therefore, in some of its more patent and easily classified features that our author regards his subject. The first volume, accordingly, treats of the general characteristics of London, such as its outline and external appearance, its streets, its population, traffic, &c. We have next, more particularly, an account of the theatres, clubs, gaming-houses, and society, under the threefold division of the higher, the middle, and the lower classes. The second volume treats exclusively of the "London Press." It will thus be seen that a very wide and interesting field is embraced by the writer, the whole of which is described with ability and smartness, though with unequal accuracy. Indeed, we consider it impossible for any one individual to obtain intimate and personal knowledge, for instance, of the three classes of metropolitan society. The chapters devoted to this part of the work, are by far the most incorrect and unsatisfactory. The truth is, that we regard them as being filled with caricatures, many of them of a painful character. Nor do we think that this charge belongs only to one or two of the classes. All the three are extravagancies; and the wonder only is, that the writer should betray such mistaken no-

tions upon them all—that he should not display a personal acquaintanceship with any one of them. This failure, which every person must detect, who either judges of human nature in masses, or of the English people from history, really tends to make the reader distrustful of the author in all other cases. But this, again, would be a rash conclusion. At least, we can add our attestation to very many of the sketches being not only clever, but descriptively true. On perhaps the most curious division of the work, viz., that which regards the "Press of London," the author evinces an uncommon extent of information. It is not meant that he is in every thing, and in all cases, even in this department, fully acquainted with the truth. Still, he certainly writes like one who has been often behind the curtain himself, and who has also associated much with the literary fraternity of the metropolis who conduct and contribute to the newspaper and periodical press. But, without farther preface, we proceed to lay before our readers as much of the work as our limits allow, doing little more than selecting some of the parts which appear most curious and wonderful, or now and then detecting what, we think, are errors or deficiencies.

In his "General Characteristics" of "The Great Metropolis" the author fixes upon a number of features which are happily chosen, and cleverly sketched. Whoever has traversed its streets, lanes, and suburbs, are competent judges of this part of the work. The enormous extent of London may be judged of by strangers, when they are informed that its circumference is estimated at thirty miles, that in one direction it is nearly eight miles long, while its average breadth is little short of four miles. Or put it in this way—the computed number of its streets, lanes, rows, alleys, &c., is about 10,000; it boasts of upwards of 80 squares; its area is calculated to exceed 14,000 square acres; it is divided into 153 parishes; its population cannot now be less than 2,000,000.

Think of the crowded state, from morning till night, of the principal thoroughfares of London. A few years ago, the number of persons who crossed one of the bridges in one day is stated to have been counted, and found to be very nearly 90,000; and other thoroughfares are greatly more crowded. Think of the middle of the principal streets of traffic—the carts, the waggons, with their four, six, or eight horses, appearing in countless numbers, to the eye of a stranger. Then there are gentlemen's carriages, hackney coaches, omnibuses, and cabriolets (there are about 1200 of these latter vehicles constantly plying), all driving and threading their way at a furious rate. The effect, to the unpractised vision, is as bewildering and alarming as the noise is to the stunned ear. But we must formally quote a few remarks which hold true of London, generally speaking, and which it is very proper for strangers to know.

"There is no place in which the injunction, 'Mind your own business,' is so scrupulously attended to as in London. There is none of that prying into a neighbour's affairs, which is one of the great evils of all small towns. In fact, there is no such thing as neighbours in London—in the usual meaning of the word. You may live for half a century in one house, without knowing the name of the person who lives next door: it is quite possible, indeed, you may not even know him by sight. So intent is every one on his own business, and so little interested in that of others, that you may, if you please, walk on all fours in the public streets, without any one staying to bestow a look on you. The Irishman in America, who stood in an inverted position in order that he might be able to read a sign-board turned upside down, would not, in all probability, had the circumstance occurred in London, have attracted the notice of a single passer-by.

"People in the country have, almost without exception, an impression that one cannot walk the streets of London without personal danger. There could not be a more erroneous notion. Perhaps there is no town in the world where the safety of the subject is greater than in the metropolis of England. You may walk at any hour, in any part of London, without the least danger of any outrage being offered to you. Property is, also, equally secure: houses are, perhaps, less frequently broken into in London than in any town in the kingdom, considering the comparative population. Whatever robberies of property take place in houses, are, in the great majority of cases, committed either by the servants themselves, or with their connivance. The great security which both person and property enjoy in the metropolis is principally to be ascribed to the well-regulated system of police which is established in it.

"Another erroneous impression which is felt in the country regarding London, is, that it is an unhealthy place. The fact is quite the reverse. It is one of the healthiest towns in Great Britain, and is by far the healthiest metropolis in the world. It is certainly true that there are particular districts in it, which, from their low, confined situation, are very unhealthy; but these are the exceptions to the rule. Taken as a whole, London, as the bills of mortality and the number of invalids show, is a place of great salubrity. Various causes are assigned for this. Among these are its gravelly and clayey site, the circumstance of the river Thames running through it, and the width and cleanness of most of its streets."—vol. i, pp. 10—12.

"I have often been struck with the circumstance of meeting with so few persons, comparatively, who were born in the metropolis. Take any fifty grown-up individuals with whom you happen to be in company, and the probability is, you will not find more than one or two who first drew their breath in London. So very few is the number of those born in the metropolis, compared with those who have come from some other part of the world to settle in it, that if two persons chance to be speaking about a third, the one is sure, as a matter of course, to ask the other what part of the country he comes from, provided he supposes his friend can furnish him with the desired information.

"Perhaps there is no place in the world which so frequently changes its inhabitants as London. They are constantly shifting. It is computed that, on an average, 20,000 people enter it daily, while nearly an equal

number depart from it. It is like a great vortex, drawing persons from all parts of the world into it, and after whirling them about a short time, again throwing them out. One large class of persons come to it on business, and when that is done, return to the country. Others come in quest of employment, and, not being successful in the search, quit it for some other part of the kingdom or of the world. A third class visit the metropolis for purposes of pleasure, and, probably, remain in it as long as their money lasts, which few men of pleasure find to be any very lengthened period, and then return home, to lament their folly, with the addition, it may be, of a shattered frame to an empty pocket; while there is a very large class of persons who come to it from every part of the country on their way to the various quarters of the globe, because it has facilities peculiar to itself, for starting to every spot of the habitable world. Supposing a person were to walk up and down Cheapside for a whole day, and it were possible for him to have a perfect recollection of the distinctive features of every human face he saw, he would be surprised, on repeating the task a month afterwards, at the vast disproportion of the persons he had seen before and those who now passed him for the first time.

"Two acquaintances may be in London for twenty or thirty years without ever meeting together by accident in the streets. I myself know persons who in their school-boy days in the country were bosom companions, who have been twenty years in town without once crossing each other's path."—vol. i, pp. 16—18.

We now leave the "General Characteristics" of London, though we might have extracted or given a summary of a great many more, to be found in the same chapter. One remark strikes us upon this part of the work, and which, we think, fairly applies to the whole performance—it is this, that the author does not display a taste or a habit for indulging in profound reflections upon his given facts, although to many a mind these facts would frequently be felt as too full of weighty lessons to be left unrecorded. He has also let slip some golden opportunities for inserting the most characteristic points. We have not seen that he has, for instance, in his general outline, introduced the shipping in the docks and on the Thames, nor that he has done anything like justice to the gait of freedom, independence, and *nonchalance* of John Bull, whether merchant, master, or porter, which is broadly stamped upon the bustling men of the city. To our eyes these features were as apparent and arresting, when we first traversed the streets of the metropolis, as was the want of architectural or picturesque beauty in the aspect of the houses which line most of the streets with wearisome sameness on both sides, mile after mile, unless where the variegated effect of gaudy and gorgeous shops relieves the lower stories. But we proceed to the Theatres, only remarking, before introducing a description of the pantomime nights at Christmas, and the ceremony of condemning a piece, that much of what the author says of the passion manifested by the Londoners for theatricals, applies rather to past than to present times.

"The winter houses, and the leading minor theatres invariably bring out pantomimes at Christmas, which usually have a six weeks' run. In Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres these are got up with very great expense. The cost of preparing those of 1828-29, was as follows:—

	£
Drury Lane	1,870
Covent Garden	1,426
Adelphi	500
Surrey	600
Cobourg (now the Victoria)	400
Pavilion	100

"The pantomimes are a great source of attraction to young people; and as they are always brought out on 'Box-night,' when there is something in the pockets of the lower classes, the galleries of the various theatres are, on those occasions, crowded to suffocation; and a more motley appearance was never assuredly presented than that which then graces the various galleries. The railing on the front seat exhibits a goodly array of all sorts of second-hand apparel. It would do the heart of a Jew old clothesman good to see it. It has the appearance of a pawnbroker's shop: bonnets broken in the crown or without any crown at all; caps 'all tattered and torn;' shawls which were once of various hues, but which are now, for the want of the application of a little soap, all pretty much of one colour; hats, coats, waistcoats, &c. &c., are all fastened to the railing along the whole front of the upper gallery. Then there are 'the gods' themselves—the name by which they have always been called since Garrick delivered one of his celebrated prologues, in which, when apostrophising that portion of the audience in the immediate neighbourhood of the ceiling he exclaimed—

'And you, ye gods! to merit never blind—
A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.'

"A very large proportion of 'the deities' on such occasions consists of chimney-sweep apprentices, who are by far, considering their limited means, the most liberal patronisers of the drama. A considerable number of their sootships are always to be seen in the front seats, where their black frontispieces oddly contrast with their tusks and the whites of their eyes, which are displayed to great advantage on such occasions. There is also a fair sprinkling of bakers' apprentices on box-night, who are sure to be seen sitting cheek-by-jowl with the youthful knights of the soot-brush. A large number of those who people the upper regions of the house appear in their shirt-sleeves: their coats are doffed because the heat of the place has become intolerable. Others are swearing and fighting; while cries of 'turn him out!' 'turn him out!' 'order, order!' 'silence there!' assail your ears from all quarters. It were impossible, indeed, to witness a more uproarious scene than that invariably exhibited on such occasions. The unlimited play which the 'divinities' give their lungs on these nights often, in fact, has the effect of entirely drowning the voices of the actors on the stage. The truth is, that they claim a prescriptive right to be as noisy as they please on box-night, and all efforts to preserve order would be perfectly useless.

"Has the reader ever seen a piece, on its first production, condemned? or, to use theatrical phraseology, 'damned'—in any of the larger establish-

ments? No one who has not witnessed such a scene can form any idea of it. The audience, on such occasions, are in a perfect hubbub. Mr. O'Connell, even when in his most violent and most forcible moods, never produced so much 'agitation' in any assemblage of the 'finest pisantry in the world,' as is exhibited in Drury Lane, or Covent Garden, when a new piece is undergoing the process of utter 'damnation.' The great majority of the audience seem to make the matter a personal one. They feel as if some insult had been offered to them individually by the luckless wight of an author, and the scarcely less unfortunate proprietor of the theatre. They will in such cases rise from their seats, and express their indignation, not only in loud hisses, groans, &c., but by the most violent gestures. But perhaps a better idea of a scene of this kind will be afforded by the following account of a particular one which was exhibited last season at Covent Garden, and which I drew up immediately after its occurrence.

"The piece was called 'The Fortune of War; a National Military Operatic Drama.'

"The first act was eventually brought to a close without the audience offering an absolute interruption to the piece. But the second had no sooner commenced than the yet more stupid and clumsy evolutions of the troops—all of the actors on one occasion appeared as soldiers—raised the indignation of the audience to so high a pitch, that the cries of 'This is an insult to us!' 'Give us back our money!' and 'Return us our tin!' 'Off, off!' &c. became so loud and general, that it was found impossible to proceed with the piece. In the midst of the deafening uproar and confusion, Mr. Wallack, the stage-manager, came forward to address the audience, but he was for some time assailed with such a volley of hisses and yells that his efforts to make himself heard were altogether ineffectual. Cries of 'Hear him, hear him!' at last proceeded from several parts of the house, which had the effect of partially restoring order. Mr. Wallack then commenced thus:—

"'Ladies and Gentlemen, I most respectfully appeal to the liberal part of the audience,'—(Here Mr. Wallack's voice was drowned amidst the storm of hisses which again proceeded from the galleries and the pit,)—'I have every reason to believe and think that'—(Renewed uproar which prevented his completing the sentence.)—Ladies and Gentlemen, will you hear me? Will you allow the piece to proceed?' (Shouts of 'No, no!' from all parts of the house, with one or two faint cries of 'Yes, yes!')

"A pause then ensued in Mr. Wallack's address, owing to the deafening noise which prevailed in all parts of the theatre. At length he again endeavoured to procure a hearing:—'If you will not allow me'—(A voice in one of the corner boxes—'The military evolutions are most shameful.') Mr. Wallack—'In answer to that gentleman in the corner, I beg to say that I have done my duty. I have done every thing in my power to make the representation of the piece as efficient as possible. Ladies and Gentlemen, I am no soldier, though I now appear in the character of one; but I repeat, that in getting up this piece I have done my duty.'

"A voice in the boxes—'None of you have done your duty, except Mr. Daly.'

"Another voice—'The men can't move a step.' Cries of 'Off, off!' Hisses and yells were here renewed in all parts of the house. So great

was the confusion that about five minutes elapsed before anything was said or done on the stage. At the expiration of that time, the actors or troops again presented themselves, and made another attempt to proceed with the piece.

"A voice in the upper boxes—'Don't make fools of yourselves any longer.' (Loud laughter.)

"Another voice—'You should shut up shop at once.' (Renewed laughter, mingled with hisses and yells."—vol. i, pp. 88—95.

The Clubs we must not go into, although the chapter devoted to them is one of the best in the first volume. The "Gaming Houses" come next; and who, to use the author's words, has not heard of Crockford's? He then adds—"Every body has heard of it, and every one knows that it is a great gambling establishment; but that is the extent of the public's knowledge on the subject. The fact is, that the parties by whom it is supported, as well as the proprietor himself, take every means in their power to keep every body but themselves in ignorance of it." Of this proprietor of the largest gaming establishment—or, in more significant phraseology, the largest "Hell" in London—perhaps in the world, the following curious history is given.

"The history of Crockford is curious. His autobiography, nothing concealing and nothing extenuating, would be one of the most readable works which have appeared for many a day. He was originally a small fishmonger, without a penny in the world, in the neighbourhood of Temple Bar. The following copy of an account for fish, which appeared some years since in a book called 'Life in the West,' will give some idea both of the extent of his business and of the measure of his intimacy with the schoolmaster.

'Mr. A———.

'To William Crockford.

		s.	d.
'April 3	To pair of sowls . .	1	3
5	Sprats . . .	0	3
6	3 vitens . . .	0	9
12	7 red herrings .	0	6
19	2 makerils . . .	0	8
		3	5'

"The way in which he is said to have risen in the world is singular enough. Nature, it appears, has made him a first-rate mathematician in all that relates to money calculations. I am assured by those who know him, that the member for Middlesex is a mere tyro to him in this respect. By some inward process—mental arithmetic, I believe, is the phrase, though it is doubtful if Mr. Crockford knows what is meant by 'mental'—by some inward process, he can calculate, provided there be large stakes in the field, with an almost absolute certainty, what are to be the results in certain games. Having early discovered that he possessed this most useful gift, he began, while yet a fishmonger in a small way, to pay nightly visits, when the day's business was over, to a low hell in King's

Place, in the neighbourhood of Pall Mall. Here he commenced his career as a gambler by risking a few shillings at English hazard. Finding himself almost invariably successful, he was in the habit of proceeding next morning to Billingsgate, when he laid in a stock of 'sowls' (soles), flat-fish, &c. &c., for the day. He was gradually enabled to carry on his business to greater advantage and on a more extensive scale; while his increased profits enabled him to bet at the den referred to much more heavily than his limited resources would, in the first instance, admit of. His first great bet, however, was not in a gaming-house. The author of the work from which I have copied the account for 'sowls,' and 'vitens,' and 'makerils,' says, that his 'first step of any particular note to his present elevation was taking immense long odds upon an 'out' horse, which he did upon private information, given to him by a jockey, that it was to win.' Soon after this, Crockford purchased, for 100*l.*, the fourth share of a gambling bank, at No. 5, King Street, St. James's. The proprietors of the hell had previously quarrelled, and certain extraordinary disclosures were the consequence. Amongst other startling facts, it appeared, that though the den was not one of any great note, the system of plunder had been carried on in it on such an extensive scale, that in one night the players were 'pigeoned' to the tune of 2,000*l.* One of the proprietors being afraid that on this disclosure proceedings might be instituted against them, appropriated to himself his share of the 2,000*l.*, and then disposed of his interest in the concern, for the above-mentioned sum of 100*l.*, to Crockford. The three other partners were persons of the names of Abbott, Austen, and Holdsworth.

"Having amassed a great deal of money at 5, King Street, Crockford quitted the 'business' there, and opened a hell, with three other persons, in 81, Piccadilly, for playing French hazard. In one season, according to the statement of a gentleman who lost to a very considerable amount, the four proprietors must have divided amongst them the sum of 200,000*l.*, being 50,000*l.* to each. That, however, was the most successful season ever known. In point of real profit it far exceeds anything realized by the present princely establishment, because the expenses of keeping up the latter are ten times as great as were those of the former. At this place loaded dice were discovered, as I shall afterwards mention more particularly. Here again a quarrel took place among the partners about the division of the plunder, and the establishment was consequently broken up. Crockford then purchased the house No. 50, St. James's Street, but finding it much too small for the crowds of noblemen and gentlemen who frequented it, he purchased 51, and subsequently 52! when, in 1825, he pulled the three houses down, and erected on their site the present magnificent edifice."—vol. i, pp. 185—188.

Some idea may be formed of Crockford's establishment, when it is stated, that his head-cook, the celebrated Monsieur Oude, has a thousand guineas per annum, and that there is one under him whose yearly salary is five hundred. The cellar of wine belonging to this "Hell" is valued at 70,000*l.* There are said to be no fewer than thirty-three servants constantly attached to it; one set for the day, another for the night, who are all decorated in the richest livery.

We cannot say how far our author's description of Crockford's is correct; but certainly he communicates a great deal, which, if all true, evinces an extraordinary knowledge of the secrets of the establishment. It is to be hoped, that this account of such an ensnaring and ruinous place, as he represents it to be, will put the sprigs of the aristocracy on their guard, who are apt to become "pigeons," and that thus a great benefit to society may be effected.

"In Crockford's very large sums are played for with the cards; but it is at the hazard table, when the game is French hazard, that the work of plunder is carried on on the most extensive scale. There, to use gambling phraseology, the 'pigeon is plucked.' And to get the flat prevailed on to throw down the cards, and repair to the hazard room, is the great, though concealed object of those in the interest of the house. A few hours, most probably, will do the work in the latter place. The stakes are usually high: he loses, perhaps, a fourth part of his fortune in less than an hour: he 'tables' another fourth—he loses again. He becomes desperate: in the delirium, or madness (for that is the proper word) of the moment, he determines on risking his all at one throw. The dice turn up—his all is lost: he who a few hours before was a rich man, is now a beggar. The sums which young thoughtless noblemen lose at Crockford's in one night, are sometimes incredibly large. Seven years ago one pigeon was plucked, in a few hours, to the tune of 60,000*l.*—the stakes were 10,000*l.* It is only three years since Lord C———, the grandson of an aged noble Earl, lost 30,000*l.* in one night. The winner was a noble Marquis, of sporting notoriety, who, according to report, was at that time, if not now, a part proprietor of the establishment. Losses of 5,000*l.*, 7,000*l.*, and 10,000*l.*, in one night, are by no means uncommon when a rich flat is caught."—vol. i, pp. 170—171.

This is one of the shortest of the appalling paragraphs upon Crockford's and the other gaming-houses. By the bye, in going through the chapter in which these accounts are found, and indeed in many parts of the two volumes, there is much that savours of personality. We almost fear that the gentlemen of the "long robe" may be led professionally to examine "The Great Metropolis." However, we hope it will not be in consequence of any truths told respecting any degenerate aristocrat who may contribute to the support of the London Hells. Indeed, the aristocrats have enough besides to answer for, if all be faithfully set down by our author concerning them in this chapter.

"No one who has ever had an opportunity of studying human character, as exemplified in the conduct of the higher classes of this country, but must have been struck with their want of regard to the truth. They are most prodigal of their promises; let those to whom they have been made, say how many of them are redeemed. Shakspeare has a character in one of his plays who 'lies like truth.' Shakspeare must have had one of the 'fashionables' of his day, who, I suppose, very much resembled those of our's, in his eye when he penned the expression. They see no moral evil in telling a fib: to tell what they call a conventional falsehood

with becoming grace, is deemed by them an accomplishment of the most enviable kind. It were well if the practice of systematic fib-telling were confined to themselves: it is an accomplishment in which they are careful to instruct their domestics. To tell a certain class of falsehoods with ease and effect, is, in many cases, regarded as one of the greatest merits of a servant. Take, for an illustration of my statement, the way in which they refuse to see, when so disposed, any friend who calls on them. Do they say they are engaged, and cannot see any visitor at the time? No; that would never do. The servant is instructed to say the master or mistress is not at home. Thus the master or mistress tells the fib in the first instance, and then instructs the servant to do the same.

"The insincerity of the Upper Classes is one of the most prominent traits in their character. All is fair outwardly; nothing can be kinder than their words; it is so marked, that a French writer, speaking of our English nobility, says, that aristocracy and hypocrisy are synonymous terms. How different from their words would you find their hearts were they unveiled to your gaze! 'My dear,' are epithets you every moment hear our aristocratic ladies applying to one another, while the most rancorous malignity exists in each of their minds. A carriage is seen at the door. 'O, there's those horrid creatures, the Jerninghams—what great bores they are!' says Miss Harley to her sister Jemima. The door is opened, the Jerninghams are ushered into the drawing-room, and Miss Harley and Jemima embrace 'the horrid creatures—the great bores,' with an energy which, were one to judge from mere externals, would be held to betoken the most devoted affection. The Jerninghams are about to depart; Miss Harley and Miss Jemima impress on their lips a most 'vigorous kiss,' are delighted with their visit, and implore them to call soon again. The door is shut; and the Jerninghams are 'detestable wretches!'

"'My dear Miss Vernon, I am *so* delighted to see you; how are you?' said Miss Grantley the other evening to a young lady she met at the *soirée* at the Colosseum. As she spoke she shook Miss Vernon by the hand with a vehemence and apparent cordiality I have never seen surpassed. 'O how I *do* hate that conceited, empty, stuck-up creature, Miss Vernon,' said Miss Grantley, with a most contemptuous expression of countenance, to a female friend who was with her at the time—the moment the other had parted from her. 'The odious reptile!—she is always crossing my path. I would as soon encounter a tiger as meet with her. I abhor the very thought of the vulgar wretch.'

"The mothers are quite as guilty in this respect with their daughters.

"No one that knows anything of the aristocracy can fail to have been struck with the frightful extent to which profligacy exists amongst its male members. What is their hourly conduct but a living exemplification of the most profligate principles? I speak not of their intercourse with those of the opposite sex, whose course of life is indicated by their own favourite expression 'unfortunate girls.' What I have chiefly in my eye is their constant attempts to seduce virtuous females. With hundreds this is not only the principal, but almost the only business of their life. To them it matters not that they entail irretrievable ruin on the poor victims themselves; nor that they plunge whole families into the deepest

distress. These are considerations that never enter their minds: the gratification of their own unhallowed passions is the only thing that ever occupies their thoughts. And to aggravate, if that were possible, the enormity of their crimes, they openly boast of their exploits in this way. What must be the moral deformity of a mind, that can first contemplate and then carry into effect, the greatest crime which the stronger can commit against the weaker sex, and then glory in its shame? That the recital of these deeds of seduction should be listened to with patience by one's acquaintances, gives a painful picture of human nature; that such recital should be, as it is, often applauded to the echo, is a fact which may well make one 'bang his head, and blush to think himself a man.'

"But the species of criminality to which I refer, does not stop here. It rises yet higher in the scale of social and moral enormity. Am I understood? Need I tell any one that knows aught of the male members of the aristocracy, that I refer to the attempts they are constantly making, to induce infidelity to the marriage vow, and to pollute the marriage bed? Life among the Higher Classes is little better than a constant scene of intrigues and amours."—vol. i, pp. 222—281.

We might extract much more, which runs in the same strain, from the chapter before us. Let it be understood, however, that the author qualifies, more than once, his accusations, by admitting there are exceptions to the general rules laid down by him, but these, he declares again, "are of remarkably rare occurrence." Now, we do not mean to enter into a formal refutation of these sweeping charges. That they are founded on hearsay, and on incompetent authority, is clear; that the picture is extravagant and distorted is not less manifest. Indeed, we know not any accessible grounds which a stranger to daily intercourse with the English aristocracy can command, by which it is made apparent that they form an exception to mankind in general. If their vices are peculiar, these arise from their peculiar means and circumstances of condition; and we believe, that according to their numbers, they could muster as many bright names, whether in times past or present, and whether for intellectual or moral attainments, as any class in the community. It is customary to say, that the highest and the lowest orders of society in Great Britain are the most depraved. We think that this is a loose method of speaking. The artificialities of high life has certainly imposed upon the aristocracy not a few evils, while their situation exposes them more openly to public scrutiny than the humbler in rank, just as the hardships and temptations of the lowest grade of all are a severe trial to that class. But how many in each of these divisions, were the whole truth known, would attract the world's admiration by their virtues, could the double refinement resulting from their condition be fully and fairly regarded!

We have already said, that the author does not, according to our apprehension, characterize either of his three classes of Metropolitan Society with his accustomed discrimination. It would require,

however, an examination of all that he has said of them, to feel how repulsive are his exaggerations. Concerning the "Middle Classes," we shall therefore only cite one passage, which affords an instance of the manner in which he arrives at sweeping conclusions from inadequate or ludicrous data.

"It will be found that the greatest error ever committed by those in the middle rank of society—an error, however, let it be understood, committed but by comparatively few of them—is that of aspiring at being received into the circles of the upper classes, and a consequent attempt to emulate the habits of the latter. This leads them to incur an expenditure far above their income, and it has the effect of fostering a spirit of foolish, if not of criminal pride. This vain emulation, this anxious desire to be considered better in point of circumstances than they really are, is invariably sure to end in the ruin of the unhappy persons who are the subjects of it. It is one of the most contemptible of passions; it is altogether different from the commendable desire so generally entertained to better one's condition in life. The first is the result of empty vanity, and seeks gratification in despite of circumstances; the other arises from a virtuous and noble feeling which the Deity has implanted in men's bosoms, and which would disdain to be gratified at the expense either of any abstract moral principle, or of any individual's interest.

"The passion I am reprobating often leads those who indulge it, to do such ridiculous things as to make them the laughing-stocks of all who are acquainted with them. I know one gentleman of some commercial note who resides at the east end of London, whose legislative duties call him every afternoon, during the session, to Westminster. He invariably wears cotton gloves until he reaches Charing Cross, not deeming it likely he will encounter any of the 'fashionables' farther eastward; but so soon as he comes in sight of the statue of Charles I. he doffs his cotton ones, stows them into his pocket, and replaces them by a white kid pair. He then considers himself in a condition to see and be seen by any of the noble lords who, at the hour of the Houses meeting, are riding and driving and walking, in such numbers, between Charing Cross and Westminster Abbey.

"I know another instance—and let it be observed I am only speaking the sober truth—of two gentlemen whose ambition to be considered among the great, wofully contrasts with their pecuniary circumstances. They are now living, and have been for two years, in one furnished apartment on a second floor. There is no room for two beds in the apartment, and consequently one of them is obliged to sleep on the sofa. This they do alternately, or, if he who has the good fortune to possess the bed on a particular night, has occasion to rise earlier in the morning than his friend, the latter considers the circumstance quite a windfall; he leaps at once from the sofa, and takes possession of the vacant bed. But the most ludicrous part of the business is the way in which they manage their joint-stock of linen. Every one has heard of Falstaff's ragged regiment, who only had three shirts, and these all tattered and torn, among them—although one hundred and fifty in number. My two heroes are not quite so badly off, for they have four tolerably good shirts between them. By an ar-

rangement which I cannot properly describe, they always contrive to have one of the shirts ready for any emergency, and whichever of them happens to need it first, is entitled to it. In the article of eating and drinking, when at their own expense, they are obliged to be remarkably moderate. They vegetate on next to nothing, and yet they are in the habit of dining out and mixing with persons moving, if not in strictly aristocratic society, in a sphere which approximates to it. I admire the man who wishes to keep up his station in society, though his circumstances are reduced; but the individuals I refer to are always, while suffering so many privations at home, striving to get into society far above their station either as gentlemen or men of education."—vol. i, pp, 276—279.

The following illustration of the wretched condition of what is said to be true of many in the Great Metropolis belonging to the working classes, even when trade is good, and when no blame attaches to the conduct of the parties, we are desirous to believe is overcharged. As a sketch, however, the account is powerfully and pathetically written; but does it not put the reader in mind of a draft upon the imagination, or the fragment of a well constructed novel?

"Even when trade is good the great majority of the working classes are obliged to put up with many inconveniences. I have sometimes been insensibly led to form a contrast between the families of those in easy circumstances and those of the Lower Classes, even in the most prosperous periods of trade. It is all the latter can do to earn daily bread of the coarsest kind and in stinted quantities, for themselves and families: their's is a constant struggle to procure the most common necessaries of life. In cold weather they are but scantily provided with clothing: their humble abodes are as often without fire as with it. The poor mother has no one to assist her in the management of her children, all of whom, however numerous, are pent up with herself and husband, in one little confined unhealthy room. Are any of the children unwell? there is no physician in attendance; the penury of the parents will not admit of the payment of doctors' bills: there the poor things lie, taking their chance of life or death, just as Providence is pleased to order the event. There is no one to administer to their little wants but the mother, and she has neither the means nor the opportunity, owing to the claims which other household matters have on her time, of tending their bed-sides. They are never greeted by a smile either from father or mother, for the parents have too great a load of care hanging on their minds to cheer them by even an occasional relaxation of their features. They have no one to sing them a lullaby—no one to fondle or caress them—no toy or plaything to amuse their infant fancies—nobody, in short, nor anything, to soothe or divert their little minds. The parents are doomed to witness sufferings on the part of their children, which they have no means of relieving. Such children are, indeed, cradled in misery. I have often wondered that in after life they ever appear cheerful. One would think that the effect of being brought up in such circumstances would be to make them so many misanthropes: so it undoubtedly would, did not some wise and merciful provision of Providence counteract its natural tendency.

"If such be the scene of misery which the dwellings of so many of the Lower Classes in the metropolis present, when both parents are alive and well, what must be the spectacle when either of them is sick or dead! Some time ago circumstances led me to witness the death of the mother of a poor man's family of four children, and afterwards to see the surviving parent struggling to bring them up himself: in both cases it was a touching sight. I have witnessed other death-bed scenes, but none ever affected me so much as this. The poor mother of the children had been ailing for a long time: a physician, a friend of my own, humanely gave his attendance gratuitously. He apprised me of what the issue of the malady—it was consumption—would be: she, herself, was aware it would end in death. She lay stretched on a pallet of straw: her bed-clothes were scanty; and every thing in the room spoke of extreme destitution. On the night on which she expired, she said to her husband, 'My sand-glass is nearly run: I feel as if I were no longer in the world.' As she spoke she stretched out her hand to grasp his: he burst into a flood of tears, but uttered not a word. He thought of being left with a family of four children, the oldest of whom was under twelve years; and the poor man's heart felt as if it would literally break. The dying woman heaved a deep sigh, and for a few minutes did not speak. 'Bring me Mary,' were the first words she uttered. Mary was her youngest child; it was two years old. The child was brought her; she took the innocent creature in her arms and affectionately pressed it to her bosom. 'Poor thing,' she said, the excess of her feelings preventing her from proceeding farther at the moment;—'Poor thing, you will soon be thrown motherless on the world; you will most feel the want of me: what will become of you! He who dwells in heaven only knows: to his kind care and keeping I earnestly commit you. He can—' here her tongue faltered. The dying woman did utter something more, but the sounds were not sufficiently articulate to be intelligible. The young innocent, unconscious of the irreparable loss it was about to sustain, replied to the parting caresses of its mother, by amusing itself with her dishevelled hair, and saying, in broken accents, at the same time pulling her by the arms as if trying to raise her up—'Mammy, 'out ba'—meaning, 'come out of bed.' The husband and father was touched to the heart by the affecting scene; his feelings had obtained so complete a mastery over him, that he sat silent and motionless by the bed-side of his expiring wife. The three eldest children—whether from a sense of the loss they were about to sustain, or whether it was only because they saw their father weeping bitterly, I cannot say—showed by the depth and frequency of their sobs and the copiousness of their tears, that their feelings were also deeply touched. The dying woman still remained speechless: it was clear 'the beginning of the end' was come: it was manifest the struggle between the body and the soul had commenced. It was, however, a peaceful struggle. The spirit, in its efforts to escape from its clay tenement, dealt in the gentlest manner with the companion it was about to quit until the sound of the last trumpet should summon them to a reunion. Never did I gaze on a more placid countenance than that of the expiring woman. If literary thoughts could have crossed my mind at such a moment, I should have said that this was indeed the poetry of repose. She was evidently free from bodily pain; but the grand secret of the beautiful serenity which beamed on her countenance

was the hope of a blessed immortality which had been inspired by the gospel. That heaven-born hope had sustained her mind amid all the trials and troubles of life; and it now supported and cheered her in the immediate prospect of death. Addison, in his last moments, addressing an infidel friend, said, 'See in what peace a Christian can die!' I could have wished some rejecter of divine revelation had been present on this occasion. Though the dying woman had ceased to speak, it was clear that she was perfectly conscious. A few minutes more, and the death-rattle was heard in her throat: an unearthly glare was visible in her eye: the eye-balls became fixed: her cheeks were pale as marble: a clammyness appeared on her countenance: her breathing became less and less perceptible, till at last it ceased entirely, and her spirit was before the throne of the Eternal. To depict the feelings of the now widowed husband, is a task I will not undertake. They presented the sublime spectacle of grace triumphing over nature. He was overwhelmed, on the one hand, with sorrow at his loss, but he was supported, on the other, by Him who had taught him that as his day was so his strength should be. The scene, as I have already said, was inconceivably affecting; but I thought with myself what must have been the misery of the spectacle of a wife and the mother of four children, dying in such circumstances, unblessed and uncheered by the consolations of Christianity. I will not pain the reader's feelings by attempting to describe the struggle which the poor widower had in bringing up his motherless children*."—vol. i, pp. 318—323.

At the rate we have been proceeding, it will be seen that we cannot do justice to the second volume, although we think it deserves to be most admired. Believing, however, that few of the reading public will remain for any considerable length of time ignorant of the contents of "The Great Metropolis," it is the less necessary to go deeper into the work than to show its spirit and indicate the nature of the subjects discussed in it. We shall confine our extracts to two points connected with the "London Press." The first speaks in general terms of Newspapers, and may be taken as a suitable introduction to the many ably told particulars concerning that engine over public opinion.

"The metropolitan newspaper press is perhaps the mightiest moral engine in the world. The 'Journalism' of Paris is generally supposed by those conversant with both countries, to exercise a greater influence in France than the London Press does in England; but out of France the Parisian journals scarcely exercise any influence at all; while that of London is sensibly felt to the remotest extremities of the civilized world. It gives, on many questions of great magnitude, the tone to public feeling and public opinion in America; for a large proportion of the American journals follow, on such questions, in the wake of the London newspapers. Look, for example, at the state of the Slavery question at this moment on the other side of the Atlantic. By means of the public press of this country—and in the provinces, newspapers are almost invariably guided by the

* "The mother and father of this family were persons of decided piety. They were members of a Dissenting church."

course pursued by the metropolitan journals—slavery has been for ever abolished in our West India colonies. And no sooner had that great triumph of justice and humanity been achieved over the opposite principles in England, than the struggle commenced for a similar triumph on the shores of America. What the issue will be no one can doubt: that it will—and speedily too—be the same as we have lately witnessed in the case of the West India negroes, is just as certain as it is possible for a moral contingency to be.

"No one who knows anything of the way in which the public mind is operated upon in this country, can for a moment doubt that had the London Press been silent on the wrongs of the slaves in our colonial possessions, for some years prior to their emancipation, there would not have been the least probability of that desirable consummation taking place for a long period to come. And it is equally clear that but for the part which this country has taken in that question, the propriety of liberating the slaves in the Southern states of America, would not have been yet mooted on the other side of the Atlantic.

"I am aware that in some cases the metropolitan newspaper press has followed rather than led public opinion; but these cases are comparatively few; and even when they do occur they do not militate against the position, that the London press possesses the great moral power I have ascribed to it; for without the concentration and expression of public opinion through the medium of the metropolitan journals, the influence it would exert would be but limited indeed.

"It were an endless task to enumerate the great moral and social achievements which the newspaper press of London has made, either directly or indirectly, during the last half century. A sufficiently accurate conception of the amazing power of this great engine will be formed, when I mention, what I believe no one acquainted with the subject will doubt, namely, that were the metropolitan journals to lend their united energies for any length of time to the accomplishment of any object not physically impossible, they would in the end succeed, whether that object were good or evil."—vol. ii, pp. 1—4.

"The newspaper is incomparably the noblest and most useful purpose to which the invention of printing has been turned. It is by far the most glorious of triumphs which typography, in all probability, is destined to achieve. The newspaper pre-eminently comes home to the business and bosoms of men. Talk of the varied infomation and utility of the cyclopædias and almanacks! Why, these publications are not to be mentioned in the same breath with the newspaper; it addresses itself to your immediate wants; affords you that information, without which you could not spend even the day on which you have entered, with any degree of comfort. Deprive us of our newspapers, and a greater calamity could not befal us. Life without them would scarcely be worth the having. What to the man accustomed to his morning paper, along with his rolls and butter, would be his breakfast without one? Speak to this point, ye subscribers to the morning journals, who have occasionally, through heavy debates in parliament, important expresses received at a late hour, or other causes—been deprived of your paper until eleven or twelve o'clock, say, have you not, in such cases, spent a most miserable morning?

Has not your breakfast been deprived of its usual relish? Have not even the smiling faces of the members of your family, supposing you to be married, lost the charm which they possess at all other times? The newspaper is now become a necessary of life. Its uses are innumerable; it addresses itself to its readers as intellectual men, as members of the body politic, and as private individuals. It is the first to inform them of any new discovery of importance in the science of mind. It points out, by its reviews, its reports of the proceedings of literary and scientific societies, its advertisements, &c., everything of interest which transpires in the republic of letters. As to politics, again, it is pre-eminently its province to communicate the amplest information regarding them. Whatever bears, either directly or indirectly, on the destinies of the nation, is to be found in the columns of the newspaper. To all such matters it has an eagle eye; and not to the politics of this country only, but to those of the whole civilized world. Read your newspaper carefully, and it is your own fault if you have not a clear view, without rising off your chair, of the state of matters in all parts of the globe. I was much struck with an observation which a pious Baptist minister made some years ago to a friend of mine, when on a visit in the north of Scotland. A newspaper having been brought into the room, he held out his hand to receive it, saying, 'Be kind enough to let me have it for a few minutes, till I see how the Supreme Being is governing the world!' A more forcible or felicitous expression, as applied to a newspaper, could not be employed. The newspaper is indeed a mirror in which you see reflected the mode in which the Deity administers the affairs of the world. As regards its readers, considered in their capacity of private individuals, the newspaper is an article of the greatest importance. What sort of information does any one want? Be what it may, he is sure to find it among its universally varied contents."—vol. ii, pp. 197—199.

When reviewing our author's "Recollections of the Lords and Commons," we extracted copious accounts of the scenes that sometimes took place in both Houses, as well as concerning individual members. But concerning the reporters for the newspapers of the parliamentary speeches there was little said. The deficiency is amply made up in the present volumes; and believing that our provincial readers will be particularly gratified with particulars regarding that hard-worked and influential class of men, when coming from one who has, no doubt, belonged to the fraternity, we introduce a large portion of this part of his work. There is neither an opening nor a necessity for corrections on our part; and indeed our readers might well blame us, if by any less interesting matter we filled our remaining space allotted to this paper.

"The Parliamentary Reporting establishments of the daily press has been jocularly called 'The Fourth Estate.' The joke is one of those in which there is much more truth than is generally supposed. The influence which the parliamentary reporters exercise on public opinion, is incalculably great. Everything is left to their own discretion. They receive no instructions from the proprietors or editors of the different journals with which they are connected, as to what is to be reported, and what not; and

when their reports are completed they are handed to the compositors, without the alteration of a single word, or anything in the shape of enlargement or abridgment being suggested by the editors. It is clear, therefore, that their power to influence public opinion is very great. Happily, however, the power which the reporters thus possess is almost invariably exercised in the right way. They never allow private partialities or private prejudices to interfere with their discharge of a public duty. They always take care to proportion the length of their reports to the space which the speaker fills in the public eye, and to the importance, or otherwise, of the subject on which he addresses the House. And their tact and judgment in this respect are remarkable. They know well who are the most influential speakers, and what is the measure of importance which the public attach to the question discussed."—vol. ii, pp. 214, 215.

"We often hear of the advantages of a division of labour. There never was a more striking illustration of this than is furnished in the case of parliamentary reporting. When Mr. Perry, late proprietor of 'The Morning Chronicle,' commenced his career as a reporter, which was about the year 1780, the morning papers had only one reporter each. He had to remain in the House during the whole of the proceedings, and to give an account of them—a mere outline of course—from the beginning to the end. What aggravated the fatigue and difficulty of the task, was the circumstance of not being allowed to take any notes in the gallery. Reporters were then obliged to trust wholly to memory. The entire number of parliamentary reporters now on the metropolitan newspaper press, is about eighty. Upwards of sixty of the number are on the morning papers, and the remainder on the evening. The parliamentary reporting *corps* of the leading morning papers, varies from twelve to fifteen. Each reporter takes a turn of three-quarters of an hour's duration. The moment his time has expired, he quits the gallery, his place being taken by another, walks down to the office of the paper for which he is engaged, where he extends his notes in a legible hand, and then transfers the manuscript, which is on small slips, written only on one side—to the printer. The printer distributes the slips among the compositors. The writing only on one side, facilitates the labour of the compositors, who, when five or six of them are employed on the same reporter's copy, always put his manuscript into types as fast as he can get it ready. When the reporter who succeeded the first gentleman has been on duty his three-quarters of an hour, he is relieved by some of his colleagues, and he also goes directly to the office to write out his copy in a perfect hand. In this way the thing goes on alphabetically the whole night, until all the reporters on the different establishments have severally had their 'turns,'—unless the house should chance to rise before the number is exhausted. It is but very seldom that any of the reporters have two turns on the same night. They only have so, either when two or three of them are absent from ill health, or on other business, or when both Houses sit for some considerable time. In that case the reporters severally extend the duration of their turns, in either House, to an hour—otherwise they would be required to take a second turn before they had written out the first. This sometimes happens even with the hour turns. It so happens, either when the speaker or the subject has been so important as to render a copious report desirable; or when the reporter's notes, which is

pretty often the case, are so confused as to prevent his reading them with ease.

"When a reporter begins extending his notes for the compositor, he writes at the commencement of his first slip his own name and the name of the colleague whom he succeeds, in this way—'Hammond follows Richards,' or whatever else the names of the parties chance to be. When he finishes his turn, he writes in the same way at the end of his slip the name of the gentleman who follows him, together with his own. The object of this is to enable the printer to arrange the copy given him by the various reporters in its proper order. But for this regulation, the speeches of the different members would be thrown into confusion, and awkward transpositions of the several parts of the same member's speech would also occasionally occur."—vol. ii, pp. 220—223.

"Complaints are also occasionally made by members, that their speeches are not reported *verbatim*. Pretty speeches, in that case, would some of their orations appear! The plan of giving *verbatim* reports was once tried by Dr. Stoddart, now Sir John Stoddart, when he conducted 'The New Times.' The result of the experiment was such as ought to prevent any one calling for *verbatim* reports in future. The members made downright fools of themselves, and set the public a laughing from one end of the country to the other. Lord Castlereagh exhibited himself as '*standing prostrate* at the foot of Majesty,' and as 'walking forward with his back turned on himself.' Sir Frederick Flood, one of the Irish members, and a great stickler for *verbatim* reports, appeared one morning as having on the previous evening enlightened and delighted the House with the following profound philosophy and brilliant eloquence:—'Mr. Spaker,—As I was coming down to this House to perform my duty to the country and ould Irelant, I was brutally attacked, Sir, by a mob, Mr. Spaker, of ragamuffins, Sir. If Sir, any honourable gintlemin is to be assaulted, Mr. Spaker, by such a parcel of spalpeens, Sir, as were after attacking me, Mr. Spaker, then I say, Mr. Spaker, that if you do not, Mr. Spaker, be after protecting gintlemin, like myself, Sir, we cannot be after coming to the House of Parliament at all at all Mr. Spaker. And, Sir, may I be after axing you, Sir, what, Sir, would become, Sir, of the bisness of the country, Mr. Spaker, in such a case, Mr. Spaker? Will you, Sir, be after answering myself that question, Mr. Spaker? It's myself that would like an answer, Sir, to the question, Sir, as soon as convanient, Sir, which I have asked you, Mr. Spaker *."—vol. ii, pp. 236, 237.

"* Sir Frederick was a singularly eccentric man. He was quite delighted when any one asked a frank from him, and whether the party applying for it was a person moving in the same sphere of society as himself, or one of the most ragged of his country's peasantry, he was sure to address him as follows:—'Was it a frank you said? Sure then, it's myself will have very grate plasure in giving a frank to a gintlemin like yourself who asks it in such a genteel-like way. I'm delighted, Sir, to have it in my power to give a frank to a man who has so much of the manners of a gintlemin. Would you be kind enough, Sir, to be after telling me what's the

We are sure that enough has now been said of these volumes, and extracted from them, to insure their circulation among the majority of our readers. If the work is not perfect, it is exceedingly amusing, communicating at the same time a great deal which country people especially desire to know. They may feel more assured of this, when they are informed that the author embraces, in his chapters on the "London Press," individually, the morning, evening, and weekly papers; and next the periodicals, quarterly, monthly, and weekly. He describes the history of each publication, with minuteness and exemplary candour. The Monthly Review, of course, obtains its share of the writer's notice. Nor have we any reason to complain of his criticism or representation, as a whole. There are some inaccuracies in his statements, to be sure, but they affect not our respectability. He correctly says, that the "Monthly Review" is drawing towards its hundredth year, having been established in 1749; and that it "was the first periodical to introduce that philosophical tone of discussion which is now universally adopted by the higher class of reviewers." He is also pleased to say, that its circulation is still very select; that "it is still conducted with taste and talent;" and that the plan of the work "is admirable." To these opinions we have no objection to subscribe. We hope they are the same as are entertained by our readers; and and that they will gain an increase of attestation. We have no parties to propitiate, none to fear or court, but the public voice. Our particular province is to do honestly and resolutely, what the author of "The Great Metropolis" asserts, when he says, "The Monthly Review gives an admirable connected view of the literature of Great Britain for nearly a century past." We, therefore, adopt the sentiments and language of a former proprietor and editor of our Review, when, owing to ill health, he took a farewell of his readers, and said, "He has been allowed a heart to love literary employment as a sacred trust and calling, and the ambition to hope that the exercise of it was honourable to him and useful to the public." "In relinquishing a station, in which he endeavoured to do what might be public good, he may be permitted to indulge the presumption that some good *has been done*, and that, hitherto, this octogenarian work has been found the steady and independent advocate of the general interests of literature, of moral virtue, of political freedom, and of religious liberty, unawed by the threatening aspect of 'the worst of times,' and unseduced by the allurements of peace and pleasure, which it has been its (the Monthly Review's) fortune to witness in its protracted career."

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address of your letter?' The epistle was then franked, when Sir Frederick presented it to the party with a low bow, as if he were the obliged instea of the obliging party."

ART. IV.—*The History of Party; from the Rise of the Whig and Tory Factions, in the Reign of Charles II., to the Passing of the Reform Bill.* By GEORGE WINGROVE COOKE, Esq., Barrister at Law, Author of "Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke," &c. Vol. I. A. D. 1666—1714. London: Macrone. 1836.

THE history of political partisanship exhibits a tortuous course in all cases; but certainly that of the whig and tory factions is one of the most perfect examples, whether the duration of their existence, the subtlety of their intrigues, or the questions upon which they have opposed each other be contemplated. The British constitution, indeed, owing to the most admirable principles of its system, such as the liberty of conscience, and the freedom of speech which it allows and inculcates, is necessarily and naturally prolific of parties; very frequently one of them acting as a salutary check upon another when in power. English history is full of proofs for this statement, and probably never more so than within the period which is open to our own immediate knowledge. Comparatively few, however, of those who are in the daily habit of bandying the terms *whig and tory*—even of those who have read a comprehensive history of this country—possess a definite and correct idea of the meaning of the words so used; particular measures or rather particular individuals being made to stand for a set of principles. Indeed, it requires far more than the study which ordinary readers bestow on national records, to separate the conduct and revolutions of political parties from the current narrative, so as to behold these conditions clearly as a distinct and connected whole. This task has now, however, with regard to the whigs and tories—our two great factions—been set about by the learned author of the present volume, bringing the history down to the death of Queen Anne; which he has executed with laudable care, and in a manner, that, for the future, will supersede the necessity of any one else undergoing a similar toil or exercise of his abilities and knowledge. Mr. Cooke, like a person familiar with every branch and incident belonging to his subject, and like one fond of it, communicates to his narrative such a degree of dramatic and progressive interest, as relieves it of much of that sameness and forbidding display of selfish ambition, which we had anticipated would unavoidably attach to this theme. The truth is, that his history of the whig and tory factions, judging by the present volume, which is only the first of the work, will be not merely one eminently instructive to the statesman and the moralist, but calculated deeply to engage the mind of all who take a patriotic interest in the prosperity of Great Britain. In short, when completed, the work will unquestionably deserve a niche on the shelves of our standard historical literature.

There is, in the present work, one feature which cannot fail strongly to recommend it to the anxious and systematic students of British history; and without which—but especially in a publication which is neither upon unimportant facts, or opinions of an ephemeral influence—no literary performance can possess a high character: we mean, his remarkable candour and impartiality in dealing with the opinions and actions of all men, and of both of the parties which come particularly under his cognizance. He avows himself a whig, and he seems a very decided one, in so far as an uncompromising adherence to what he considers to be the great distinctive doctrines of his party is concerned. But he is as conspicuous for his liberality in interpreting the motives and conduct of the opposite party, as any enlightened tory could desire. His attachment to whiggism is firm and uniform, but his adherence to historic truth, and his sense of the duties required from him as an historian, are stronger and more abiding still. Therefore, the ability and the fidelity which mark his performance, will secure for it the eminent place we have already indicated.

But, however much we may admire or say in praise of Mr. Cooke's "History of Party," and although the present volume be a thick one and well stored, it will not be expected that we go much into its contents. As the merit and value of the work consist principally in the clear connected shape into which well known, though often disjointed parts of history are thrown, our space necessarily precludes the possibility of giving a specimen of the successful manner in which this has been performed. Where a detailed narrative is to be recommended for the excellent manner in which it is woven together, nothing short of the performance in its integrity can be a fair criterion to judge by. A few extracts, however, may exhibit the author's political principles and spirit, whether this spirit be displayed in palliating the conduct of the whigs, or interpreting that of the tories.

In his first chapter, Mr. Cooke gives a succinct account of the state of parties at the restoration of the monarchy. He soon shows, that misgovernment at home and dishonour abroad were the substitutes for the happy effects of the recal of Charles, which the people had persuaded themselves would flow from it. The Cabal administration soon commenced its infamous career, and the profligate, the heartless, and the flagitious principles of the king, first began to be suspected, and next to be demonstrated. When speaking of the secret treaty which was signed at Dover, on the 22nd of May, 1670, the author remarks—

"There are few periods of our history that present a more important crisis than that which the date of this secret treaty marks. In the present age, the Catholic religion is in England merely the faith of a sect. Their views are bounded by the prospect of a perfect equality with their fellow-subjects, and they are no more dangerous to our constitution than

any other of those numerous religious sects with which the kingdom is so rife. But in the reign of Charles II. it was far different. Popery was then only another name for unlimited power in the monarch, and unlimited oppression to the subject. The object of its adherents was not equality, but ascendancy, and since this could not be obtained but by force of arms, they were ready to barter their civil liberties for the royal favour, and assist Charles to become the master of his people, upon the condition that he should make a Catholic Hierarchy one of the instruments of his tyranny. The patriotic party dreaded the Catholics, not as religionists, but as agents of despotism."—pp. 8, 9.

This passage glances at the apparent inconsistency of the party which afterwards ranked under the term whig, professing at the same time the principles of toleration, and—as in the case of the Exclusion Bill—enacting the severest measures against the Roman Catholics. The author quotes, in support of his view of the seeming incongruity, and in defence of the fathers of his party, from a speech by John Hampden, who said, "I do not understand how it can be construed, because we go about to disinherit the duke, that, therefore, it must be for his religion. For my part, I do not approve of the bill, but it is because the opinions and principles of the papists tend to the alteration of the goverment and the introducing instead thereof, superstition and idolatry, and a foreign and arbitrary power. If it were not for that, I am apt to think the duke's being a papist, would not be thought a sufficient cause to spend time about this bill." This mode of distinguishing, is shown by Mr. Cooke, in the succeeding parts of the volume, to be in his mind a valid one, and to have been constantly kept in view by the truest whigs.

Among the founders of the whig party, Andrew Marvell, the son of "the facetious Calvanistic minister of Hull, was one of the staunchest and most virtuous." The reader's memory will be refreshed and regaled with the following account of his political purity, while a representative of his native town.

"At the time of the formation of the Whig party, Marvell hadspen the slender patrimony he had received from his father, and was compelled to accept the wages, which, according to ancient usage, the representatives of boroughs and counties were entitled to receive from their constituents. Marvell was the last who ever received these wages. Such, however, was the affection which subsisted between him and his constituents, that this was cheerfully paid, and we find him constantly thanking them for other presents which he had received.

"Marvell, although poor, was incorruptible. He was at this time living on the second floor, in a court near the Strand, in rooms that had little pretension to comfort, and none to respectability; but his wit and talent, although employed against the court, rendered Charles curious to enjoy the company of a man so much spoken of. Marvell was introduced, and the king found his wit and address had not been overstated. Willing to disarm so powerful a satirist, or to gain so useful an

ally, he sent Lord Danby, then his lord treasurer, to him on the following morning. Lord Danby, says Mr. Dove, from the darkness of the staircase, and its narrowness, abruptly burst open the door, and suddenly entered the room in which he found Marvell writing. Astonished at the sight of so noble and unexpected a visiter, Marvell asked his lordship, with a smile, if he had not mistaken his way. 'Not since I have found Mr. Marvell,' replied the treasurer, continuing that he came with a message from the king, who wished to do him some signal service, on account of the high opinion his majesty had of his merits. Marvell replied with his usual pleasantry, that his majesty had it not in his power to serve him. But, becoming more serious, he told the lord treasurer that he knew the nature of courts too well not to be sensible, that whoever is distinguished by a prince's favour is expected to vote in his interest. The Lord Danby told him, he only desired to know whether there was any place at court he would accept. He told the lord treasurer he could not accept any thing with honour; for he must be either ungrateful to the king, in voting against him, or false to his country, in giving in to the measures of the court. Therefore, the only favour he begged of his majesty was, that he would esteem him as dutiful a subject as any he had, and more in his proper interest in refusing his offers, than if he had accepted them. The Lord Danby, finding that no argument could prevail, told Marvell that the king requested his acceptance of 1000*l.*; but this was rejected with the same steadiness; though soon after the departure of his noble visiter, he was obliged to borrow a guinea from a friend.

"A pamphlet printed in Ireland about the year 1754, and quoted by the same author, gives a more particular account of the rejection of this 1000*l.* The treasurer, at parting, it is said, slipped into Marvell's hand an order upon the treasury for that amount, and was moving towards his carriage, but Marvell stopped him, and taking him again up stairs, called his servant boy, when the following colloquy ensued:—'Jack Child, what had I for dinner yesterday?' 'Don't you remember, sir, you had the little shoulder of mutton, that you ordered me to bring from the woman in the market?' 'Very right, Child, what have I for dinner to-day?' 'Don't you know, sir, that you bid me lay by the blade-bone to broil?' ''Tis so, very right, Child, go away.' 'My lord, do you hear that Andrew Marvell's dinner is provided? There's your piece of paper, I want it not; I knew the sort of kindness you intended. I live here to serve my constituents; the ministry may seek men for their purpose, I am not one.'"—pp. 35—37.

Mr. Cooke, in tracing the history of the whig leaders through 1679-80, and the evidence concerning a deep charge of corruption which has long and often been reiterated against them, upon the statement of the French ambassador, Barillon, who, in his despatches to his master, declared that Sidney, Hampden, Powle, and others received bribes at his hands—thus binding themselves to an anti-national interest—has exhibited a closeness and dispassionate spirit which is quite worthy of him. We think, the investigation reduces the impeachment very much, without in the least relying upon the

defence sometimes set up, that if they did receive money from Louis, it was only as a compliment for their exertions in a cause with which their sympathies were already engaged, and to which all their energies had long been devoted.

Mention of the year 1679, will recal to the memory of our readers the terms *petitioners* and *abhorrers*, who at that time divided the nation into the two classes which, a short time afterwards, received the designation of whigs and tories. We give, in his own words, Mr. Cooke's account of the origin of these words.

"It was during this time when, as Algernon Sidney says, 'Things were so entangled that liberty of language was almost lost, and no man knew how to speak of any thing lest he that was spoken unto might be of a party contrary to him, and that endeavoured to overthrow what he would set up.' It was during this political chaos that the party words, Whig and Tory, were struck out, and that definitive titles were thus imposed upon principles and parties which had some time existed.

"According to Roger North, the country party were the first to brand their opponents with the name by which they were afterwards to be designated. The Duke of York naturally affected the society of those whose religion was the same as his own, and the Catholic Irish were therefore in great favour with him. This circumstance occasioned the popular party to call all the opponents of the Exclusion bill, Irishmen. The hatred the majority of the English bore to popery, rendered this an opprobrious term; but it required to be strengthened before it could express the animosity of a hostile party. The epithet became successively 'Wild Irish,' and 'Bogtrotter;' but it was yet imperfect until some zealous member of the opposition found invective and euphony united in the word Tory: a name applied to a set of ruffians in the disturbed districts of Ireland—according to North, to the most despicable savages among the wild Irish.

"The word Whig is of Scotch origin. It was, say some writers, used in that country for the curd into which milk was reduced previous to being converted into cheese; it was thence deemed applicable to the sour and curdled tempers of the persecuted covenanters. The rebellion of the ill-used sect, of course, rendered them an object of the greatest abhorrence to the high church and high monarchical Tories, and they bestowed this name upon their opponents in England as the most reproachful they could discover.

"Burnet, however, gives another derivation of this word. He dates it from the year 1648, when the Scotch people excited by their ministers, rose and marched to Edinburgh to oppose the prosecution of Duke Hamilton's attempt in favour of the captive king. The south-west counties of Scotland producing little corn, were obliged to send to Leith for the stores of that article, which were supplied by the superior fertility of the northern counties. The carriers who repaired to Leith for this purpose, were then called Whiggamors, from the unusual word Whiggam, which they used in driving their cattle. The inhabitants of Leith and Edinburgh very naturally extended this epithet to the whole of the inhabitants of the countries whence these men came; and as the insurgents who

occupied Edinburgh sprang chiefly from the west, that circumstance was called the Whiggamors inroad. The name was afterwards applied to the whole body of covenanters, gradually shortened into Whigg, and thence, as already mentioned, the word was introduced into England.

"These names were no sooner applied, than they were eagerly repeated: they became immediately standard titles; and although either party, when under a cloud of unpopularity, has often had recourse to the temporary assumption of some less odious appellation, they have always returned with fondness to their original word of union when the hour of adversity had passed away."—pp. 137—139.

During the struggles of the nation in the reign of Charles I., the conflict was between the principles of monarchy and republicanism. At the restoration there was no republican party in the kingdom; nor has there ever been since that period. There were, however, individuals connected with the first regular phalanx of the whigs, who cherished the principles that had upheld the commonwealth with unflinching consistency, and who, notwithstanding of their integrity and virtue, precipitated the party they joined against the tories, into imprudent and sometimes unjustifiable measures. That this was more than once the case, Mr. Cooke clearly shows, towards the close of Charles the Second's reign, through the influence and conduct of Algernon Sidney; whose avowed maxim was, "that he who draws his sword against a prince, should throw away the scabbard." We are of opinion that the ambitious and restless Shaftesbury, did the cause of the patriots more injury than the most violent and uncompromising of the republicans, although the author takes his part with zeal, and modifies, probably beyond the authority of the record, certain grave presumptions against him.

On coming to the close of the reign of Charles II., our author takes occasion to give a summary of the two great parties whose history he is writing, from the period that they had assumed distinctive characteristics, and even before they had received their historical appellations.

He says—

"We have beheld in this reign the rise of the two parties whose history we are tracing; we have seen them, during a long and stormy period, each acting in conformity with its principles. The Whigs, although reviled by their opponents as republicans, have shown themselves firm supporters of monarchy, and so fixed was this principle of their creed, that it was not shaken even by the manner in which Charles had shown them it could be abused. During all the prosecutions of the Rye-house plot, there was no genuine member of that party who suffered, without asserting, at his death, that he had never entertained any intention of altering the form of government. They however regarded the monarchy as a civil institution, established by the nation for the benefit of all its members, and they, consequently, regarded it both as lawful and proper to propose any modification which the circumstances of the times, or the advance of political knowledge should show to be conducive to the great

end in view, the happiness of the people. Theirs was a creed which recognised no infractible rule of conduct, and no perfect and unalterable state of government. Their object was a free government, and they knew the justice of the remark of Machiavel, that 'a free government, in order to maintain itself free, hath need, every day, of some new provision in favour of liberty.' The Whigs, therefore, were sincere friends to the monarchy upon the grounds of expediency; but, in order to be expedient, they held that it must be strictly limited; and, in order that these limitations might be effectual, they held that the people had a natural right to resist, by force, any sovereign who should attempt to break them. These principles they had during this reign strictly acted by.

"The Tories had shown themselves a party rather of religionists than of politicians. Their political creed was part of their religion, and consisted of principles for which they claimed a divine origin; they thought they could read in their bibles that monarchy was a government of divine appointment; that the monarch was the delegate of heaven, and they, therefore, considered that to resist him was to rebel against their God. Such principles as these could, of course, yield to no human modification, and could never be made to bend to any sense of human expediency. Even they, however, drew a distinction between an active and a passive resistance; the former they thought no circumstances could justify; but if the prince should command any act inconsistent with the laws of God, which, according to their interprepation, would, of course, include inconsistent with their scheme of politics, it was then incumbent upon the subject to refuse obedience to the command; but, at the same time, to submit, without a murmer, to any punishment, even death itself, which the monarch might think fit to impose for such refusal.

"The only sect in England which admitted these doctrines as essential articles of religion, and therefore necessary to salvation, was that portion of the church of England which was called the high church party. The members of this part of the national church looked upon episcopacy as an institution of origin as unquestionably divine as monarchy; and while they inculcated such entire submission to the constituted authorities of the state, in temporal matters, they were equally strict in requiring a similar obedience to the authorities of the church in spiritual matters. The Tories were therefore, upon principle, intolerant in matters of religion. To use the distinction drawn by Secretary Walsingham, in the time of Elizabeth, they persecuted the Catholics as catholics in conscience:—the Whigs persecuted them as catholics in faction. The Whigs dreaded them as political enemies, and strove to keep them down, because they were then allied with the foes to their liberties; the Tories classed them with all other dissenters from their church, and joined in the persecution because they were heretics. They continued this persecution until the crown interposed; in accordance with their creed they then desisted: to attack a client of the monarch would have been an active resistance, which their religion disallowed, but they proceeded with redoubled vigour against the Protestant nonconformists, to whom no such protection was extended. During the whole of this reign, therefore, the two factions acted consistently with the principles which they acknowledged as their rule of conduct."—pp. 341—345.

The reader must judge for himself, how far these principles and opinions indicate the later and present history of parties in England. Some argue, indeed, that the terms have at certain periods been convertible, and even that the modern tories are the legitimate followers of the old whigs. But it is necessary, when endeavouring to arrive at a fair estimate of any institution or set of principles, as personified by men, to regard the era and the circumstances in which these principles were tested; and it is not unlikely, that by this process we shall find the conservatives of our day would have been the tories in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. The relation they now maintain to the progress of opinion and political science, perhaps evidences as much intolerance in matters of religion, and as regards the constitution of a free government, as they did in the course of the times generally supposed to be the most fanatical in the history of the party. At the same time, it is well known that tory ministries have acted on whig principles; but only when their existence depended upon such a policy.

It is an instructive inquiry to follow the state of what the author has appropriately called political literature; and at no periods of English history surely, can we look for more interesting changes in this department than the present, and that which embraced the reigns of the two monarchs we have above named. Mr. Cooke has devoted a chapter to this subject, connected with the latter era, from which we cite a few passages.

"It is curious to observe the humble origin of those mighty vehicles of disputation, through which the contests of the different parties are now conducted. The parliamentary leader of the present day speaks to an auditory composed of the whole of the nation, the words yet ringing through the walls of St. Stephen's are caught up as they fall, and pass multiplied by a thousand echoes through every hamlet of the kingdom. In the reign of Charles II., Shaftesbury and Hallifax, Hampden and Hyde were heard only by the audience which they immediately addressed. Of the contest between the two noblemen upon the Exclusion Bill, so celebrated by those who heard it, not a word remains; and of the eloquence of the two commoners an imperfect sketch only exists, traced by the hurried pencil of a member of their house. Shaftesbury, indeed, occasionally put forth pamphlets, containing, what he called, his speeches, but, with the exception of that against Cromwell's house of lords, they bear little impress of that eloquence which all his contemporaries have attributed to that orator, and appear rather heads of arguments, expressed in much bolder terms than would, at that time, have been tolerated by either house of the legislature.

"In the reigns of Charles and James newspapers had not greatly increased in their pretensions, since the time that Elizabeth had first established the 'English Mercurie,' to supply her subjects with certain intelligence of the amount of danger to be dreaded from the Spanish Armada, then approaching their coasts. This paper died with the event which gave it birth, but the advantages gained from its publication were

not forgotten; similar occasional publications had been renewed from time to time, and during the civil wars, each army commonly carried with it a printer to publish its successes. 'The Weekly News Books' were then, of course, eagerly sought for, and the affairs of every town, in which the war raged, were circumstantially related.

"In Charles II.'s time there were many of these new books, under every variety of title, and appearing for the most part either with weekly or irregular intervals. It is said that previous to the death of Charles I. there had been published more than a hundred newspapers with different titles, and from that period to the restoration there were upwards of eighty others. The great majority, however, of these must be classed rather as pamphlets than newspapers, since they seldom continued beyond a few numbers, and most of them rather commented upon than communicated news."—pp. 357—360.

The title of "Intelligence" was for a long time the favourite name of the sheets of news. About 1665, however, the Gazette first made its appearance, and has ever since continued. It resembles the newspapers that were published in those days. It had many short-lived rivals; but they seem to have dealt in such facts and rumours as were most favourable to the views of the party of which they happened to be the organs, without comment, and without leading articles. The political contests took the shape of pamphlets. There are about a thousand of these publications in the British Museum, that belong to the reign of Charles II.; but the collection is supposed not to be perfect. A great number of them were written by Sir Roger L'Estrange, who may be considered, for the time being, to have headed the pamphleteers of the tory party. He was a coarse and an abusive author. Dryden, a deserter from the republican ranks, indulged in political satires on the same side. He had, however, in Elkanah Settle, an opponent who, in those days, was thought by many not an unequal match for the poet laureat, although his name is nearly unknown to posterity. Andrew Marvell, of whom we have already heard honourable mention made, and Shaftesbury, are thus characterized as pamphleteers for their party.

"The inopportune death of Andrew Marvell, deprived the Whigs of one who would have been the most valuable defender of their party, as he had long been of the principles which they espoused. His 'Growth of Popery' was long remembered by the opposite party, and the virulence with which it was attacked discovers the avidity with which it was read. When we see a pamphlet denounced by the government, answered by a member of the cabinet, Lord Halifax, and exciting such rage at court that it gave occasion for an absurd story that he had been poisoned in revenge, we may judge of its efficiency to forward the cause for which it had been written. In this pamphlet, and in his 'Seasonable Argument to Grand Juries,' Marvell proved that however superior his talent for ridicule, he was no unskilful master of that coarse abuse and vigorous argument which are found in the best pamphlets of the period.

"But the political writings of Marvell, popular as they were, never occasioned the excitement which those of Shaftesbury called forth. Shaftesbury's pamphlets usually, but not always, put forth in the form of speeches, or under the title of debates, naturally carried with them an authority extrinsic of their real merit, since they communicated the advice of the man whom the people for a long time relied upon as their most trusty leader, and whom they probably deemed the most honest, because he was the most violent of their friends in the upper house.

"Shaftesbury had in his employ a little band of skilful pamphleteers, who, by means of Ferguson's secret press, and through his agency, kept up the literary warfare, but the names of these persons are not known, nor are they perhaps worthy of inquiry.

"In political controversy the two parties were therefore during this reign equally matched. Quaint drolleries are the chief merit of one class of pamphlets, strong and nervous language the excellence of the other; unsparing exaggerations and scolding epithets are the common characteristics of both. If we admit that the pamphleteers of the two parties were equal in their merits, we must also notice that none of these were of a very high order: it was not until the next century that the dryness of political controversy was enlivened by the graces of style and by elegance of diction." —pp. 370—372.

The enlivening and graceful writers last alluded to, all the world knows, belonged to the Augustan age of English literature. At the commencement of the Harley administration there were on the tory side, St. John, Atterbury, Friend, King, &c. Their antagonists could muster as goodly an army. Our last extract will contain Mr. Cooke's sketch of both, and his general criticism of the style of literature which followed these political efforts.

"The powers of these able men were concentrated in the production of a political daily paper, put forth as the organ of the new government, and employed to announce their intentions, to defend their policy, and to vilify their predecessors. The first thirteen numbers were the production of the men by whom it had been established; but Swift, whose services had been contemptuously rejected by Lord Godolphin, now made himself known to Harley; and this minister discovered greater discernment by securing so important an ally. The conduct of 'The Examiner' was immediately resigned to him.

"The appearance of this paper, rendered so important by the eminence of the men to whom its articles were ascribed, produced a great effect upon the public mind, and called forth a multitude of opponents. The champions who stepped forward from the Whig party were not inferior to those who had given the challenge. Prior's paper in the Examiner was answered by Addison, in the first number of a rival paper, which he put forward under the title of 'The Whig Examiner.' This paper lived only through five numbers; it was discontinued in favour of 'Manwayring's Medley,' which immediately followed and became the organ of the opposition party.

"The excitement, which the contests of these papers occasioned, drew within its vortex those more delicate offspring of the periodical press, whose light essays were hitherto confined to the reformation of social manners,

and the promotion of refinement and taste. The elegance of thought and diction which had been cultivated as an attractive garb to the moral lesson, was now rendered subservient to more exciting objects; it gave dignity and polish to the eulogy of a party, and added pungency to the political satire. 'The Tatler' quickly swerved from its appointed course. Steele, its editor, who despised the prudence of a placeman, and Addison, who had no such tie to restrain him, ventured to match their little painted bark against opponents which had been purposely constructed for conflict. 'The Tatler' had devoted itself to the service of the ladies; it does not appear that by deviating into politics its conductors considered they were violating their professions: but a short time later we find an essayist deprecating the prevalence of party spirit among his fair readers, and marking its power by the whimsical instance, that it had caused the Whig and Tory ladies to show their hostility, and avow their party, by wearing their patches upon different cheeks.

"This trivial instance may illustrate the strength and universality of party hostility during the reign of Anne.

"It must not however be forgotten, that the influence of the Examiner, the Medley, or the Tatler, bore no analogy to that of a modern newspaper. Even the assiduous cultivation of style which these organs discover, denotes their readers to have consisted of the aristocracy, the wealthy, and the educated; their influence did not penetrate to the lower classes of the community. The people were still without education."—pp. 583—585.

Our readers, we are satisfied, will by this time have formed, from what we have said and shown, no mean idea of Mr. Cooke's "History of Party." That the present volume has investigated every point open to him, to the farthest fair conclusion—that it has always given a correct commentary on the facts adduced, or that it has overlooked no apparent and potent influences of conduct among the magnates of the land, during the turbulent periods described, would be too much to say. But that the author has approached his subject with as little bias as could be expected of any person who treats of public men and measures, and that he has arranged, in an intelligible manner, the principal feasible grounds, as furnished incidentally, and by scattered fragments in general history, necessary to the completion of his work, is sufficiently manifest. His style, as well as his talent and temper, is to be commended. It is manly, perspicuous, and not destitute of richness of phraseology. It appears, indeed, to be such as one would expect from a person capable of sustained reflection, and habituated to a professional acuteness, at the same time that he courted the graces of literary taste. The work, we repeat, deserves to be hailed as belonging to our standard literature, and should be in every library that affects to be of a diversified and ample character.

ART. V.—*The Hellenic Kingdom and the Greek Nation.* By JOHN FINLAY, Esq. of Lyosha, Honorary Major in the Service of his Majesty the King of Greece. London: Murray. 1836.

IN reference to nations as well as individual persons, it is usual to hear certain sweeping and wholesale opinions uttered, which in a few words are meant and understood to convey a true outline of their character. This easy and current mode of speaking and being satisfied, has long been exemplified with respect to the Greek nation, but never so loudly and generally, as since the commencement, or rather the termination of the late revolution, when these long oppressed people succeeded in throwing off the yoke of their cruel masters. Since that period it has been a general usage with political spouters, and all those who think themselves wiser than their fellow men, or who take delight in finding the fond anticipations of generosity frustrated or delayed, to characterize the attempt to establish the Hellenic Kingdom upon an independent basis among the European nations as a failure, and indeed to go so far as to maintain that the Greeks are unworthy, because incapable of appreciating the blessings of freedom. Even recent travellers have generally joined in denouncing these people as a set of the most unprincipled beings that ever sprung from the human stock. One of the last of these dark pictures has been drawn by Major Sir Grenville Temple, in his late volumes of "Travels in Greece and Turkey"—an authority which, on most subjects, deservedly stands high. It will be seen in our review of that work, in our number for October last, that he declares the Greeks, as a nation, are notorious for treachery, baseness, and crime. He calls them "rascals, robbers, and cut-throats," saying that they are nothing else—thus allowing of no exceptions; and again, that while the Turk "is an honour to the country he inhabits, the Greek is but the dirt of it." Nay, he avows, that "on quitting this little upstart realm, forced into existence by the hot-house of the allied powers, I in vain endeavoured to account to myself for the great interest shown by Europe to obtain its emancipation from what it has been the fashion to call the iron despotism of Turkey." We, on reading these accusations, and reflecting on these themes of the gallant Baronet's surprise, were of opinion that the wonder must have been still greater, had Europe continued unconcerned about the fate of the *upstart realm* in question, and that it required neither ingenuity nor exaggeration to show why the sympathy of Christendom, and every enlightened person, should be cherished in behalf of the nation so unguardedly characterized as a community of *rascals and robbers*. It never was our intention, however, to deny, that a long and unmitigated course of oppression, and Mahommedan mockery, could

have brooded over a nation, and left it undegraded, mentally and morally. At the same time, it never could be believed by us, that a community could exist which consisted of one complete mass of corruption, where crime was universal, and where virtue never entered; neither could we ever suppose that the Greeks would form an exception to the whole family of mankind, if once they were left untrammelled by designing strangers, or had the ordinary fair treatment of civilized nations. These opinions have been fully confirmed by the sensible, the well-informed, and talented author of the pamphlet before us.

The generality of recent writers concerning the Greeks, have, like Sir Grenville Temple, formed their opinions apparently from very inadequate grounds for presumable accuracy. They have either sojourned but a short time in the country, or more generally judged from a slight acquaintance of seaport towns, nautical and trading characters, and from the reports of adjoining—very frequently Turkish—nations. Our author, however, according to his own unquestionable statement, and still more strongly from the familiarity which he displays concerning every thing he speaks of, in reference to the Greeks, evinces a thorough knowledge of these interesting people, in all their relations, external and internal, political, commercial, social, and domestic. He says, that he has resided long in the East, and maintained a long intercourse with the Greeks, and that he possesses extensive property in the Hellenic Kingdom. He is well entitled, therefore, to speak of the inhabitants of that kingdom; and he at once avows himself as their advocate, against the popular prejudices current, without, however, showing any undue tendency to the disparagement of the Turks. Unvarnished facts, we believe, he details, deducing from them the most natural conclusions; although in these conclusions—for his work extends to no more than a hundred and fifteen pages—he necessarily is brief, and must be select. But his brief and select views are remarkably judicious, forcible, and luminous. If we are satisfied with the accuracy of his facts, we are still more with his reflections and suggestions. They are admirably, we may add, demonstrably explained. In truth, if possible, they engage the reader's heart more intensely than ever, in behalf of the people who bear the celebrated name so often repeated in his pages, and excite new sympathies, and new solicitudes concerning them.

Before presenting to our readers as much as we can, consistently with our limits, of the contents of Major Finlay's publication, we must be excused if once more we recur to Sir Grenville Temple's work; for in this instance, his words, there can be no doubt, after reading the pages before us, hold true. He has unhesitatingly declared, that the Hellenic Kingdom formed but an apanage for the house of Bavaria, under the control of Russia. Now, although our

author does not repeat the same words, or pronounce any dictum to the same import, the particulars which he states seem to us to afford the fullest and most unequivocal evidence of the truth of Sir Grenville's opinion. At least, were any conclave of intriguing foreign statesmen to set their heads to work, how most dexterously they might distract the Greek nation, and play into the hands of Russia, by constantly keeping the former in a condition that required the interference of Russian influence and power, surely no means could have been more assiduously or successfully employed than those that have actually been used. It appears to us, indeed, that whenever the Northern Autocrat chooses, he can, among the various stepping-stones which he has prepared for his various and distant strides, plant his foot upon the classic land of Greece, to the certain advancement of his ambitious projects, and the embarrassment of the other allied powers. Were it a subject to be merry upon, one might well laugh at the curious German game, as represented by our author, which the puppets of Russia have, for the last three and a half years, been keeping up, in what should by this time have deserved the distinctive and independent title of "the Hellenic Kingdom."

Our author, after announcing generally, that the present state of the Turkish Empire, and the creation of the Hellenic Kindom, have given a certain degree of political importance to the Greek nation, and awakened a hope in the breasts of all those who speak the Greek language, of being one day united under the same laws, institutions, and government—and that this young kingdom is deeply connected with the political schemes of diplomacy in the East, declares the number of those who speak the Greek language, and who are closely united by a community of feelings, and of religious creed, to be nearly five millions, while that of the Hellenic Kingdom is probably not above six hundred and fifty thousand souls. The whole of the five millions, however, he asserts, whether residing in Russia, Austria, Turkey, or in the land of their fathers, preserve a distinct nationality, even although they have passed under the yoke of different races of conquerors who have lost theirs, and have their hearts fixed upon that land. Since the late revolution, he informs us, the greater part of the literary men of talent, and the most respected of the Greek clergy, have indeed become citizens of Greece, while the wealthy and the enterprising Greeks, residing in foreign countries, if their temporal interests are not marred, look to the same place as the natural sphere of their existence. Accordingly, the Hellenic Kingdom possesses an extraordinary means of directing the improvement of the political, moral, and religious state of the whole nation, wherever scattered; a vast national power thus exists, capable of exerting, or being made to exert, a mighty sway, in the affairs of the East, and in European policy. It becomes, therefore, a matter of the utmost concern, to ascertain whether the

government of the Hellenic Kingdom has, since the declaration of its independence, been such as to encourage the consolidation of the Greek nation upon its native soil, or the reverse—a consolidation which, from the peculiar nationality, the natural vigour, and activity of the minds of the people, is capable of effecting extraordinary results. The publication now before us, renders it, we fear, a point clear beyond all dispute, that for the last three years and a half, the treatment of the Hellenic Kingdom, by foreign statesmen into whose hands it has been consigned, has been such as to disunite its parts, to irritate all who look towards it with patriotic feelings, and to bring it to the very brink of the most appalling dangers to itself, and of being made the theatre of vast evils to other powers. What we have now to subjoin in confirmation of these views, we exclusively take from Major Finlay's work; satisfied that no where else more accurate or more interesting statements can be found. England has much at stake in connexion with the Greeks; nor do we doubt of the present publication having considerable influence among those of our rulers whose duty it is to exercise vigilance towards our foreign relations.

The author, in his General Observations upon the Greek Character, confesses, that it is not easy to form an accurate estimate of it. He, however, endeavours to describe its prominent features, which, he says, are "extremely different from those generally selected as characteristic of the nation in Western Europe." His outline, if not correct, at least possesses the merit of being descriptive of a well defined subject.

"No race of men can carry with them a more distinct identity of character than the Greek. In all the varied circumstances of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, whether as crowned slaves on the thrones of Wallachia, or as starving warriors on the mountains of Maina, a similarity of national character stamps them as Greeks. The first feature which makes an impression on strangers, is the rapidity with which the Greek, of every station, combines and classes his ideas, and refers all his actions to the guidance of his mental faculties, whether his mental inclinations be virtuous or vicious. The vices, however, of the Greeks, drawn into relief by circumstances, have rendered their character an unpopular one, and, as usually happens with all unpopular characters, a number of new vices have been most unfoundedly attributed to it; and even some of its virtues have been decried as vices. Many of these ascribed vices are the mere modifications of circumstances, and by no means inherent features in the national character: they would quickly vanish, if a better destiny were opened to the people.

"The extreme difficulty of pourtraying, at full length, the Greek character, must be immediately felt by any one who reflects on the varied fate of the different portions of this singular people. Let us examine the commonest accusation current against the Greeks in the seaports of the Mediterranean. The dealers in figs and raisins generally describe the Greeks as a race of the rankest cowards. Nay, the whole Frank popu-

lation of the Levant* unite at least in this accusation. Yet amidst all the warlike tribes who march to battle under the eye of the predestinated Turk, the Roumeliot Greek has ever enjoyed the very highest reputation for valour. His services are sought for by the Pashas of Europe and Asia, and he is placed on a footing with the Arnaout as his equal in courage. What, too, but a respect for the courage, as well as a confidence in the fidelity of the Greek armatoli, could have induced the Turks to preserve this Christian militia for nearly four centuries? Surely on this subject few will be inclined to doubt whether the opinion of the Turkish officers or the Frank merchants is best entitled to credit. The truth is, the falsity of the Fanariot statesmen, and the meanness of the Rayah traders are not more proverbial in the East, than the frankness and courage of the Roumeliots, or the pride and honesty of the Hydriots. The naval islanders, the Mainotes, Suliots, and Roumeliot population are all constitutionally brave and habitually warlike. Indeed, the little kingdom of Greece can boast, in proportion to its population, not too small, but far too large a number of active and daring soldiers, not inferior in any warlike quality except discipline, to any troops in Europe; and in many of the qualities of the soldier, superior to almost all others. We make this assertion with the full conviction, that several European officers, who have served with the Greek troops, will readily vouch for its accuracy."—pp. 12—15.

In his chapter on the state of the Greeks, prior to the establishment of the Hellenic Kingdom, the author denies what has often been alleged—that they are incapable of tranquillity and industry; and this he does from his own experience. He appeals to every competent traveller, in behalf of his assertion, that no rural population in Europe has ever arrived at a higher degree of civil organization, arranged their local governments better, or displayed more energy and judgment in the conduct of their municipal concerns, than the Greeks. Upon this point we shall afterwards have to furnish a fuller testimony. As to their industry, he instances many of the Greek islands, and several districts in the Morea, previous to the revolution, as well as several communities of Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, at the present day, where there has invariably been presented a happy and domestic people. In concluding his desultory observations on their national character, the author says—

"The most prominent features in the character of the Greek under every varied change in his lot, are, we think, activity of mind, general intelligence, and aptitude to comprehend and receive the mental impressions of others, inquisitiveness and a love of knowledge, joined

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* "The Franks of the Levant are the descendants of European parents, who have lost all the national distinctive qualities of their respective nations, and formed a peculiar character, without assimilating with the nations of the East. They form a numerous body in some of the seaports and at Pera, and entertain their own peculiar ideas and prejudices."

to a strong desire for personal independence and equality. These feelings, we think, may be traced in all the provinces where the Greek language is spoken, and seem constantly to have exerted their influence on the nation. We do not pretend to deny, that many of these feelings may, and that some are often misled to evil, but still we doubt not, that every candid inquirer will be convinced, that possessing these feelings, the Greek must have a national character capable of leading him to the highest pitch of mental improvement, and the power of so modelling his institutions, that he may not only ensure his moral progress where he has already gained political independence, but must obtain also the amelioration of his moral and social condition, even where he remains subjected to a foreign yoke."—pp. 16, 17.

A character of this strongly-marked and peculiar kind seems, beyond almost any other that can be pictured, to be the most likely to run into excesses, when abused by a degrading despotism, or when broken loose from its bonds. What amount of extenuation is not allowable to a people possessed of the minds and temperaments now depicted, and whose nationality is so strong as has already been indicated, when all the sufferings occasioned by famine, disease, and the sword of foreign oppressors united against them, until, as our author declares, the inhabitants of the continent and the Morea were reduced to about one third of their original number? There must have been, besides their physical energies, moral principles of a lofty order, cherished by a people, who, in spite of all these horrors and all the destitution they experienced, still remained unsubdued. Where has there been, in modern times, an equal loss of property and life to what the following account shows?

"From the commencement of 1821, to the end of 1832, Greece has been deprived of every internal resource. Her commerce, on which a population of at least 250,000 souls was directly dependent for subsistence, was completely annihilated. The commercial navy, which had formerly not only maintained all this multitude, but likewise added annually to the national capital, suddenly became a drain on former savings; for the whole revenues of the Archipelago did not suffice to pay and provision the fleet for a few months every year, without providing any fund for purchasing stores and ammunition, or for the necessary repairs of the vessels, all which had to be furnished from the former savings of the proprietors of the ship. The armed population on the continent amounted at times to fifty thousand men, and as the labour of most of these was withdrawn from agriculture, this immense body had also to be maintained, in great part, from the accumulated capital of the country. In the meantime, all the richest plains remained uncultivated, from being the seats of war, and exposed to the incursions of the Turkish cavalry. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that a few years should have sufficed to consume the whole native resources of Greece. The flocks and cattle were all consumed for the support of the soldiery, and the shepherds became bands of soldiers in order that they might themselves eat up their own sheep, and when their own flocks were consumed, what

could they become but bands of robbers? Even with the immense supplies which Greece received from the Philhellenic committees of Europe and America, the revolution seemed not unfrequently to be in some degree of danger of extinction from the actual starvation of the whole population. Without the Philhellenic supplies, the English loans, and the long series of payments made by France to Capodistrias, the whole population of the continent must in the end have emigrated; for, from the year 1821 to 1832, Greece imported several months' subsistence every year; and, during this period, the grain and provisions imported have been valued at 800,000*l.* sterling, for which she had no produce to offer in return; and it is known that thousands of individuals in Greece have passed weeks without tasting bread, living entirely on wild herbs."—pp. 18—20.

But then it has been said that, suicidal-like, the Greeks began to rob and destroy one another, and that brother was in arms against brother. How simple and easy it is for a speculative moralist, a warm and comfortable traveller, to write wise sayings and true, when not required to exemplify them in his own person! Let all such, when denouncing the Greeks, reflect on our author's statement.

"The extreme difficulty of finding nourishment for the soldiers, soon became one of the greatest sources of the internal disorders which afflicted the country during the war. When the greater part of Greece was exhausted, the leaders of the troops were compelled either to dispute the possession of those provinces which still offered some resources, or by yielding their possession to others, confess their military skill and power inferior to that of their fortunate rival, and disband their troops. Emulation once roused, the civil war for the maintenance of the troops was soon carried on with as much vigour and animosity as the war with the Turks. After civil war had commenced, it was not at all unnatural, that combinations of chiefs, formed to seize or secure the possession of particular provinces, should attempt to make their tenure more permanent, by striving to render themselves masters of the reins of government, and thus become the dispensers amongst their own followers of the supplies of provisions which arrived in a constant stream from the excited feelings of Europe. Let not the unreflecting fancy, as we have often heard asserted, that these very supplies were the real cause of the civil war, or even suppose that they did not tend very considerably to alleviate the miseries of Greece.

"We believe that the fact of the Greek troops being compelled to consume more than the annual produce of the country, and the natural instinct of armed men to help themselves, is quite sufficient to explain the commencement of the civil wars in modern Greece; and we believe the circumstances in which the country was placed, sufficiently explain the permanence of these disorders, without seeking for any marked tendency to these vices in the national character. Can it be regarded as any thing remarkable, that the Hydriots, Speziots, Psariots, Cretans, Samiats, Suliots, Roumeliots, and Peloponnesians should act as separate tribes, and attack one another to secure the means of existence when suffering under the pressure of famine, and allured by the hope of comparative wealth and power? Is it peculiar to modern Greece, that unprincipled politicians should strive

to excite the turbulence of soldiers, in order to serve their own personal intrigues: or is it in the Greek revolution for the first time that national resources and public wealth have been squandered for party purposes? Let it not, then, be made an especial reproach to the Greek revolution, that it is deeply stained with domestic strife; but let the critic who will not examine the causes of these vices, point out where the sword has ever been drawn in the holiest cause, without all the worst feelings of human nature, as well as the noblest, displaying themselves in the struggle, and finding the means of augmenting the misfortunes and rousing the passions of mankind—and let him reflect, that no Greek in all their civil wars, even when unsuccessful, ever called in the aid of the national enemy."—pp. 20—25.

That these people will hereafter seek for other occupations than that of war, if the measures of their rulers will permit, the author confidently predicts. He goes back to certain periods of tranquillity which occurred after the breaking out of the revolutionary war, and previous to the arrival of King Otho, when he finds strong grounds for the truth of his prediction, and when the elasticity and enterprise of the Greek character appear to him to have been signally marked. For instance, in the year 1823 there was comparative peace in the Morea, and during that period, it was supposed that more land was cultivated than had been for some years prior to the revolution. At another time, during the presidency of Capodistrias, before he placed his policy in direct opposition to the feelings of the people, there was tranquillity; and although the farmers could neither purchase dwelling-houses, gardens, nor vineyards, and although the internal trade was subject to a duty of six per cent.—still many houses were built on national property, gardens and vineyards were planted, and much land brought into cultivation, and all this when there was no guarantee to secure the cultivators in the permanent enjoyment of the fruits of their labours. The author, in the course of his work, attempts to investigate the causes which have chiefly tended to create and perpetuate the energy of national character, which he has previously described. From this important and instructive portion of these pages we cite a few paragraphs.

"The effects of the peculiar institutions of the Greeks are quite as remarkable, and exercise as extensive an influence on their character, as those even of the English. No social feature is more remarkable, and perhaps none less agreeable to strangers, than a species of local patriotism, which draws a marked line of distinction between the immediate society of which each separate community consists. The Greek rarely speaks of his nation, yet he speaks continually, and with enthusiasm, of his country—an epithet which he applies to his native village. Whether his birth-place be the barren mountains of Suli, the rocky islands of Hydra or Psara, or the marshes of Missolonghi—still it contains for him every endearing and patriotic association which other nations find in their more enlarged signification of country. This system of egotism is extended still farther, for the Greeks have generally restricted the signification of Christian to a member

of their own church, if they do not use it to express their own nationality as distinct from the other people and sects of Turkey.

"Their common religion and language, and a similar source of oppression, whilst they separated the Greeks from their conquerors, kept them linked together by these points of friendly contact; but it was their strong local sympathies which alone united their hearts, and which, by making every little community stand together and feel as one man, transmitted to the present generation an uncorrupted nationality. When the nobles of the Fanar, and the primates of Greece had imbibed all the feelings of eastern slaves, and distinguished themselves only by subserviency to their tyrants —selling their country to the Turks, and when the Turk condescended to trust them, selling him again to the highest bidder amongst the Franks— the uncorrupted local attachments of the peasantry bound them together, and preserved them true to themselves and to the national cause. The patriotism of the higher orders, based on feelings too general and philanthropic for the times, slept for centuries, while that of the lower classes, circumscribed in a narrow sphere, was cherished with as much care, and yielded as much light during the darkest ages of Greece, as it now does in the hour of dawning liberty."—pp. 33—35.

The author says, that those Greeks who have been educated in the enlightened countries of Europe, complain of this exclusiveness and bigotry, and admits that it is often carried to excess. But still, to such feelings he attributes much of that constancy which enabled so many to die of hunger rather than yield to the enemy, so long as their fellow-citizens resisted. This incredibly strong attachment to their country, has, he thinks, preserved them to the present times, as a distinct nation, in spite of all that has befallen them for thousands of years. The preservation of this patriotism he also attributes to their system of Communal Administration, called their *Demogerontias*, to which we referred when speaking previously of the peculiar character of their local governments.

"The extreme simplicity of this system, and the fact that, while it developed public opinion, it conferred a power on the popular will, which was the chief cause of its long duration, must render it worthy of the attention of the practical statesman. We have already mentioned, that it consisted in the election of one or more of their number by the inhabitants of the villages and towns. These Magistrates transacted, in the most public manner, the ordinary police, judicial, and financial affairs; they were aided by the priest, and, in financial business, by the leading people of the place, while in all difficult cases the heads of families, assembled at their meetings before the church, formed a real jury. By this arrangement, publicity in public affairs was ensured, and public opinion was called into operation as a practical check on official conduct in Greece, and its beneficial effects were generally felt long before they were known or suspected in Western Europe. By this means, a high degree of local information was kept alive amongst the people, and feelings of public interest were created, which for centuries prevented the Greek villagers from carrying their disputes before the Turkish tribunals. These simple Demogerontes, or elders of the people, formed a barrier against the progress of

the Ottoman power; a moral barrier which has restrained the torrent until, its sources having failed, the great lake which it had created is rapidly disappearing.

"The circumstance of finding an internal administration of the rural districts organized to their hand, proved so convenient to the Turks, that they immediately availed themselves of it in their financial operations, and having once experienced the facilities it afforded, they became its strenuous defenders; and thus secured to the Greeks the means of preserving their nationality at the very moment it seemed irrecoverably destroyed. The habits of the Greeks in the executive details of their local business are now so firmly fixed, that it is no rash prophecy to declare, that no foreign rulers will ever govern the country, who do not base the details of their administration on this institution. An institution which is now established in the habits and hearts of all the Greeks so firmly, that it can only be effaced by the total demoralization or extinction of the Hellenic race.

"In all countries where the system of centralization is adopted, the greatest difficulty of government is in the formation of that machinery, and of those usages and institutions amongst the people, which afford a guarantee for the stability of their conduct, and ensure their pursuing a consistent and uniform line of conduct in carrying into effect the intentions of the general government. In the most civilized countries, and with the most carefully educated agents, this difficulty is felt; how impossible must it be, then, to supply the imperfect and indefinite nature of all administrative legislation, where the distant ramifications of government come into immediate contact with the interests of the people in a rude state of society, only by means of a prefect's agent or police officer. In a rude state of society, therefore, where the intricate combinations of law and police, arising out of the innumerable exigencies of civilization, are unknown, it is probable that no better system of administration has yet been discovered than that of the Greek Demogerontias."—pp. 37—40.

That such a social organization should be attended by such important results, need not appear strange to any one who reflects on the foundations of English liberty, and who is acquainted with the tythings and hundreds of Saxon times. It was the spirit of the Saxon communal administration, which ripened the Norman despotism into the British constitution. Why may not the national spirit of Greece be as well preserved by her Demogerontias, as England had hers by her hundreds?

By following the author in his details concerning the proceedings of the different administrations in Greece since 1832, the admirable national character of the people of that country, for energy and patriotism, becomes remarkably conspicuous, when measured simply by the patience they have evinced, and the progress they have made in rising from their ruins, notwithstanding the errors, or the sinister designs of their foreign rulers. It seems to us, if the facts be accurately stated by Major Finlay, that a total want of all system and of all wisdom has been exhibited by these governors, in their blundered military, legislative, and financial measures, ever

since they set foot on Grecian ground. They seem to have brought with them a patchwork of modern philosophy and amended feudalism, worthy of the most perfect quacks in statescraft which even Germany can furnish. One general statement of misgovernment may aptly, first of all, be taken from the author. He declares, that although the Greeks revere so much all things that are old, and though their usages and institutions be the oldest in Europe, yet that the foreign employés treat these with neglect, and even with contempt; that they have no knowledge of the customs of the people, and have been, as they still are, with few exceptions, ignorant even of the language of the country they govern. In selecting a few passages explanatory of the mismanagement—whether ignorantly or intentionally exercised on the part of these foreign functionaries, we do not say—we may go back to an early part of the pamphlet for our first extract.

"Three years and a half ago, a numerous body of Bavarian troops, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, arrived in Greece, flushed with all the fervour of military enthusiasm. Bands of irregular and lawless soldiery, a half clad people suffering under the pressure of famine, and a country everywhere laid waste, in which a tree or a cottage was no where to be seen, offered certainly no very inviting prospect to the new rulers. Had the Regency consisted of men more experienced in practical affairs, its members would have felt that their foreign troops were too numerous and much too expensive for a permanent royal guard; and that they were not numerous enough nor sufficiently experienced to be of any use as a conquering army. The glittering arms of these fine troops, and the golden prospects of the high pay, secured by the funds which the allied powers had placed at the disposition of the Regency, and which they generously lavished on their countrymen, removed the sombre colouring which the future might otherwise have offered. Nothing was heard at Nauplia but the sounds of rejoicing. The Greek people, delighted with the hopes of tranquillity, and regarding the presence of their monarch, as a guarantee for all the advantages of an European Government, hailed his arrival with the sincerest joy. The Regency received the homage of the nation, with the assurances of protection, defence, and civilization. In a few days Greeks and Bavarians mingled together in public festivities, and perfect unity of purpose seemed to pervade Greece. Promises and prophecies were loudly made concerning the progress which Greece was soon to make in arts and arms. The Genius of Hellas, aided by Teutonic judgment, was expected to create a new era; and already visions of another Greek empire, and projects for colonizing the east, from the banks of the Iser, floated in the imaginations of the statesmen who composed or surrounded the Regency.

"Such was the state of Nauplia in the early days of Count Armansperg's presidency. Let it be compared with the actual state of Greece, now that he is Archchancellor, after two years, at least, of as absolute power as generally falls to the lot of a Grand Vizier. What progress has Greece yet made in commerce, civil and military organization, and public security? What has the much vaunted Teutonic judgment done

for the improvement of Greece? Where are now the visions of the new Bavaro-Greek empire, and where the long-cherished project of a German America blooming in the Levant?

"During the first days of the Regency, every thing was decided by rules and prejudices, imported from Germany; and the object of the Government appeared to be, to assimilate Greece to Bavaria, in the shortest possible time. That scheme having failed, the object of the present day seems to be, to render it as unlike, what it had become in the late attempt, as possible. The inconsiderate conduct of Mr. Maurer, during the period he held the direction of the Regency, and the failure of General Heideck's military operations in Maina, and his measures to form a foreign mercenary army in Greece, overthrew the moral respect paid to the Bavarians on their arrival: while Count Armansperg's neglect of all military system in forming an army has compelled him to entrust the suppression of the late rebellion in Acarnania, to bands of irregular soldiery, enrolled for the occasion by the Greek chiefs, whom General Heideck's persecution has rendered the opponents of all organization in military affairs.

"The truth is, there never were two people between whom less real sympathy can exist, than between the Germans and the Greeks. The highest German functionaries in the kingdom, have never appeared to take any interest in the internal amelioration of the country, nor, though some of them have received salaries equal to the incomes of the ten wealthiest landed proprietors in Greece united, have they ever expended one dollar in the improvement of the country, from which they have drawn this exorbitant pay. Not one of the Bavarians has planted a tree or a vineyard, though many of the other foreigners of inferior incomes, English, Americans, French, Russians, and Italians, have contributed liberally to the ornament and improvement of those parts of Greece which they have inhabited. The English do not owe less to the Dutch, who accompanied William III., or to the Hanoverians, who attended George I. to London, than the Greeks do to the Bavarians who have accompanied king Otho. If Greece, therefore, is to form an independent state, and if king Otho is to rule a happy and flourishing people, it must be by the exertions of the Greeks themselves. Greece must rise or fall by the national institutions and national character of the people."—pp. 6—12.

We do not know what sort of responsibility attaches to an "Honorary Major in the service of his Majesty the King of Greece," which the author announces himself to be; but certainly the fact that he holds that title, and extensive property in the Hellenic Kingdom, not to speak of his long residence in Eastern parts, is strongly presumptive that he declares the truth, with the sole but natural design of benefitting the monarch whom he serves, and the country where he has a fortune at stake. The reader, we think, may take his statements for granted, until an equally authoritative and clear contradiction be forthcoming. Let it be borne in mind, at the same time, that the author never fails to speak of King Otho in the highest terms of approbation, both as regards his public and private virtues. But, during his minority, his power was necessarily inconsiderable;

and since that time, it would appear that Count Armansperg, who had latterly the sole direction of the Regency, and who, as soon as the young monarch assumed the reins of government, was entrusted with the formation of a ministry—having nominated himself Archchancellor of Greece—has continued sole executive minister, and thereby rendered "the prince a pageant and the people nothing." A few samples, first of the conduct of the Regency, and next of this Archchancellor, must bring us to the last chapter of the present work.

The author states, it was expected by the Greeks, when the Regency of King Otho's minority was appointed, that it would assemble a council of state, selected from the most influential men in the country, and that a certain number of provincial members would also have been appointed by popular election, as a means of ascertaining the extent and nature of local feelings and prejudices. It was also expected that the re-establishment of all the existing institutions of the country would have taken place. These and other popular principles it was fondly anticipated would surely be acted upon; but so sweet, says the author, does the possession of absolute power appear to all men, that even the distinguished liberals, who constituted the Regency, could never lay down one iota of the authority which the three allied powers had entrusted to them. It was not, he adds, until the conclusion of last year, that the nomination of a body without even a fair deliberative power—a species of a new Parliament of Paris, for registering royal ordinances, under the name of a council of state—was established at Athens.

"A very short period elapsed before it became apparent in Greece, that the members of the Regency were more occupied in organizing the machinery by which it was to carry on the work to be done, and in preparing decrees and ordinances, which, by their publication might secure the applause of the literary circles of Germany to their scientific details, than in investigating by what general principles remedies might be applied to the existing evils in Greece. Long instructions to secretaries of state and prefects were published in the Government Gazette, where they remain to this day a dead letter, or have produced little practical effect beyond the waste of an enormous quantity of paper.* Great parts of these

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* "The Greek Gazette contains the following curious ordinances:—No. 13, Instructions to the Secretary of State for the royal household and foreign affairs. No. 14, Instructions for the department of justice—the interior—public instruction—and the finance. No. 15, War and the Marine. No. 17, The establishment and instructions for Nomarchs, the agents by which the system of centralization was to be established. This system of Nomarchs is now abolished, but we have not yet seen the instructions for the new agents of the system which is still persisted in. No. 24, The establishment of a naval prefecture. We believe no one of these laws was ever carried into effect in all its details. However, we must not forget, as an apology, that the Greek cabinet has never yet been

documents are no way adapted to the state of the country, and they are evidently drawn up without a single inquiry having been made into the actual state of things. After these laborious efforts of legislation, a few ornamental decrees were published, to polish and bring to perfection the external appearance of the new state—to imprint on it the most finished stamp of European civilization, and blend it harmoniously with the elder monarchies of the west. An order of knighthood was established; and the colour and form of the uniforms of the civil servants of the state, were regulated with infinitely more knowledge of professional detail than gentlemen usually possess. Ornaments were profusely heaped on the public uniforms of individuals whose every-day garments probably required the aid even of a domestic tailor. Such were the measures by which three eminent German statesmen seem to have thought, that a people, in whom the first principles of political freedom and religious liberty were fermenting in the difficult task of organizing the social condition, could be permanently governed—the wealth and resources of a new state improved, and a monarchy consolidated. With these matters, the general legislation of the Regency terminated on the 18th of April, 1833, and it commenced its labours of detail."—pp. 55, 56.

Certain excellent projects were announced, however. One was to form seven great roads to the uttermost ends of the kingdom. A road from the Piræus to Athens has lately been completed, and another from Nauplia to Corinth has been carelessly traced—which are the only results, as described by the author, of three years' labour; so that at the same rate, it will require 275 years to finish the whole. An entire cargo, it is also stated, of pickaxe handles was brought from a foreign country to make tools, but these have since been used as firewood. A number of other absurd and ridiculous measures are named by the author, as anything we have quoted. For example—

"At Patras, the indemnifications promised by Capodistrias, in 1829, in tracing the existing town, have not yet been paid; while, in express violation of the conditions on which the principal street towards the sea was built, the government has lately sold the ground between their front and the beach, as building ground. At Athens, it was decided to excavate one-half of the town, in order to search for antiquities, though it was calculated by a French engineer, that the expense would exceed the excavation of Pompeii; and it was said by Professor Kiersch himself, who knows something more about Greece and its antiquities than Armansperg, Maurer, Heideck, Abel, and Greiner, that working oxen were more wanted, than the bull of Marathon itself in bronze or marble. The proprietors of the houses in the district marked out for the purpose of this excavation, were for two years prevented from completing them, even though some of them were half finished before the plan was adopted. At length, however, government suddenly changed its mind, and, without

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composed of members who could all communicate together, by writing in a language common to all.

any public communication, commenced building a large barrack in the middle of the ruins of Hadrian's library, exactly in the spot where excavations might perhaps have been attended with some success; and, to cure its successors from a wish ever to repeat its own folly, it filled up that part of the enclosure near Lord Elgin's tower, and nearly buried the church of the Megalé Panaghia, in which are many antiquities and some very curious paintings, with ten feet of additional rubbish. The contrast of this act, with a long decree in the twenty-second number of the second volume of the Greek Gazette, on the preservation of antiquities, though it may be very amusing to the people of London and Munich, is death to the poor sufferers at Athens.

"About this time, a bureau of statistics and political economy was made to figure in the newspapers as one of the new institutions of Greece; though it has been long since dead of inanition, we may say a few words concerning it, as the ordinance establishing it is one of the most curious specimens of legislation, *de omni scibili*, on record in any age or country. For instance, the engineer officers of the French expedition in the Morea had completed an excellent map of the Peloponnesus, and the French government had presented Greece with one hundred copies of this map; yet no allusion is made to its existence, and the decree calmly orders this expensive and difficult undertaking to be recommenced, in a country which had not been able to procure the plans of a dozen petty towns, and all this preparatory only to a special survey of the whole kingdom. Clauses are inserted about geology, mines, roads, internal navigation, and canals!!! The very idea of forming canals in a country where most of the rivers are consumed in canals of irrigation, long before they reach the sea, proves the exact knowledge of Greece which was at this epoch necessary to make a legislator. The extreme breadth of the country may be seventy-five miles, and there are at least sixteen mountains, standing apart, whose heights exceed 6000 feet. In such a country, this ordinance orders the under-secretaries of the public economy department to examine, whether it will be less expensive to establish a system of canalization, or continue the construction of the roads already decided on, which we have already seen it will require 275 years to complete. All this really puts us in mind of the story of the Queen of France recommending the poor to eat pie-crust when bread was dear."—pp. 67—71.

It is astonishing that the nation should so peaceably have endured, as it has done, men guilty of the follies which our author has described to have been committed by the Regency. But the incompetency of the Cabinet, since the accession to power by the king, cannot be better indicated than by the note to the following sentence. After stating, as we before did, that Count Armansperg named himself Archchancellor of Greece, "with all the attributes of sole executive minister," it is added—

"From that day until the present, no complete Greek ministry has been formed, no cabinet has been assembled, and the imperfect administration has generally consisted of from four to six persons, who communicate with the archchancellor's public office on business—rarely per-

sonally with the archchancellor, and almost never with the monarch." * —p. 76.

The author's last chapter treats of the actual state of the country, and the means to be adopted for its improvement; but the picture is disheartening. Instead of encouraging agricultural industry, which is the surest step towards an increasing population, or taking the proper means to encourage the existence of proprietors, who must precede agricultural enterprise, the very reverse seems to be done; and the fact is, as stated by Major Finlay, that artisans and shepherds have already emigrated from liberated Greece. Besides—

"Great part of the agricultural labourers are not subjects of the new state, but natives of Epirus, Thessaly, and the Ionian islands. Many of the wealthiest shepherds, and most of the masons and carpenters, are Turkish subjects. During the last three years, the labourers and workmen in Greece have been earning very high wages, not one quarter of which, from their frugal way of living they have consumed in the country for food. The other three quarters have been carried out of the country by these workmen in their annual visits to their families, and has either been spent in their support, in the purchase of clothing, which these workmen always bring new from their own country, where it is cheaper than in Greece; or, in extending the cultivation, and ameliorating the condition of Turkish villages. Out of a capital of twenty millions of drachmas (715,000*l.* sterling), which has been expended at Athens and the Piræus, it is conjectured that ten millions have, in this way, been withdrawn from the national circulation, and have yielded no further profit to the community by their expenditure than the annual profit derived by their employers. Now if the sum had continued to circulate in the kingdom, by being expended in new production, by those who received it as wages, it may easily be conceived, how rapidly it must have operated in augmenting the wealth, and improving the resources of the country.

"The great annual expenditure caused by the location of the population, and the reconstruction of so many towns and villages, has now nearly ceased, and the numbers of the foreign workmen being diminished, and all their wages having disappeared, what might easily have been anticipated has now occurred. There is a general stagnation of business." pp. 83—85.

The author touches upon a number of topics, which closely con-

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* "It would really be of no importance if the cabinet met together, as things go on. It consists of the following members:—

Count Armansperg, who speaks		German,		French,	no Greek.
Mr. Frey, cabinet councillor		German,	little	French,	no Greek.
General Schwaltz, war		German,		French,	no Greek.
Mr. Rizo, royal household, foreign affairs, justice, religion, education	no	German,		French,	Greek.
Admiral Kriezi, marine	no	German,	no	French,	Greek.
Mr. Mausolas, interior		German,		French,	Greek.
Director of the Finance, for there is no minister		German,		French,	Greek."

cern the welfare of the Greeks, with his accustomed information and good sense. We must quote one other danger and subject of grievance which these long harassed and interesting people experience in what is called their liberated state.

"There is one subject, however, on which the poor and the rich feel alike, and where the deadliest opposition may be created by the smallest violation of justice. All feel that the social contract is invaded, the first bonds of society rent asunder and the continuance of the union of its members rendered dependent on force alone. This crisis in society is produced by the deliberate violation of the rights of private property. Now that such a systematic violation of the rights of property has taken place in Greece, whenever the pettiest interest of the government has prompted, is felt and loudly asserted throughout the country.

"We have instanced the violation of a solemn contract at Patras. In the capital, however, direct seizures of property occur daily. If a palace, a mint, a printing office, or a stable is to be built, a public nuisance established, or a colony founded, the property of private individuals is seized without even the formality of informing the proprietors, whose very land-marks are thus lost. A plan of the town of Athens was adopted by royal ordinance, without the citizens of the town having seen it or been consulted on its practicability, let alone utility; and it was declared, that government should have the right of appropriating all the land therein, indicated as necessary for public buildings, at the rate of about 30*l.* an acre, within six months. Under the guarantee of this royal ordinance, many individuals purchased land adjoining the actual town, at 150*l.* to 200*l.* an acre. Yet government has now, after a lapse of nearly three years, annulled the contract, and refuses to take the pieces of land then selected, and insists on the right of selecting any piece of land suitable for public purposes, at the former price of 30*l.* an acre. Some of the inhabitants, knowing that a foreign consul, whose land had been thus taken by government in violation of the contract, had succeeded in making a private arrangement with the chancellor, have protested against this violation of the right of property, and, though government has more than a year ago completed the buildings on their land, have never received one farthing of indemnity to the present hour. The late seizure of land belonging to an American religious mission, under circumstances of gross injustice, and of a Russian consul general, is now likely to bring matters to a crisis, and compel the chancellor to adopt some new line of conduct, less at variance with the principles of justice, than his former proceedings. Can he, who is said to have shared the enthusiastic scheme of making Greece a second America, seriously believe, that 'the country beyond the Atlantic, where now a younger Europe flourishes,' reached her present unexampled pitch of wealth, glory, and happiness, by such principles as he acts on?"—pp. 94—96.

Is the Hellenic Kingdom then in a hopeless condition? We quote the author's concluding observations; and if they are attended to, as they ought to be, in the proper quarters, then we say, do not despair.

"To conclude, it is our opinion that if the Greek kingdom is to make those advances towards prosperity which the state of the country warrants, it can only be done by adopting a completely new system of administration and government—by returning immediately to the native institutions of the country, in the administration of the affairs of the villages; by connecting this with the communal system, and putting that system in execution; and by creating some organ for the expression of public opinion, in the highest sphere, and on questions of general legislation and administration, whether it be an efficient council of state, or what is far better, a legislative assembly. Publicity, however, must be introduced into every department of the public administration, in order that foreigners, whether they be Bavarians or Fanariotes, may no longer render Greece one extensive system of private jobbing. There must be budgets and accounts of public expenditure regularly published, wherever public money has been received, whether in the villages, in the towns, or by the general government. The maxim, hitherto current, that the people exist merely to be governed, and that the government alone forms the state, must be laid aside altogether. Unless this is done, and done speedily, the cry for a national assembly will be very soon irresistible, and the excitement under which the assembly itself will meet, will be too great to ensure the adoption of prudent measures. In some way or other, Greece must obtain a system of government in conformity with the usages of civilized Europe, and adapted to her own institutions, or her situation as an independent state is impossible. When such a system is adopted, however, we have little doubt, that the energies of the Greek nation will soon be displayed in the advancement and prosperity of liberated Greece, and that its progress will soon rival that of the most favoured countries. The active and industrious population of the Hellenic kingdom, may then be sure of exerting a powerful moral influence over the fortunes and happiness of those millions of their countrymen who still groan under a foreign yoke. The moral improvement of the Greeks holds out the only rational hope of re-establishing order amidst the increasing anarchy of the Ottoman empire, and may one day secure the union of its population under a system of perfect political equality, a consummation which can alone prevent its subjugation by Russia. At all events, the prosperity of the Greek kingdom is the first step towards the civilization of the east; and is, therefore, of more importance to Europe than it would be from its mere connexion with the repayment of expended loans, or even than the mere political question of Hellenic independence would alone make it. The moral condition of several millions of mankind, and the ultimate civilization of western Asia, can only be advanced and improved by the good government of the subjects of king Otho."—pp. 113—115.

ART. VI.—*A Country Curate's Autobiography: or Passages of a Life without a Living.* 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1836.

WE generally guess not far amiss, from the title of a book, what is the nature of its contents; but in the present case we have been

completely at fault, even although we thought of several alternatives. It will consist of fictitious sketches, thought we; or it will be a plain unvarnished life, abounding chiefly in religious experiences, and accounts of a rural pastor's duties, trials, and comforts. But after having read two or three of the first chapters of the work, we felt more uncertain regarding its character and purpose, than we had before going beyond the title-page. One thing, however, was clear beyond all question; and this was, that whoever bestowed five minutes' attention upon the contents of the book, would perceive that the "Country Curate" could handle his pen with dexterity, and clothe whatever thought he wished to utter, whether frivolous or important, whether humorous or serious, with language remarkable for its propriety and natural beauty.

We have said that the main purpose of the "Country Curate's Autobiography" became more uncertain the farther we read in the the first chapters of the first volume, and we venture to predict that the same dubiety will attend the perusal of the same portions of the work on the part of our readers; as they may find from the few extracts, which we thus early in our paper introduce.

"B—— was one of those fortunate men who, after having pleasantly passed the season of undergraduateship, find themselves dignified with the immortal honour of a place among wranglers, and gently sliding into the importance of a fellowship. I was one of those non-fortunate men, who scramble to shore from the wreck of college-life, and think themselves happy—'*post tot naufragia*'—in having lost every thing but themselves. But, though thus dissimilar in academic posture, there was a great congeniality and sympathy between us. We had both a rational tinge of romance. We were both in love with nature, and liked her the more, the more extravagant and domineering she appeared. We regarded the artificial parts of life as only so many vessels, in which were served the rich and savoury viands of sentiment and intellectuality.

"Thus disposed, we sat at breakfast one summer's morning, not a dozen years ago, in the small parlour of an inn on the western shore of Loch Lomond.

"'How strange,' said he, 'that we should have reached this house in safety, undrowned and unplundered, from the opposite shore! Why, that fellow's mountain dew was smooth as honey, but ran deep as Acheron. Surely, the enchantress of that cavern must have robbed us of our wits for spite!'

"'Nay, it was in the way of nature. 'Twas no landsman's task to row obliquely across that lake; and then, the offspring of the illicit still stole too easily upon our worn-out energies. In truth, we were not criminally—'

"'Oh, no—only in the last stage—*sans everything*. It was the mere effect of drinking fire instead of water; of being in the bowels of the earth instead of on her bosom; and of toasting, with that honest Scotch scoundrel, the memory of Rob Roy, Burns, and Sir Walter, instead of paying due attention to our own.'

" 'But, I say, B——, how did we ever get down the headlong face of that rock, which we climbed with so much difficulty by the light of the moon, into our boat again? I have some recollection of being carried by our guide.'

" 'My memory serves me just thus far. You proposed, with more gallantry than prudence, *a health to all the bonnie lassies of Caledonia.* Our companion, touched with patriotic fire, quickly filled again, gave *the honour of England, and all her sons and daughters,* tippled his glass, and then, taking his lamp in one hand, and yourself under the other arm, bade me follow.' "—vol. i, pp. 4—6.

The author had obtained a glance of a beautiful Highland girl, who resided in the neighbourhood of Ben Lomond, and soon afterwards, on his way to England, and when passing through the streets of Edinburgh, beheld her again. He followed her to the house which she entered, and then addressed to her the following letter, having previously learned her name.

" Miss C——ll,

" (For the heart, which now endeavours to address you, disdains every expression of words by which love and admiration are wont to be conveyed). Permit me, by way of introduction, to remind you of the moment in which I first beheld you.—That moment was consecrated by a love as warm as the circumstances of its birth were sudden and extraordinary; and it is in this hour of calm reflection, that I seek to avow to you its continued existence.

" You will remember the appearance of two strangers at your father's door, one evening—a fortnight ago to-morrow. Do you remember the one who lingered behind, and, as you stood waiting by that jutting rock to which you had conducted them, (like the guardian angel of their route,) to see that your instructions were observed, waved a hand to signify assurance of the way? He it is who now ventures to lay at your feet, at once, this declaration of an indomitable love and an offer of his heart and affections upon terms which you yourself (should you deign—and oh! you will not refuse?—to accept them,) are besought to impose.

" By the providence of an indulgent Disposer of events, I stood on the High-bridge, last evening, as you passed with (do I conjecture wrongly?) your sister. I followed you to the house at which I leave this—I learned that it was your residence; and I now wait, at the door of the Episcopal Chapel, to receive one word of encouragement, or to be consigned to hopelessness for ever. Be kind, as you are beautiful; and, as you resemble those happy beings whose occupation is holy joy, be merciful to

" Your devoted,

————."—vol. i, pp. 27—29.

After this, who would expect matter of the description we now extract?

" While education and habit had made me a churchman, my judgment had convinced me that, as far as this age can be compared with that in which the Gospel was announced to the world, our establishment, her ministry, and her forms of worship, were in accordance (with very few, and these not general, exceptions) to the spirit and intentions of Christianity.

Dissenters I viewed with a perfect indifference, except that I wondered how men could differ from what was so palpably desirable, and attributed the departure of the multitude from the church to a want of information and an innate love of change, connected with that self-important, all-sufficient disposition to judge for himself, which perhaps characterizes the uneducated Englishman."—vol. i, p. 49.

"Poor Mother Church! She has enemies both many and mighty; but what is this more than we ought to expect? In fact, there is reason, both great and well founded, why we should hail the shout of the enemy as a token of worth in the establishment they assault; for, when did that which was worthless, or even very bad, ever sustain the shock or opposition of the world? The path of virtue is that which is rugged, and it is through stormy and deep waters that we bring to our shores the most costly treasures. Opposition, I cannot but think, is a proof, as strong as our enemies can afford, and much stronger than they are willing to admit, of the merits of our Established Church; and that there exists, now that this institution of our country is in the most healthy and active operation, such a tide of animosity against it, when the same institution, in the by-gone days of misuse and corruption, was surrounded by a sluggish pool of indifference, is a phenomenon, only to be accounted for by a serious admission of the propensity of a depraved nature to decry that which is good, or, at least, less evil than the world in which it is planted. Is it not the same in regard to private individuals? The philanthropist will have many a sneer, many an insinuation against the sincerity of his labours, and many a sneaking surmise of the indirection of his motives; but the barefaced prodigal, the worker of public misery, the confirmed drunkard—these men are *good fellows*, their *hearts are in the right place*, and every observation upon the bad effects of their principles is branded with the opprobrium of ill-nature, affected sanctity, or something worse. With these ideas, I am led to view all those things, which are usually considered to be against us, as so many arguments in our favour. The *soi-disant* 'increasing number of Dissenters,' especially when we reflect that but few of them are such upon grounds of conscience; the rising efforts of Popery taking place in unison and co-operation with the secession of Protestants; the outcry against the mere formalities of the Established Church, while at the same time, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' resounds from every part of the complaining multitude: these I hold to be striking, and the more I reflect, they become more convincing, proofs of the improvement of our Church, in spirit and practice, in faith and utility, in the internal and external 'beauty of holiness.'"—vol. i, pp. 69—71.

One sees very little congruity in these extracts, although the writer's liveliness is sufficiently apparent from each of them. The opinions contained in the last cited passage, however—which is remarkable for its bigotry and uncharitable import—most readers will expect and desire to see modified and corrected before the work terminates; but whoever does thus favourably anticipate, will find himself grievously mistaken, for in so far as the Church Establishment in England and Ireland is concerned, the "Country Curate" becomes more intolerant and unreasonable the farther he goes and the longer he lives. Towards the conclusion of the work, he says—

"It is this feeling in which we see the paramount necessity of upholding the Protestant establishment in Ireland, as in every part of our dominions, even against a majority of numbers: for, as truth can never lose in a comparison with error—*veritas non recipit magis ac minus*—so the raising-up of but one pair of Protestant hands, in defence of purity, is sufficient plea for the execution of that power, which belongs to the mother Church, in furtherance of the slow (it may be) but (eventually) sure work of unadulterated Christianity. Pilate was not ashamed, in the face of a vast and angry multitude, to take water and wash his hands of the foul stain of the murder of the incarnate Jesus; nor should any ruler, overawed by the array of physical opposition, with a due sense of the value of but one immortal soul, fear to exclaim 'I am innocent of the blood of this just person.'"—vol. ii, pp. 248, 249.

It is natural to ask, does the author expect that such sentiments as these are conducive to instruction, and the peace or improvement of society? Yet such is the frequent tenor of this Autobiography. Again and again its author asserts, that Roman Catholics, Dissenters of every sect, and Infidels, are banded together, and for selfish and unworthy purposes are assailing Episcopacy, which he holds to be the only pure and divinely established church in the universe. In his patchwork of descriptions and opinions, he treats of everything concerning the Church of England; its antiquity, ceremonies, discipline, and doctrines, and whatever has been the subject of controversy therewith connected, comes under his notice; but, however much delighted by his style and his vivacity, we cannot but characterize his spirit, wherever there is room for difference of principles or conduct, as unchristian and highly reprehensible. The only defects or faults which he perceives to attach to the Establishment, concern the curates, their emoluments, and condition; nor can there be any question as to the cleverness and the success with which he sets off the difficulties and the disparagements which he and his fellow subordinates experience. When we say *he*, we are presuming that the author is really a curate, and that he has actually passed through the scenes which he describes. With the intent to give greater effect to his pictures, it is at the same time quite clear, that his ingenuity has been much exercised in framing a fictitious narrative whereupon to hang his lessons, his reflections, and arguments—his purpose being to instruct while he amuses. We think that there is room for doubt, as to whether this admixture of fiction and reality, in a work which is occupied chiefly with the discussion of the gravest subjects, and such as at the present day engage the greatest share of the public mind, be the most judicious method of conveying useful and lasting impressions. But be this as it may, the "Country Curate's Autobiography" is sure to be much read; and however censurable in regard of its opinions and temper, to prove interesting both to churchmen and dissenters.

There are some other general observations, which, we think, will

naturally occur to every unprejudiced reader of these volumes, to which we will merely refer, before citing the few passages which we have marked as specimens of the work. One is, that the "Curate's" religion seems to consist far more in a series of refined sentiments, than heartfelt experiences. We have doubts even as to his orthodoxy; and instance his recorded addresses to the young and apparently dying farmer, who had been a great sinner, as described in the twelfth chapter of the first volume. We think that the comfort proclaimed to the remorseful man, was too unguardedly administered. Another remark repeatedly occurred to us, in the perusal of these volumes—viz., that although the supposed curate frequently speaks of his having been ordained for the ministry, we see not any particular grounds in his narrative for believing that he was divinely called to it, or rather, that he was really prepared, either as concerned habits, studies, or attainments, for the sacred calling. With these general observations, however, we will now proceed to quote a few portions of the work; not certainly with the view of canvassing religious opinions, or arguing upon ecclesiastical subjects, but to afford to our readers a fair sample of a publication, which, we believe, will produce a considerable sensation in the public mind. The reflections which the following extract contains, are shrewdly conceived and happily expressed.

"It may be questioned, whether the influx of men of fortune to the ministerial office be an acquisition to be valued, or an ornament to be dispensed with; and the best evidence may, perhaps, be derived from a consideration of the comparative efficiency of the two grades (if I may so speak) of clergymen.

"The poor, to whom the gospel is specially preached, are decidedly won by that faithful exercise of duty which a mere competency is so well calculated to promote; and the middle classes follow as surely in the same path, if we may not add most of the upper ranks, so far as these are accessible to the influence of the pastoral office: but, once let the clergyman be known to be actually poor—in plain terms, unable to answer the demands upon him for expenses, next to unavoidable if he have a family, and gratuities equally indispensable if he be the curate of a parish——; and the certain consequence is, that he meets with such altered demeanour in those who formerly paid him some marks of respect, encounters such efforts of scandal, has such intimations from his creditors in the shape of certain repeated accounts of *bills delivered*, and experiences so many proofs (indescribable and, to the layman, unimaginable,) of declining usefulness, that he must be a man of apostolic energy indeed, if he do not yield to the blast, and imbibe a portion of disgust with the bitter draughts he is compelled to swallow.

"On the other hand, the man of fortune, to whose influence the clerical distinction is, perhaps, but the least important appendage, having the means, and generally the disposition, to mix with the highest circles, is too apt to consign the endearing office of curate to a minister of the other grade, and to become, in the eyes of at least the vulgar, and prejudiced,

(and these are, perhaps, the most numerous, as they require the most anxious attention, in the whole flock,) a being out of the reach of ordinary men, and identified only with the distinguished few."—vol. i, pp. 24, 25.

We believe, that of one of the many grievances of which curates have reason to complain, the extract which we next insert gives a faithful, as it is a striking picture. The author is writing to a friend, and conveying to him the particulars of his ordination and appointment by a clergyman to the office of curate, and says—

"For the mere *nomination* on his part, I am to do whatever duty he may require, in the said parish, for two years, *for nothing*; although, in the nomination, it is written that I am to have £80 (or is it only £50?) a-year, a consideration which I readily consented to forego, the statement of it being merely *pro formâ*. Had this been all, it were well: but, in addition, as an acknowledgment of the boon (for the other is a service to the gratuitous discharge of which I aspire) I am to be private tutor to five or six of his children, girls as well as boys.

"This is a monstrous piece of market-work. And, yet, according to our constitution in church and state, every man is compelled to go through something of the sort, (except, indeed, you 'little kings,' who enjoy the 'pretty things') unless he be fortunate enough to have that influence in his behalf which falls to the lot of only few. I have no kinsman in the church, near enough to be actuated by any feeling of partiality towards me; and every clergyman, who has a *bonâ fide* title at his disposal, has some relation (money or blood will make relationship in these bad days) for whom his privilege is in store. Can any thing be done to remedy this? Perhaps, if the bishop had the charge of appointing curates, in rotation from a list of names of all eligible candidates within their respective dioceses, much that is really self-degrading might be avoided."—vol. i, pp. 54, 55.

This is not only a "monstrous piece of market-work," but it intimates that there is much that is out of joint in the established system, besides what concerns the immediate interests of the poor curates. But in relation to these hard-working and poorly paid men, the author might well thus express himself:—"I ask not for affluence; but let me, while my equals in talent and pretension are housed in comfortable benefices, have the portion of goods which my necessities demand; and let me not, after having ministered to the well-fed, well-paid servants of pride and luxury, go home to a fire-side, stripped of its fair enjoyments—robbed of its own smiles, by the reckless hands of mercenary and ungodly ———." The blank is left for the reader's filling up; nor can he experience any difficulty in his search for the appropriate name.

The author gives his readers several accurate and curious sketches of the modes and subjects of study pursued at Cambridge. Connected with this subject he describes the duties and the labours of a *Tutor* and those who *Read* with him during the *Long Vacation*.

"The word *reading* consists of seven characters, but this *business* is taken in hand by seventy times seven; out of whom, four hundred never read at all, so as to deserve the name; and few Wranglers, I am persuaded, spring from these tours in Wales or Scotland, in Jersey or the Isle of Man, or trips to Boulogne-sur-mer or Rotterdam. The *intentions* of the *reading-men* may be very good, and the readiness of the tutors to do their part is beyond dispute; but, who would go into an opera-house to read mathematics, or venture upon 'Change with Milton's *Paradise Lost?* When they get out—young men, commonly, who have been cooped up at school or at home, and have just gained, during their sojourn with Alma Mater, a sufficient relish for the world to render the eye of parents the most wholesome guide during the long vacation of summer months—there are the fascinations of a country, selected generally for its beauty or fashion; the curiosity of finding out all the peculiarities of the place, its inhabitants, its neighbours, and its visitors; there is *rowing*, whether there be water or not, racing, in boats or on horses—all these, and a multitude of conceivables, are against the purposes of which the father has a very different idea, and which he begins to suspect just when the son has written for money, after a lapse of only a third of the time for which the good old gentleman had already provided him.

"With two or three of such *reading-men* (some parties, under crack-men, consist of from six to twelve; and they pay Mr. Wrangler about 30*l.* a-piece, besides all expenses)"* * * —vol. i, pp. 61, 62.

These must be very pleasant excursions; but how far such *Peripatetics* advance in learning is not for us to say. Among some of the happiest portions of the work before us, will be found the chapters which treat of the modes in which the lessons in the English Prayer Book should be publicly read, and where the author clearly shows the accuracy of the oft repeated idea—that a lesson or a part of the Bible well read is nearly as good as a sermon. In one place he instances the second chapter of St. Mathew: from his criticisms upon the reading of this portion of Scripture we quote a few paragraphs.

"The common mode of beginning the reading of this chapter is (I am persuaded) to stand firmly and to dwell much upon the *first* word, to utter the *second* with a very suppressed voice, to give the *third* nearly its proper emphasis, to deny this to the *fourth*, and to clip the *fifth*, together with the preposition following, in our rapidity to arrive at *Bethlehem of Judea*. But, that this mode deprives the words of their natural power and leaves the mind of the hearer unmoved by the effect which they convey, we can, I think, easily show. Let the ordinary characters be understood to attend the word of positive import, the *italics* that of comparatively higher import, and the CAPITALS that of superlatively the highest consideration. The common mode, then, will stand thus:

"Now when *Jesus* was born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea*.

But, if what we are endeavouring to do be really worth the doing, let the gentle reader consider well what weight such a sentence thus read would carry to the mind of the hearer. Nearly none. The words, however, are

of the highest scriptural importance; and we suggest that they would be permitted to set forth this importance if read in the following manner:

"NOW WHEN JESUS WAS BORN *in Bethlehem* of JUDEA.

"Thus, the *now*, which is merely a particle of connexion, like the Latin *autem*, or the French *or*, and really has no meaning at all, is reduced to its proper insignificance; while the four words following (and particularly the first of them, which gives the decided commencement, like a leader at the head of his men, to the sacred narrative) have their due importance restored to them. This emphatic declaration—WHEN JESUS WAS BORN—leads the mind, also, to the connexion which it maintains with the locality of the Saviour's incarnation, and, above all, with the prophecies which so clearly foretold the event, time, and place. *Judea* should have an additional emphasis, because there was another *Bethlehem* in the tribe of Zebulon.

"The following clause, also, is not unworthy of attention; for it conveys a clear allusion to the declaration of the prophet that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until the Messiah came. Now Herod was not only not of the tribe of Judah, but a *foreigner* altogether—an Idumean; and, consequently, particular stress should fall upon the word *Herod*; nor should the words on each side of it be without more than positive emphasis;—

"*In* the *days of* HEROD the *king*,—

for the Messiah being born in the *last* year of *his* reign—before *his* time was over—is a confirmation of the prophecy, the sceptre being justly to be considered as *departing*, not *having departed*, during the first reign of *foreign* dominion. We lose much, if we do not recollect that the very word *Herod* would, if pronounced with due emphasis and in due connexion with *king*, convey to the mind of a Jew something like what a Frenchman may be conceived to understand when told of France *in the days of* EDWARD *the king*.

"The remaining part of the verse (let us go through, if so be, with our folly) would commonly be read by a school boy, without any partiality, in one even strain—'behold, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem.' But, a moment's attention will show that *wise* requires particular emphasis, because it conveys to the mind that these were skilled in the knowledge of the prophecies relative to our Saviour's coming—such *knowledge* being the only *wisdom* among the Jews; for, as Dr. Whitby observes, 'The Jews believed that there were prophets in the kingdom of Saba and Arabia, who were of the posterity of Abraham by Keturah; and that they taught in the name of God, what they had received in tradition from the mouth of Abraham.' *Jerusalem*, too, requires considerable stress; for it is in opposition to *Bethlehem*, not in apposition with it, as we say, and as it would appear to be if not marked with suitable emphasis. The places were six miles apart; and the wise men resorted to the *capital*, for reasons which it cannot be difficult to divine.

"Looking at the *fourth* verse—'And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them, where Christ should be born'—would not the ordinary reader lay a vast weight upon the word *demanded*, from which he could hardly recover till he came with his hammer again to the last word *born*? But this is mani-

festly improper; seeing that the former word conveys nothing more than what may be collected as the purpose of the king in 'gathering all the chief priests, &c. together.' Rather, instead of the common mode,—

he DEMANDED of them, *where Christ should be* BORN.

let it be read thus:—

he demanded of *them*, WHERE *Christ* SHOULD be born:

for, what is their answer? 'In Bethlehem of Judea.'

"As in this verse (5th)—'And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea, for thus it is written by the prophet,'—how readily should we rob the little word *thus* of its force, and carry it to *prophet*, if we did not consider that the following verse, in which are the words of the prophet, hangs upon this *thus*; and that we ought to read it, pausing after *thus*, in such a manner as to give the following sense:—

"For it is written by the prophet *thus*—'And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.'

"Passing to the 8th verse, to read,

'And he *sent* them to BETHLEHEM,'

would very likely cause the hearer not to notice that it was in consequence of what the chief priests and scribes had told him about a prophecy of which he neither knew, nor cared to know, anything, that the king sent them to that place. Better, surely, thus:—

'And he SENT them *to* Bethlehem—*'

The royal mandate, in this verse, might be read, with good effect, in such a manner as to convey, if possible, the craft of that *old fox*; and, if it could have been brought to the stage, Kean would have given it a stirring power. But, though the gravity of the desk would not permit the scowl, the affected urbanity, or the lying, designing barefacedness of the passage, much might be done; and, if any improvement can be suggested by the following, the writer of this will be too happy:—

"'And said, Go—and *search* DILIGENTLY—for the young child; and—when ye have *found* him (these words in a rapid style of indifference) *bring*—ME—*word* again,——that *I*—may come and WORSHIP him *also*.'

"In the 11th (despite of what Johnson has done) I would put the accent upon the second syllable of *frankincence*.

"In the 12th, 'And being warned of God in a dream, that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way,' surely, the emphasis (after the intimation of the interference of God, which, I need hardly observe, should be read with clear and distinct gravity) is divided between *not return to Herod* and *another way*. After the direction to flee into Egypt, given by the angel to Joseph, in the 13th, no one would deem it advisable to lay a stress upon *Egypt* in the 14th. 'And *was* there' is in reference to the angel's instruction above—'And *be* thou there;' and ought, of course, to be read accordingly.

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* "*Exempli gratiâ*, a dialogue between A. and B.

A. What's to be done this week, B.?

B. Well, I don't know—its York festival, is it not?

A. Right, B—, and let us GO *to* York."

"In the 16th, a nice sense of propriety might be discovered by reading so as to let '*all the children*' be carried, through the intervening 'that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof,' to '*from two years old and under*.'

"In the 18th, every body knows the meaning of 'because they are not,' that it is not, 'because they are not *comforted*,' but 'because *they are* not (in existence),' the tyrannical monster having ordered them to be slain." —vol. i, pp. 80—86.

This mode of scrutinizing the *lessons* merits attention, and may be pursued to a wide extent by every person, whether ministering at the altar, or exercising the modulations and emphasis of the voice in the closet. Our "Curate" can be shrewd and sensible on any subject, and evidently speaks from experience or close observation, joined to his usual acuteness, in the passage we now insert.

"While 'in want of a curacy,' I was informed of 'a situation' in which the duties of an absentee were to be performed in a village of one of the next counties, for *a guinea and a half* per week, and the privilege of residing in the Rectory-house. I applied and was appointed.

"The honour of personating a Rector was not to be denied; and I now remember the glow of self-importance, if you like, but it was that better sort, which fills the breast with gratitude, and makes it beat high with noble purposes—which animated my steps as I walked into that pretty parsonage, beneath the salute of a cold-looking, middle-aged housekeeper, whose attentions to me and my wants were something like those which the grandees of a city may be supposed to pay to their official *prefect*. They were paid to an *office* at least next akin to that of her own master: and though while she remembered that I was *only a Curate*, she might say within herself, '*Poor soul! I reckon he's somebody's bairn*,' her demeanour was decidedly that of an inferior.

"Here things went on well. I found a little library at my service; and, as I entered in the winter, the opening spring cheered me with those promises which are the more gladly embraced because they never fail of being fulfilled. Come frost, come snow, come cutting winds, still, in due time, the fields are verdant, and the summer woods wave on high. I remember to have thought something of myself when, in college rooms, I sported my oak, stirred my fire, and drew my table to the sacred hearth; but I seemed now to have a *house* of my own; and when I returned from my morning walk of duty or of pleasure, or of both, I rubbed my hands with an involuntary feeling of delight, as I sat down to the repast prepared for me.

"So fully, indeed, did my affairs impress me with the idea of *domus*, that the *placens uxor* fell naturally into my mind. I had long and solitary evenings; the supply of my wants seemed hardly to warrant the ceremony of answering the bell, and I, therefore, felt the more satisfactorily that it was not good for me to be alone. Now and then, a parishioner would be prevailed upon to come in and talk of horses, corn *et id genus omne*; but, then, such was a kind of society which made the lack of it more striking. He would ask, with a mysterious air, the price

of the wine I gave him, or enter into some *reckonings* about the pecuniary part of my engagement; and, indeed, I could see that the housekeeper felt some scorn when she beheld, certainly not her better, exalted to a seat in the dining-room."—vol. i, pp. 88—90.

We do not attempt to follow or give a summary of the "Curate's" life, but it may be gratifying to learn, that after various turns and disappointments, he was at length yoked for better and for worse to the Highland Beauty, before mentioned, who in due time brought him such a family as the poor very frequently are blessed with. Like his humble brethren, he was therefore obliged to eke out his regular income by other employments than that immediately indicated by his profession, such as by having pupils, by gardening, and sometimes writing books. We really believe, that by the present production he will add not merely to his fame, wherever the writer's identity is known, but also to the weight of his purse. The following extract, besides other disclosures concerning the church, shows the negative difficulties which poor curates have to struggle with, even in the case of authorship.

"I have been some years in my present residence, and yet I am not upon *friendly* terms with *any one* of my clerical brethren. I don't know *three*, even upon speaking terms; and yet there are *fifty* within ten miles. There are 'saints,' enthusiasts, zealots; but, some of them are *Hons.*, and some are *Dons*; some have married wives with money and are very genteel; some are allied to titles and hold family livings; but I am poor, married to a poor woman, and come of a poor (albeit, a highly respectable and ancient) family. There are fox-hunters and fortune-hunters; but as I always despised the pursuit of the one, so have I no relish for the chase of the other; and am, moreover, *only a curate*. There are old men and young men, high-born and low-born; but I have nothing to do with them. We might be, respectively, the ministers of all the religions under the sun, and, as far as I am concerned, no farther removed from active brotherly love.

"Now the evil of all this, to any one individually, it would perhaps be difficult to find; but, who sees not the evil to the church—if it be right to call that evil which is not good? What a glorious banner would it be upon the battlements of our strong-hold, if we could really inscribe the word *brotherly-love* in the eyes of the dissenters! What dismay would seize on their distracted bands, if the clergy of a district were bound hand-in-hand, and, by their intercourse, encouraged one another in the performance of their arduous duties!

"But, there is much *positive evil*. The rich clergy do not hang to the poor, and the lynx-eyed people see it: the poor clergy are despised, and the people borrow the idea. Why despised? Because they are unnoticed. Why not hang to them? Because they never come near them in their humbler abodes—because they *do not know* them. Why! the clergy of a diocese ought to be the children of one family; and the bishop —alas! this calls to mind another sore—as their 'father' indeed.

"It is surely a bad and queer excuse, to say that, perhaps, the calls of

the one might not be acceptable to the other class. If there be a clergyman ashamed, before a brother, of his noble poverty; or, on the other hand, one elated with worldly greatness, he can have but little of the spirit which ought to inspire his thoughts and actions. Let them come and see us, not for our sake, but for the sake of those entrusted to our care; and we promise them that, if they will excuse our littleness, their neighing steeds and polished carriage shall stand at our door without being coveted, or they may walk away, as great in their own, and much greater in our estimation than before.

"But, the bishop?—Well, I must say all; because the good of my country is the prize which even this little book aspires to.

"Hampered in circumstances, and dreading the extremities of legal persecution, I wrote a series of sermons, with a view of publishing by subscription. What more natural than that I should desire the countenance of the bishop over me? What more excusable than that I should also presume to ask for it? But, however, before I proceeded upon these impulses, it appeared advisable to seek the recommendation of that bishop of whom mention was made in the early part of this work; and the rather, because I yet considered that I had a claim upon his kindness. With wonted courtesy, he complied, provided that my own diocesan sanctioned the proceeding; but my own diocesan pithily replied, that he had never given his sanction to works on divinity since his elevation to the episcopal dignity, and declined. I then renewed my petition, upon the score of the other bishop's provisional compliance, with all the tact and deference which I could invent; but my letter—my petition—my prayer—remains unnoticed to this day.

"Thus left with but one string to my bow, I returned to my former diocesan—him at whose hands I received both orders. I wrote to him, explaining all the circumstances, and begging, nevertheless, to be allowed the privilege of placing his name at the head of my list. But the string went and the bow was broken. I was in London, partly for the purpose of setting my work off, when my wife sent me this bishop's answer in the negative, written by his secretary (either his son or his daughter), with all the manœuvring and generalship of *Scrub* in the *Stratagem*.

"Now, all this is not as it ought to be. The *bishops* must be *paternal* in their regard for the inferior *clergy*—the inferior clergy must be *fraternal* in their regard for each other; or the church, IF it fall—fall when it may—will be found to have had this mortal wound in its vitals—the want of unity—the *house*, if not *divided against itself*, not well cemented together. Depend upon it, the real enemies to the church are to be found among its pledged supporters."—vol. i, pp. 214—218.

In explaining the word *hireling*, as applied to the inferior clergy, the author says, that such a being means "a gentleman of education, who receives from fifty to eighty pounds a-year for the occupation of his time and talents." A *deputy-curate* "denotes one who is paid so liberally that he is able to make the appearance and keep up the character of the curate whose place he supplies, whose services he performs, and whose importance he ought to sustain." These and many other distinctions in the rank of the ministers of

the Establishment, have long been thought pregnant with evil to Christianity, as well as unreasonable conditions in respect of the inferior labourers.

We have already alluded to the author's intolerant temper, and given a specimen of its rigour. One or two paragraphs from the very many which breathe this spirit, we now select, only, with regard to them, requesting the reader to consider, how far they are in accordance with the charity which every professing Christian should cherish.

"The *apostasies*, which belong to those who shift their sails to every wind of doctrine, and go from conventicle to conventicle, without any concern for the matter of doctrine so that it be but some departure (though only in appearance) from the established worship of the Church, are not without a considerable share of our pity and regret. But they are nearly powerless in their effects, as engines of mischief; and may, perhaps, owing to the glaring inconsistency which distinguishes them, be considered, if division and separation must needs be, as rather advantageous to the interests of the establishment.

"But, as if to show that *Apostasy*, as well as *Dissent*, are, for the most part, merely the effects of an insubordinate spirit, it is remarkable that they generally run through, and in, families. The head of a household becomes illumined with some *new light*, which he cannot but represent as light of a *spiritual* kind: but yet the effect of it is as if it were *material* light: all his family quickly fall into the conception of it, and, as if the *figure*, by which our Lord explained the necessity of letting our light shine before men, were the *original* or *real image*, all become converts, and the enthusiasm extends itself, most probably, through some generations. I am not aware of any authority for supposing this the usual way of the Spirit of Truth; but I am aware that John, even in his time, thought it necessary to give the following warning to the Christians of his day: 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.'"—vol. ii, pp. 114, 115.

Is it strange that children should follow their parents? or that a household should be swayed by the opinion and practices of the head of the house? The curiosity of the case surely chiefly attaches to the other side of the alternative. We fear, that had our "Country Curate" the power, he would be a fell persecutor. We ask, if the circumstances about the poor widow, described in the next passage we cite, be fabulous or true? But although true, does the author serve any good purpose—does he fairly fasten upon a single instance of hard-heartedness, when characterizing a large body of persons?

"But, though I abstain, in my public capacity, from all censure or remonstrance which would glance upon any person or party, I am not going, *in this place*, to compromise the matter by any such servility as that which I am sorry to notice in the *conclusions* of many sensible and well-meant publications. It seems to be the fashion of the day, this *concession*; but there is a point at which even harmony and concord become criminal. Let

every man worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without let, hindrance or molestation; but let it not be thought to be a duty to *give the right hand of fellowship* to even the man we may meet in the dark, with the means of our destruction, or to those who, if they had the means, would turn us out of our homes, and bid us, with our wives and families, subsist on the tender mercies of the cruel and ungodly. I am not going to make any apologies for the excitement of feelings or the fervour of language—not upon the rule that, as we obtain nothing of this sort from them, so neither should they of us—for this, indeed, would be a great concession in itself; but—because I am fully purposed not to commit myself beyond bounds which I can clearly vindicate for my own.

"Thus, however, yielding to the humour of circumstances uncontrollable, fierce, menacing, and hardened by a sense of their own injustice, my life was rendered one of peace and contentment. I am *poor, and the people see it* (as Cobbett says): hence the miller and the brewer's man hail me with a nod; and my own late servant passes me with the same *kind* attention. But, I am thankful; and, if paying one's way be a recommendation, endeavour to be honest: hence, though the Dissenters *know* good manners, the churchmen only *practise* them, and I am honoured with a greeting, somewhat more respectful on their part. The others have got an idea of mortifying, as they say, not themselves, but their fellow-creatures; but the mortification, if not their own, is so far ours only as to tell of *what manner of spirit they are.*

"But I had peace and contentment at home, in the resources which my wife and children, my books and study, my garden and my own little contrivances, (therein, at least, unmolested) my pens and ink, and, over all, my Bible daily laid before me. At one time, my spirit rose, and indignation warmed my cheeks, when I heard my cause, and even myself, maligned: but, now, I have learned to bear, even without any troublesome emotion, the things which are against us, and to rest satisfied that if ever it should be our lot to do all the good within our scope, our heavenly Master will be merciful in the judgment of our service 'in the cloudy and dark day.'

"Even while writing the last sentence, I have been called from this vain work to one which He, in his mercy and wonderful condescension, has given even me to do. A widow with three orphan children, houseless, friendless, pennyless, almost without clothing, comes to ask for *baptism* in behalf of her infant at the breast. The parish overseer (of course a Dissenter) has turned her from his door, and with much difficulty she has procured a ticket for this night's lodging; but no more—no food. 'This is *her* story'—is it my business to question the truth of it? 'May she not have practised the same in every parish where she could find a clergyman?'—'Who art thou, O man, that judgest another?' Surely, her case must, indeed, be deplorable, to drive her forth in the cold of January, to practise such devices, if we admit, even, all that could be alleged against her."—vol. ii, pp. 136—139.

The "Curate" labours hard to prove, that an unbroken succession of ministers from the apostles serve in the English church. We do not say anything about the truth of the statement, but we confidently declare, that, if it be true, he has not made it manifest

by his account; and that the result of the whole of his declamation on this point is pure assumption and assertion. He falls foul of many other churches in his zeal for episcopacy. Not only do the Dissenters of all classes, and the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics, receive a thrashing at his hands, but he wages war against the Greek church in a sweeping style. But we need not follow him to Russia for specimens of his controversial rancour. It will be sufficient if we travel only to Ireland, or adduce Mr. O'Connell.

"Nor need we apprehend that the spirit of Christianity lies dormant in our land, when we read, in such a letter as that of Mr. O'Connell to the electors of Westminster, the following admission—an admission, in which, every candid man will allow us to make those substitutions, which shall be added, *parenthetically*, as the occasions present themselves.

"'The Tories' (this is the name given by the opposite party to the *Conservatives*—that class which is eminently favourable to the continuance and necessary increase and amendment of the Church of England and Ireland) 'are most formidable. Power, bribery, corruption, intimidation, trickery, and deceit, complicated and extensive beyond former precedent;—the smiles of courtly favour, the blandishments of the titled and the wealthy—energy, combination, activity, a talented but most unprincipled press—every thing under heaven put into motion to CONQUER ENGLAND—as Colonel Napier has it—and to regain from the British people that portion of political power which the reform bill has conceded to the nation.

"'At such a moment as this, when the evil principle of Toryism' (*Church-ism*, or, rather *Establishment-ism*) 'is struggling, by the most foul but potent means, to regain its old tyranny' (influence)—'at such a moment as this, when nothing but the undiminished combination of reformers of all classes' (Papists, Dissenters, Infidels,) 'can save the people of Great Britain, and especially of Ireland, from the prospect of a civil war, as the only mode of establishing popular rights on an irreversible basis—at such a moment as this, the man who, ranking himself with reformers' (see above), 'and bearing the colours of the people, artfully avails himself of any pretext' (duty according to conscience) 'to introduce discord and dissension into the ranks of the reformers' (see above), 'is an enemy who ought be denounced, and a wretched deserter, who ought to be drummed out of our camp.

"'At this moment, when the active and bitter' (conscientious) 'hostility' (speaking-out) 'of the Tories' (conservative friends of the Church) 'is arrayed in such formidable strength against the rights and liberties' (licentiousness and insubordination) 'of the English' (Irish) 'people, what has been the conduct of the Radical Reformers' (thorough-paced adherents to Popery, Dissent, or Infidelity?)—(*London papers, Dec.* 22, 1835)."—vol. ii, pp. 141—143.

But, perhaps, the most puerile and prejudiced portion of this Autobiography is to be found in the chapter which treats of the comparative merits and claims of the clergy of the Establishment, and the ministers of dissent; and this comparison he pursues

with reference, first, to human learning, and, secondly, as regards the question whether the latter be *called* to the sacred office. Our last extract shall be from this offensive chapter.

"Thus the Church of England—having derived her *bishops* from a continued succession from the Apostles, who, as we see, were fully invested with the Spirit of the Lord; having a clergy ordained and appointed to the ministry by an authority thus derived from the Divine fountain; and being consistent with the Scripture in the means of thus continuing the great work of the Church—is a portion of the Apostolical Church. But it were a mere assertion to say that *dissenting ministers* have been *thus sent.* If there be such a thing as truth in existence, this would be in direct opposition to it. 'No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron'—was said, strictly, of the high-priesthood of the Jews, but, by comparison, of the ministry of Christ, who has for ever delegated to the ministry of His Church that power with which he was sent into the world.

"Thus, our Church does not refuse communion with any other Christian Church of this apostolical order—not even with the corrupt and idolatrous Church of Rome: her ministers are received into our Church without any new ordination, and their participation in our eucharist is the only act of conversion. For, as Peter lost not his apostleship by a denial of his Master, or as Judas, not before his death, was removed from the rank of an apostle; so neither can any man, or heresy, or church, thus incorporated with the divine origin of Christianity, forfeit its apostolical character except with its existence. That which has gone forth from the lips of immutable and everlasting Truth cannot be reversed or annulled, save by the destruction of the body.

"Thus, also, when it was thought to have in America an episcopal, or apostolical, church, never did the people dream of making *bishops* (and without these there could be no ministry); but determined on applying to the Church of England. And our colonial establishments are thus preserved in the unity of the Church, under one Head and Lord of all—'the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.'"—vol. ii, pp. 127—129.

These and similar sentiments are much more likely to irritate than win dissenters; and, indeed, are calculated far more to injure the church than the cause of dissent. We are sorry that a writer of such talents and accomplishments, as the author manifestly is, should have disfigured his pages with such bigotry. But although we anticipate that his work will excite considerable attention in the religious world, we do not see that, on the subjects of controversy, much difficulty will be experienced in answering his arguments, or injustice in ridiculing his assumptions.

ART. VII.—*An Essay on the Nature, the End, and the Means of Imitation in the Fine Arts. Translated from the French of M. Quatremère de Quincy.* By J. C. KENT. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1837.

THE main object of this Essay, is first to unfold a universal principle or theory, whereby the true nature of imitation as applied in

the fine arts may be determined; secondly, to ascertain the ends; and, thirdly, the means of this imitation. In the course of his development of the standard of art and right criticism, which the author has a good right to regard as original and comprehensive, he employs no small share of metaphysical and abstract reasonings. His style and matter are far more argumentative and philosophic, than ornate or brilliant. He addresses himself far oftener to the understanding than to the imagination; as indeed his theory necessarily requires, inasmuch as his principal positions are explainable only or chiefly by a due appreciation of the province and the duties of the judgment and reasoning faculties as applied to the process of the imitation supposed. But all this he has done with a closeness of argument, and such a varied power of illustration, that every reader, whether previously familiar with discussions on similar topics or not, must be convinced, could only be at the command of one who is master of the subject in all its bearings.

De Quincy has long enjoyed a European reputation, although, in consequence of the present work having remained untranslated into the English language, fewer persons in this country have become acquainted with its merits than on the continent. He is a member of the Institute of Paris, and holds also the office of Perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Fine Arts. His talents as an architect and sculptor, and the value of the numerous learned works which he has written, have secured for him these eminent stations and the wide-spread celebrity we have stated. With regard to the present work, the translator says in a note, that it is the result of the mental labour and experience of more than eighteen years; its rough materials and model having appeared so far back as the beginning of that date, in a periodical work, called *Les Archives Litteraires*. With the view of publishing the merits of a performance so original and matured, as far as our influence can reach, we now glance at some of the arguments and illustrations by which it seems to us to establish the accuracy of the general principles involved by his theory on the subject of "Imitation in the Fine Arts." Of one thing we are satisfied—that whoever peruses carefully or consecutively the chapters of his book, will admit, that the writer of it has made good his answer, when he says, to the question of him who has asked what good end such a theory as has been propounded and defended will serve?—"I think that the beautiful works of art have rather given birth to theories, than theories to beautiful works. But," he adds, "there exist also theories which are, in their kind, beautiful works, and from which many derive pleasure. Thus it were not more fitting to ask of what use is the art of poetry, than of what use is a poem."

De Quincy's fundamental principle, when treating of the nature of imitation in the fine arts, and when expressed in its most condensed form, declares that it *is to produce the resemblance of a*

thing, but in some other thing which becomes the image of it. That is to say, not such a resemblance as nature presents in her organic productions, as in the similarity between one ear of corn and another—nor such as mechanical repetitions do in manufactories—because in these cases the object being rendered conformable to its model, does in fact announce to all what it is, or rather, what it is not. This kind of identity, which is the cause of the spectator not knowing the one object from the other, is what the imitation of the fine arts ought especially not to aim at. Yet resemblance is a necessary condition of imitation in this latter case; but it consists by means of an *image*. Now, an image is nothing more nor less than an appearance of the object represented; while there is between the object and its appearance, all the difference that separates that which truly is from that which appears to be; thus the image can only furnish an incomplete resemblance of the object imitated—in other words, it is limited to certain of its parts and its properties.

"On these conditions rest the merit and pleasure of imitative resemblance.

"*The merit*, because, in fulfilling these, as we have seen, lies both the difficulty of the art, and its success, which consists in so ordering things that we shall not have cause either to complain of, or to discover what is wanting to the imitation in order to render it complete, and to appear reality.

"*The pleasure*, because it is always from our knowing the want of reality in the image, that the faculties of comparing and judging are called into action, for which, without this knowledge, there would be no occasion.

"If imitative resemblance in the fine arts can only be a partial and fictious resemblance of the object imitated, and if it can only be produced with and by means of elements distinct from the elements of that object, it must be acknowledged that the conditions of imitation, far from being the result of a system, are only facts observed in and drawn from the nature of things. Hence it will assuredly follow, that every image, or every work of the fine arts, will more or less contradict the nature of imitation, in proportion as the artist has aimed more or less at producing the effect of identical repetition, or real similarity."—pp. 21, 22.

The above is a short summary of the author's account of his fundamental principle, which he describes in a vast variety of ways, and buttresses by an equally redundant power of illustration. In this procedure, he applies his theory to each of the fine arts, considered individually. But he previously enters his caveat against two grand sources of error, which, he says, constantly tend to vitiate, in its very elements, that imitation which is proper in the fine arts, to destroy its beauty, and nullify its means of pleasing. The former of these, consists in the endeavour to augment the resources and the effect of the species of imitation proper to one of

the arts in particular, by the addition of those proper to the imitation of another art. The latter tends to deprive every art, as much as possible, of that part of its fictious and conventional nature which makes it appear art, by substituting a spurious fidelity and similarity, by means of identity, for resemblance by means of an image. To give one illustration of some of the limits which separate individual arts, the writer selects the two most nearly approaching one another—painting and sculpture—

"Both having for their object the imitation of bodies, and both being addressed to the same organ, that of sight. Now what have these in common? The one represents bodies by their colour, and the other by the relief of their forms. Nevertheless, the model which serves for both, unites relief and colour, and these two are blended so intimately together, that they can be divided only in thought.

"Without any exception, that art which employs colour, cannot aspire to relief; nor can that which appropriates to itself relief aim at truth of colouring. What then is it that prevents these two from uniting? Many moral reasons may be given; but I will instance one wholly material or technical.

"It is this: that provided colour could be applied to the figure of the statuary, the colouring would no longer be that of the painter. For if the attempt were made, even with the utmost skill, to lay on the sculptured head the tints of the coloured one, the elements of both would be opposed to each other. The colouring of a picture is only such in painting: let it be removed from the canvass, and it loses every thing, in losing the fictitious atmosphere, which is the condition of its effect. Artificial colour upon an isolated body can never appear true, precisely because all around it being real can serve only to convict it of falsity.

"Thus, imitation is nullified by the very endeavours that are made to increase or multiply its means; and thus one art, by trenching on the properties of another, loses its own, and by aiming to be both, becomes neither.

"I have chosen this illustration, because it is within the reach of every body, and that the result cannot be disputed."—pp. 27, 28.

It is necessary to state, that the author classes the different imitable objects belonging to the fine arts under two principal heads; viz. those which belong to the moral; and those which depend on the physical order of things; the one addressed in a peculiar manner to the faculties of the mind; the other to the organs of the body. The latter, he considers a very low object of art; but the former, has the noblest sentiments of mind for its true end; not that the term *moral*, is intended by him to signify any useful influence on manners, but as opposite to the words *material* or *physical*. Nay, he argues that the subject of a painting, for instance, may form a good moral lesson, according to the usual meaning of *moral*, and yet the mode of treating it occasions no other kind of pleasure than that limited to the senses; such as a poor rustic cottage, with the costume and portraits of its inhabitants, by

a painter like Teniers ; whereas, let the historical artist treat the same subject, with all the nobility of character, beauty of form, variety of expression and attitude that it will admit of, the mind will then enjoy the *moral* pleasure of imitation. On this principle the representation of events of the most immoral character, such as the massacre of the innocents of Raffaello, will have the same ennobling effect.

De Quincy applies the same canons of criticism to all the fine arts, that he has instanced in the case of painting or sculpture. Take poetry, which occupies the widest field, and embraces almost a universality of imitable objects, in reference to the error which consists in stepping beyond its own art, and trenching upon the resources of another, with the view of obtaining an increase of imitative resemblance.

" Even this art is subjected to restrictions through its medium of language, and those restrictions are, for the most part, the result of what we have termed moral impossibilities, that is, impossible to the internal sense. Now, thus considered, many subjects are denied to the poet's pen, that is, they are morally impossible. Language is often very insufficient for the description of objects and their qualities ; and it is that insufficiency which sets a limit to the prerogatives of poetry. To pass that limit is, on the part of the poet, an encroachment on, and a violation of, the principle of imitation, which requires that *a thing be represented by some other which is but the image of it.* If it is the property of an image to be incomplete, then the image afforded by poetry fails in that condition, when the poet, exceeding the measure of means at his command for the representing of certain qualities, of bodies more especially, by others analogous to them, aspires to means of direct description which he would seem desirous of wresting from the painter's art.

" Lessing has, in his Laocoon, unquestionably demonstrated that the poet is deceived who thinks himself able to represent corporeal objects by the, necessarily successive, detail of their parts, since it is precisely that very detail and succession of ideas that prevent parts so dissected and decomposed from producing on the mind an image of the whole, that is, of the aggregate of the thing to be conceived of.

" I have before spoken of the predilection too frequently evinced by the painter towards the transfer to his canvass of the subjects of the dramatic poet as seen on the stage. And who will deny but that the author, becoming more familiarised with the works and effects of the pencil, may not contract a habit of the same sort, exhibiting a poetical anomaly almost unknown to antiquity, and in which, if one may so say, a new employment is created for poetry, under the title of *descriptive poetry ?*"—pp. 89—91.

This new form of composition, according to the author, is the romantic, or as explained by the translator, that which is *after the manner of romances ;* and is objected to, because though poetry has its pictures, they are metaphorical ones ; whereas, in the romantic form of composition, the poet's muse has laid aside her

ideal lyre, to take up the mechanical instruments of the arts of design.

"It may with truth be alleged that the vocabulary of the art of painting is drained to exhaustion in paraphrasing pictures.

"Not indeed that we have any intention of denying to poetry the expression of certain effects of external nature. What we would hold up to reprobation in this novel style is, that it affects images drawn from material objects, instead of those that may be derived from the sentiments, and moral associations, preferring the delineations, and if one may use the term, minute specifications of bodies, to the impressions of the mind, the limited relations of things visible, to the unlimited associations of the world of ideas; it is the affectation of speaking to the senses in a language not their own, while refusing to the mind that which rightly belongs to it, and of abandoning resources affording the most direct action on the heart and the imagination, in order to wear out unavailingly and falsify the strings of an instrument, unmanageable to the hand that touches them, and unfitted to produce the effect required; it is in short, the pulling down poetry from her high places, whence its genius bears away over the moral and intellectual world, to struggle, with unequal weapons, on the ground of realities, with arts whose property it is to express the forms and colours of bodies, and their end, while employing matter in their images, to elevate them to those very regions of the ideal which the poet would seem anxious to desert."—pp. 100, 101.

The line of demarkation, which the poet must not trespass, seems not, however, to be very clearly defined by the critic, though he elaborately aims at the elucidation of the distinction, that while true poetry, which paints to the mind, has to convert *material* sensations into *moral* impressions, the arts of design, or those which speak to the eye, have most frequent need to transmute moral ideas into material forms.

We come to the second error that artists are liable to commit, already alluded to, viz. the seeking truth short of the limits of every art, by a system of servile copy, which deprives the image of that fictious part which constitutes at once its essence and its character, while the truth contemplated by the fine arts is truth by means of fiction. This error, like the former, is characterized as having its source in a confusion of ideas, on the elementary principle of imitation previously explained, both, however, terminating in the same fault, that of *identity*, or the endeavour to attain its effect, and both prevailing in the arts of design as well as in those of poetry, though the author holds that it has been more openly evinced in the latter. Many of our readers will be startled at hearing that Shakspeare is instanced by De Quincy as a great transgressor upon this score.

"Such is the case in that dramatic system to which the unregulated genius of the English poet has afforded the support of his example; if indeed the name of system may be applied to a manner of imitating, arising from

ignorant instinct, which nature will repudiate, so long as reason and taste shall be found in nature. It is very possible for genius to adopt a vicious form of composition, more especially if it find in its irregularity, that sort of independence which, favouring the soarings of thought, may sometimes assist its daring and originality. But the true genius of imitation, belonging to all ages, is genius submitting to nature, and ranging free, though shackled with the trammels of art.

"Nor can that style of dramatic composition be so characterized, where every extreme is mingled in confusion, where the lowness of the language is contrasted with the eminence of the personages, and the vulgarity of the images with the refinement of the thoughts; where, in order to appear natural, the tragic poet descends to the familiarity of the lowest comedy, and, in consecutive passages of the most opposite strains, suddenly sinks from the epic style to that of the mountebank?"—pp. 108, 109.

There may be grounds, according to the French school of tragic poetry, for charging Shakspeare with a frequent violation of stilted congruities, by his introduction of vulgar or ludicrous scenes among others of great pathos and elevating power; but we are desirous to believe, that the comprehensive and original theory of the present writer, is not always enforced with the same discrimination that detected its fundamental principle. In the case of our unrivalled dramatist, does it not happen, when his plays are read in the closet or witnessed on the stage, that their effect, from *some* cause, upon the reader or spectator's mind, surpasses all that has been experienced by him when any other author has been the artist? And may not this unquestionable fact be attributable, in some degree, to the very familiarity and low comedy which Shakspeare so frequently countenances? It is to be remarked, that his clowns and low-lived characters are never personages upon whom the term vulgar can be bestowed. They are never disgusting. And why? Because a great deal of the finest art has conferred something upon their conduct and language, that renders them among the happiest exemplifications of that very idealism which the author so much recommends. The same sort of criticism may be expended on Sir Walter Scott's meanest actors in his novels and romances. Among them all, there is not a vulgar Scotchman; there is not a vulgar dialogue in all his works. But to return to the dramatist: the marvellous power and pathos of his tragedies frequently and generally arise from the strong but natural contrasts between his characters and their sentiments; while it will uniformly be found, that the most stately, and the most humble, comical, or shrewdly clever, lend each other the mutual capacity of interesting and pleasing, in a manner not otherwise to be accomplished. Such, we believe, are the results of Shakspeare's plots, dialogues, and soliloquies over English hearts. At any rate, there is not an Englishman that would consent to lose one of the dramatist's most fantastic or familiar scenes, wherever they may happen to be found, or allow them to be transplanted or modified

according as the doctrines of the French unities and regularities would impose. We suspect, that De Quincy, indeed, has been reflecting more justly on the theatrical exhibitions that have of late years distinguished the French stage, than apprehending the genius and poetry of the Bard of Avon, in the strictures we last quoted. The following paragraphs strengthen us in these suspicions; they come close upon his censure which we have been considering; but if there be truth in history, they strike not on our side of the channel, in any shape or degree, as regards our immortal dramatist.

"It may further be remarked, how pervading is the influence of a false principle, and how, without any attention being paid to it, it is the means of corrupting little by little the works of an age or nation, owing both to the genius that produces and the taste that encourages them.

"Is it possible that we can be mistaken in attributing to this true materialism, this purely sensual taste, the indifference evinced towards historical painting, which, above all other, should appeal to the mind, and the preference for a form of composition branded with disgrace by the ancients in the name they applied to it*, and which is become so dear to modern times, revelling as it does in the objects of vulgar nature, in all that is base and ignoble in the condition of society, and finding numbers of admirers, now that nothing more than material enjoyments for the senses are any longer required?

"Is not the effect of this principle betrayed in the predilection which has for a long time been evinced by our audiences, for the depicting, or rather the absolute reality of subjects produced from the very filth of the kennels, from the vilest wretches and miscreants that crowd our streets, and which are no longer brought forward on the stage with the mask of caricature, that might at least become the image of them, and assist comparison, but with so shameless and gross a reality, that there is no necessity to have actors to perform such pieces, and still less authors to compose them?"—pp. 111, 112.

De Quincy expatiates at considerable length upon the degrees of fiction and incompleteness, with regard to truth, which must attach to every specimen of art; and convincingly argues, that these very fictions and incomplete qualities constitute art, and become the very sources of the pleasure of imitation. He next shows, in what manner and by what means art is enabled to correct the *fictions*, and to compensate the *incomplete*, necessarily inherent in it. It is by the *perfection*, or the nearest possible approach to it, in the particular work of imitation, or the particular kind of *image* employed—making this stand for all that nature denies to the art, in order to its being or appearing its equal; the perfection spoken of becoming a sufficient indemnity for what is wanting in the scope of every art, so as, though we may perceive the deficiency, it is only

* Rhyparography. The depicting obscene and vulgar things.

that we may applaud its real triumphs. Thus the hardness of the material of a fine statue, its black or white colour, is not only far from offending us, but proves an additional source of pleasure. In a master-piece of painting, we do not complain of its flat surface and limited space, because the perfection of its harmony and perspective supplies all that can be expected or obtained from the art. Imitative perfection, which every art may attain, is thus, by its own proper means, capable of re-establishing the equilibrium between the imitated and the imitating objects, between the original and the image; whereas, to counterfeit nature is not, in the sense of the fine arts, to imitate her. We all know how slender is the pleasure derived even from a picture which is the acknowledged copy of another. On the other hand, wax-work figures are disgusting.

When treating of the character of that *illusion* which alone belongs to the best works of art, the author says—

"Illusion is not the end of imitation, if by illusion is understood deception practised in one art by means of undue borrowings from others, or by mingling the elements of reality with those of imitation. Illusion is not the end of imitation, if by illusion is meant that which aspires to lead the senses captive, to surprise the outward organ, to substitute the idea of reality for the fiction of its image, and identical similarity for imitative resemblance.

"But if the end of imitation be (as will be developed in the subsequent part) to present to the senses and the mind, through the intervention of the fine arts, images which, in all the different forms of imitation, shall furnish an aggregate of perfection and ideal beauty to which particular models afford no equal, it is certain that such images will exercise a sufficiently powerful action over our minds to produce on us the moral effect of illusion. This is the sense in which it must be taken, when considered as forming part of the effects of imitation, and co-operating towards what would seem to be its definitive aim.

"Hence, the still more obvious conclusion that, in procuring legitimate illusion, the ways conducting to it and the end proposed are in direct opposition to such as are maintained and acted up to, by some persons through ignorance, and by others, through inadvertence.

"The error commonly arises from a belief that illusion is due only to our senses, and that its action depends solely on what is material or mechanical in that portion of resemblance devolving upon each art, and corresponding to one or other of our organs. It is in consequence of this opinion, which is common to the generality of persons, that they are so prone to exceed or falsify the means of resemblance, with the intention of approximating it more nearly to reality or identity.

"On the contrary, the property of illusion in the fine arts is not to make us see that reality, but imagine that we see it; not to show us what it is, but lead us to suppose its existence, and make us understand what is not told to us. This effect will, however, be looked for in vain if we have nothing to correspond to it, to wit, the faculty of perceiving and that of imagining.

"After having demolished the vulgar prejudice that would place the merit of illusion in the attainment of identical imitation, we are arrived at a corollary which, without what has gone before, might well seem a paradox. It is, that every art owes its illusion, that is to say, the effect and entire worth of the resemblances produced by imitation, precisely to the very circumstances that prevent its resemblances from being absolute and complete.

"It is, that every art owes its illusion less to that portion of reality which enters into the nature, and attaches to the material instruments of its imitation, than to what it substitutes for the entire reality which it is prohibited from producing.

"It is, that every art owes its illusion much less to its action on the senses than to that it exercises over the mind.

"That the more the senses are engaged by the action or the work of art, the more limited will be its illusion.

"So that the merit and the pleasure, whether of imitation or of the illusion that accompanies it, are in the direct ratio of the separation or distance existing between the reality of the efficient model and the imitative means that art has at command to produce its image."—pp. 150—154.

The author has now nearly arrived at the completion of his doctrine on the nature of imitation; for he feels himself prepared to announce, that "the pleasure of imitation is proportionate to the distance which, in every art or imitative mode, and in the works of each, separates the elements of the model from those of the image." Under this general law, he repeats what he had previously established, that the more there is in an art, or its works, to occasion pleasure to the senses, the less there will be to give pleasure to the mind. It is for us to aid the power of illusion upon ourselves; and this we do, by the mind finding itself, as it were, compelled to consummate the effect, either by supplying what the imitating effort has been obliged to omit, or seconding, by a sympathetic admiration, the fictious power of the art: so that we become instruments for providing, at one time, thoughts to bodies—at another, a body and colour to what exists only in idea. From all these, and many other preliminary principles, a key is derived whereby we may assign the comparative ranks which the different arts are entitled to hold in relation to one another; and this order of rank is precisely what common opinion has been in the habit of conferring. Not that it is meant, by the present theory, that there is a superiority in power of invention, difficulty of execution, or merit on the part of the artist in the different departments of imitation, whether of design or poetry, or that there is any argument about tastes in respect of one mode of imitation or another. But the question of rank and arrangement is alone decided by a reference to the moral and intellectual standard which each art contemplates, and has scope for. We extract the whole of what is said relative to the arts, in their individual capacity, in their comparative order.

"It is generally allowed that poetry takes precedence of all the arts. A sort of universal consent assigns to it the first rank. Every one comprehends and feels that this mode of imitation is the least material of all, that it is farthest removed from sensible objects, and also that the manner of enjoying it, as well as its images, is that with which the senses have the least to do. There is nothing less material than the imitative instruments of poetry, namely, speech and the rhythmical and metrical arrangement of words. In respect of the objects of the visible world, one cannot conceive a greater distance between what it depicts, and its manner of depicting. This distance is the same with that which exists between the idea and the sight of a thing. Poetry only produces the image of objects, by abstract and indirect means, which can no otherwise render them visible to us than by compelling us to picture them to ourselves. It can only address itself to the internal sense, to that intellectual organ, on which its images have no hold but by reason of the activity they excite in it.

"There is certainly no kind of imitation so far removed from actual reality, and so little susceptible of being confounded with its model, as that which, embracing the whole of nature, lays under contribution the visible and the invisible, and whose combinations are unlimited, both in space and duration, by any real state of comparison, boundary frame, or fixed admeasurement.

"Poetical imitation then, by its distance from reality, and the variety of relations it embraces, being that which furnishes to the mind, in the exercise it creates for it, the greatest amount of appositions to bring about, and of completions to achieve, should rightly occupy, and, as confirmed by general opinion, does occupy what I term the first rank in the imitative scale of the fine arts.

"If it be true that general feeling places music next after poetry in this scale, it is easy to perceive that such order is conformable to the rank our theory assigns to the different arts, according as their means of imitating and their images, are more or less removed from reality, and the pleasure derived from them has greater need of the assistance of the sentiments and mental activity. Music, but for its physical impression on the ear, is certainly the art most fitted to contend for the first rank with poetry, owing to its power of creating, by combinations of sounds alone, images at once the most varied and the most immaterial. Like poetry, it transports us into an ideal world, where the imagination, converting mere concatenations of song, concerts of instruments, and sonorous effects, into forms, bodies, and pictures, gives to its own creations the force of existence. Undoubtedly no art more imperatively requires that the action and emotions of the mind should co-operate with the intrinsic value of its images, and make up for whatever is vague and indefinite, either in that which serves for its model, or becomes the imitation of it. It is moreover worthy of notice, that it is to this art that men devoid of imagination or sensibility are most indifferent.

"Custom is found to be in accordance with this theory by classing, next in succession, painting, which imitates bodies by the lineal appearance and colour of bodies; and, immediately after it, sculpture, which in the representation of bodies, employs existent and real matter itself. It cannot be denied, that in the works of these arts, the model, and what becomes the

image of it, are to a certain degree in actual contact. It is this property that draws down the willing admiration of low and vulgar prejudice, while, on the contrary, their true value and merit depend far less on the representation of corporeal forms by matter, than on the expression of whatever is most immaterial by corporeal forms; they consist in representing the moral by the physical, in portraying intellectual ideas, and the affections of the mind, by palpable forms; finally in giving, not a body to thought, but thought to bodies.

"Architecture, which does not imitate anything real or positive, is always classed in its due place on this imitative scale, its office being to employ matter, its forms, and the relations of their proportions, to express moral qualities, at least those that nature shadows forth in her works, and which produce in us the ideas, and their correlative emotions, of order, harmony, grandeur, wealth, unity, variety, durability, eternity, &c.; in such a manner that the material of the art, which, with the generality of persons, is the object of a sensual admiration, may be only a means, employed by the artist, of leading our minds to intellectual enjoyments.

"The arts of *dancing* and *pantomime* are classed by general opinion after those of design, and this rank, which is that assigned to them by our theory, is wholly consonant to their nature, since they, of all the arts, are most exclusively addressed to the outward senses, least directly to the mind, and whose imitation is the most strictly confined to reality."—pp. 165—168.

The mind is greatly enlightened, and feels itself competent to speak with precision, and to give a reason for its faith, when assigning to poetry, for example, the first station in the above comparative gradation, as soon as De Quincy's theory is apprehended; and this convinces us, that he has hit upon what the translator characterizes as an all-comprehensive and universal principle. We have already remarked, however, that the discernment which he has evinced in the discovery, the definition, and the development of this theoretic principle, is not always so manifestly superior, when he descends to those minute details by which it is to be, in its most practical application, understood. We think that he has, owing to some such defect, been led to exclude landscape gardening from the family of fine arts; for he says—

"In accordance with the spirit of this theory, it is of itself excluded from the imitative scale. In fact, every element necessary to constitute imitation is absent from it. Even the idea of repetition is scarcely traceable. What pretends to be an image of nature is nothing more nor less than nature herself. The means of the art are reality. Every one knows that the merit of its works consists in obviating any suspicion of art. To constitute a perfect garden, according to the irregular system of landscape gardening, we must not have the least suspicion that the grounds have been laid out by art. What pleasure, (I mean pleasure of imitation,) can the mind experience, when it is in no wise apprised of the imitation it beholds? What do we enjoy in such a work? We shall be answered, nature. But the pleasure derived from nature is one thing, that from imita-

tion another. The pleasure that a landscape painting occasions, is other than that of the landscape itself would afford in nature; what renders the pretended art of landscape gardening as little art as it is possible to be is, that it presents as much reality as possible. Now it cannot claim to be at once reality and imitation."—vol. i, pp. 170, 171.

Now, although landscape gardening may, according to the theory in question, lay on the confines of art, it is yet clear, upon the same principles urged by the author, that it is an imitative art. Does it not produce the "resemblance of a thing in some *other* thing, which becomes the *image* of it?" The artist in landscape gardening brings into a small compass, and disposes of features that were never found so arranged and embraced before. As the translator remarks, the elements of composition in this art are other than what nature has anywhere associated in one and the same scene; such as trees and shrubs from all and opposite climates, well-kept walks, smooth turf, &c.; setting aside the assistance of architecture and sculpture, which give intimation of art. In beholding a landscape garden, we also recognise the dexterity with which the artist has overcome difficulties, and reduced or turned forbidding objects into harmonious points of beauty. The manner in which the mind requires the evidences of design, as well as a due imitation of the great combinations observed in nature; nay, the satisfaction with which utility is discovered to be served by beauty, and the disappointment which would ensue if there were no traces of human inhabitants of the ornamented scene, are sufficient testimonies, that the imagination is invited and drawn upon to serve ideal pleasures, even in this repudiated art. A striking illustration of this idealism may be detected in the fact, that the mind of the spectator naturally and fondly conceives, that these inhabitants must possess all the lineaments, virtues, and happiness of innocent beings, since they dwell in an Arcadian retirement—in a paradise—for nothing to offend the eye or repulse the heart is to be seen.

We have dwelt so long upon the first part of this Essay, viz. that which treats of the "Nature of Imitation," that there is little or no room left to follow the author through his numerous chapters on the two remaining branches of his work, viz, those which concern the "End" and the "Means" of Imitation in the Fine Arts. Even all that we have given from the first part, furnishes a very meagre and inadequate summary of its power and varied excellence. The extracts introduced, however, are of themselves sufficient to recommend the whole performance to the diligent and admiring study of every one who is versant in the arts, or who turns his thoughts to watch the processes of the human mind, its pleasures, their origin, and results.

Pleasure is the end or object of imitation in the fine arts; pleasure, both *physical* and *moral*, according to the meaning of these

terms as employed by the author, and as before explained. Ideal imitation excites the highest moral pleasure, because, by this means, the exercises of the mind are elevated and multiplied in an unexampled manner and to an unparalleled degree. All this the fine arts can accomplish. De Quincy's meaning, as applied to *ideal*, when the term is used in reference to imitation, may be understood from the following citation.

"Ideal signifies, therefore, whatever, in the imitation of the fine arts, is composed, formed, and executed by virtue of that faculty in man, which enables him to conceive in his mind, and to realize what he has conceived, that is to say, a whole such as nature would never present to him in its reality.

"It may now be readily seen, how wrong it is to apply the notion of the ideal (as it is too much the custom to do in the arts of design), solely to works which require the imitation of beauty, I mean corporeal beauty, whether limited to juvenile or to female figures. The idea of the beautiful or of beauty, thus restricted, would confine the ideal within too narrow a circle. There is a sort of corporeal beauty belonging to every time of life, even though the farthest removed from that in which the charm of beauty, as commonly understood, shines forth. The customary idiom of languages affords proof of it. We say a beautiful old man, as we say a beautiful young one. This arises from the idea of beauty being formed from that of the perfection appropriate to every thing and being; and, therefore, every species of object, and every kind of quality being capable of perfection, may also have its ideal. Ugliness may have its ideal, as well as beauty; a satyr in a work of art, as well as a Venus. There may even be an ideal horrible. The Satan of Paradise Lost is, in its kind, as ideal as it is possible to conceive; but its character is not of that corporeal ideal beauty which the imagination conjoins with youth, when it would picture to itself, or would represent an angel. In like manner there is in poetry an ideal of all the most opposite qualities. While in Achilles we have the ideal of courage, Thersites equally displays the ideal of cowardice."—pp. 216—218.

This ideal imitation is the result of a generalized study of nature, by which study, in one sense, the work of art may surpass that of nature: in proof or illustration of this position we select our last extract; only, with respect to it, remarking, that while the beauty and masterly conceptions which it contains cannot escape the admiration of any one, neither can its force, in relation to the capabilities of landscape gardening, pass unnoticed or unobserved.

"Now the nature here in question is not cognizable to the senses of every body. At once invisible and present, it is in every place, and is yet no where. It is every where discoverable by the keen eye of genius, and every where eludes him who sees but with the eye of a copyist.

"In short, we need but remark that, since there are two ways of considering nature, the one in the details of her works, the other in their collective whole; the one in the partial instance of the individual, the other in the type of the species; the one in productions subjected to the

action of secondary causes, the other in that general tenor of primitive laws, whose principle is manifested to the understanding; there are also two models for imitation. There is the model affording the imitation of *a man*, and that affording the imitation of *man*. The difference between these two models, and their imitations, is the same with that which our minds distinguish between the genus and the species, between the species and the individual.

"It is then a fact, and a philosophically evident one, that the idea of nature, in so far as it embraces generalities, corresponds with the idea attached to the genus, or species, and not with that of the individual. Thus art does not really take nature for its model, except when it considers and imitates it within the sphere of the properties constituting the being viewed generally, or taken collectively. Then, and then only, the work imprinted, if one may so speak, in the moral or physical type, either from the idea or the general form, surpasses that fashioned after the partial and individual specimen, because nature has denied to this latter the property of expressing the sum total of the perfections that exist in the original design, and which a generalized study can alone discover and appropriate.

"Imitation when it deals only with the real and individual is so inferior, as we have already seen, to the individual reality of nature, that no other resource remains, in order that it may rival the efficiency of its model and surpass it, than invoking the assistance of that other imitative process which constitutes the prerogative of art. And here it is necessary to revert to what has been already said, namely, that, as art is not nature, it must adopt different ways of proceeding. Their creations have assuredly nothing in common. Nature, in her works, does not follow the process and methods of art. Nor can art, on the other hand, take as a guide, that which would divert it from the perfection it is capable of attaining.

"But it is not the less indebted to nature for that perfection. She alone furnishes arms to overcome herself, she alone indicates the proper point of attack, and the ground on which she will yield the advantage.

"That vantage ground is the ideal.

"There, the artist, quitting the barren region of reality, where men, deeds, and objects present themselves only such as they are, takes his stand, and creates for us a new world, in which they are made to seem such as nature tells us they might be. There, all existences are aggrandized and ennobled, by exchanging the particular truths of imitation, for that abstract and generalized truth which comprehends the others also.

"Here we see of what the secret of the ideal consists, and wherein its power is manifested. All the great works of art teach us a similar lesson.

"Is the poet contented to draw the portrait of a hero, or a warrior, by the minutely detailed recital of his actions and the historical circumstances of his life? No, on the contrary, he brings together, and intimately combines, in his personage, the most prominent traits of insuperable valour, drawn rather from the character, than from the history of his subject, and in the end has depicted heroism, rather than a hero. The dramatic writer pursues the same method in depicting the events which compose his plot,

under the name of this or that personage; for, it must be observed, it is far less the particular trait in history that serves as his subject, than the passion itself, the effects of which, that trait affords him the opportunity of developing. In this point of view, which is that of the ideal, the epic or dramatic personage only serves to give a name to the poem or piece.

"According to this system, the individual disappears and is replaced by the general. The actual event or the real personage serves the poet only as a means to an invention or action that is to retrace to us, either the spirit of an age, or the character of a people. From those scattered traits in which the vices or virtues of a part of mankind are only partially and incompletely depicted, he sets forth a general picture of humanity. Instead of the portraiture of a criminal or a virtuous being, he delineates a picture of crime, or of virtue. Thus it is not Achilles, Orestes, Cleopatra, Phædra, Mohammed, &c., but pride, revenge, ambition, love, and fanaticism, that he depicts to us, by bringing together and generalizing the characteristics of those passions, whose elementary traits nature furnishes him with, while no individual could present either their aggregate or entire expression."—pp. 246—249.

Of the translation before us we must speak in unqualified terms. We have not seen the original from which it is taken, but it is impossible, in reading Mr. Kent's pages, to remain unpersuaded, that he has infused into his version the very pith and spirit of De Quincy's arguments and illustrations. To become a competent translator of such a work, requires not merely an intimate idiomatic knowledge of the original, but a sort of genius that is a-kin to that of him whose thoughts have to be transfused into another language; and along with all this, especially in a scientific work, or one which deals largely in philosophic views and abstract ideas, a perfect knowledge of the subject handled, in all its bearings. All these qualifications the translator has fully displayed; so that we heartily congratulate him on having been the able instrument of placing before the English reader a standard performance, on one of the most intricate but engaging subjects of speculation in the whole range of literature, science, or art.

ART. VIII.—*Reminiscences in Prose and Verse; consisting of the Epistolary Correspondence of many Distinguished Characters. With Notes and Illustrations.* By The Rev. R. POLWHELE. In 3 vols. London: Nichols and Son. 1836.

MR. POLWHELE has long been known beyond the immediate circle of his professional duties, as an author of considerable talent and diversified acquirements. Not only as a scholar and a divine, but as an antiquarian, a poet, and a translator, he has been an assiduous labourer. We believe, however, that he is best known by his "History of Cornwall," and as the author of "Traditions and Recollections." But one of the most remarkable features in his life and

the volumes before us, consists in the number of the epistolary correspondents with whom he seems, for the last fifty years, to have maintained a frequent intercourse, the names of several of these being dear to fame. Indeed, the most interesting portions of the present volumes consist of this sort of intercourse, in which any thing and every thing, be it grave or otherwise, is introduced, but upon no intelligible principle that we can apprehend, unless to save the veriest sweepings of the author and the editor's study from the summary fate which many of the articles merit. And yet this wholesale saving cannot have been the sole motive that has guided to the publication; for, we learn, from one of the reverend gentleman's letters in the second volume, that having, not long ago, set his house in order, and arranged the correspondence found in it that was undestroyed, there remained as much as would make "fifty-six volumes; containing letters from females, foreigners, farmers, &c.; architects, builders, revenue officers, merchants, stewards, mine adventurers, schoolboys, village schoolmasters, masters of grammar schools, printers, booksellers, engravers, painters, musicians, surgeons, physicians, attorneys, counsellors, judges, lord-wardens of the Stannaries of Cornwall, vice-wardens, naval and military officers, the parochial clergy, clergy in official situations, dissenters, the dignified clergy, heads of houses, doctors, bishops, esquires, knights and baronets, lords, and kings." The same authority also informs us that the greater part of these letters belonged to no remote date; so that when we in imagination add to the vast heaps which such a leviathan-collector must at one time and another have amassed, the produce of his own indefatigable pen—much of these volumes claiming this fond paternity—we cannot but wonder, instead of having got into our hands three slender volumes, that three times three bulky fellows do not now claim our candid perusal. Mr. Polwhele's motive has not therefore been to bestow upon the world the whole riches of his "Reminiscences." What then can have actuated him in the present instance? We believe that besides the force of long-seated literary habits, a strong infusion of egotism, self-complacency, and garrulous vanity, has been in operation during the work of compilation; for, really, if there be one object more apparently contemplated in this collection than another, it is that nothing which "*I the Rev. R. Polwhele* have ever written; and that nothing that has ever been said in praise of what *I* thus produced, shall be left to perish unrecorded or unhonoured."

While we characterize these Reminiscences as a work betraying an egotism and gossipping garrulity which never were exceeded, and which in the case of a younger man, or one who had slight claims upon public indulgence, ought to be ridiculed, we do not say, that we wish our readers to treat them with neglect, much less with

disrespect. Nay, there are a great many curious anecdotes and notices to be found in the publication, which the general reader will find pleasure in perusing; at the same time, that to many families in Cornwall, to the relatives and friends of a wide circle of correspondents, and even to the student of English literature, the volumes offer some special entertainment. Indeed, we are not sure that the author's pure candour, and confident self-esteem are not of themselves a sufficient curiosity—if these exhibitions are to be regarded in the light of an idiosyncrasy—to warrant our hearty acceptance of the work; especially when it is universally conceded, we believe, that the author or editor holds a character eminently deserving the admiration of all men, for its consistency and sincerity, worthy of any representative of the old school, whether as a churchman, a conservative, a voluminous writer, or a private individual.

The first of these volumes contains the epistolary correspondence of a pretty numerous list of persons who figured more or less in the republic of letters between the years 1775 and 1825; the editor's effusions in verse and prose—in explanatory notes and biographical anecdotes—adding very much to the reminiscences and collected scraps. Here are to be found circumstances and fragments illustrative of Hannah More, Dr. Wolcot, Lord Loughborough, Sir George Yonge, Archdeacon Nares, Lord Exmouth, Lord Grenville, and many others. The memorialist confesses that "he seems to shrink into nothing," amid such a group of worthies. He also remarks, that this portion of the publication "has less of classic literature and miscellaneous prolusion, than of historical and antiquarian notices, and less of domestic incident and trivial anecdote, than of political discussion." We have found it somewhat difficult, however, to discover any good grounds for these high-sounding distinctions and indications. A great proportion of the anecdotes and the reflections are as unimportant as the following:—

"In the life of my father, I this moment recollect several passages, which at once speak a sound judgment, an exquisite sense of moral feeling, and unshaken integrity. I do not think it puerile to *memorize** my father's having given to the flames the 'Sentimental Journey,' which he

* "I had used '*Romanize*' in my History of Devon, and '*memorize*' in a school-meeting sermon. At one of our meetings at the Globe Inn, Exeter, Kendall objected to my coinage of words. This occasioned a most amusing debate; at the conclusion of which, Kendall (opinionated as he was) abandoned his hypercriticism to its fate; and it was determined unanimously, that, whether they were antiquated words revived, or words of my own coinage, I had used them with good effect. It was likewise decreed, with ludicrous solemnity, that henceforth they should be classed among legitimate words—'quæ sunt in honore vocabula.'"

had caught a young lady reading at its *very delicate conclusion;* and his remonstrances against Lord Shaftesbury's 'Characteristics,' which two other young ladies were deeply engaged in studying; though he abstained from burning my Lord, more deserving of an auto-de-fé, perhaps, than poor Yorick. These ladies (Miss T. and Miss D.) had been very busy in making preparations for my [mock] nuptials. It was freakish and frolicksome, scarcely worth, perhaps, serious animadversion. But the girls had half married me to a younger sister of Miss D. [Gertrude D.]; and whilst (with a ring on the finger of the bride,) we were kneeling down at his bureau, my father entered the room, to the sad interruption of the ceremony. Warm was his indignation: 'O monstrous!' cried he, his usual exclamation; 'yesterday, it seems, philosophers! students of Lord Shaftesbury! to-day, silly trifiers—and worse than trifiers! Fie, for shame!'

"'I never saw Dr. Johnson,' said Hannah More*, angry with me but once. I alluded to some witty passage in Tom Jones. 'I am shocked to hear you quote from so vicious a book! I am sorry to hear you have read it!' exclaimed the great Moralist. This anecdote of Johnson and Tom Jones is similar to that of my father and Yorick. But the two anecdotes are not equally interesting. Why? My father was an obscure, Johnson a celebrated character. There is nothing intrinsically curious or attractive in the anecdotes themselves."—pp. 8, 9.

We learn from various statements in these volumes, that the memorialist is of a very ancient family, in Cornwall. Of his father we have this affecting notice, that he scarcely ever smiled after the death of a daughter; and this not less characteristic fact concerning the writer, that not long after the decease of the broken-hearted parent, when the family mansion was thus deserted, "I sung or said a sonnet on the Sound of a Bell at Polwhele;" which sonnet was far less unbecoming in a young man to write, than for an old man to publish in his latter days. But, like a stripling at college, or a boarding-school sentimentalist, he very often delights to let the world know how tender or witty have been his *impromptus*. It is hardly possible to open, at any page in these volumes, where, whatever the anecdote be, some method is not taken to obtrude the memorialist or his muse upon the stage. Thus—

"At my first interview with Hannah More, she opened to me Mickle's Lusiad, just then published, and read a page or two with a voice and manner that delighted me. I had the impudence to set her '*a reading*' Wolcot's satirical lines, 'All hail, Miss Hannah!' Wolcot laughed at her Sir Eldred, but thought her Lindamira very poetical. In consistency, perhaps, she ought to have destroyed her dramas:—where is the difference between closet reading and theatrical acting?

"Hannah More is said to have not recollected some of her own verse that a gentleman repeated to her. So likewise Crabbe. I have heard

* "See Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. i, p. 169, second edition."

them both accused of affectation in this instance; but for myself, I can truly say, (if so humble a writer deserve notice in such company,) that I have heard a part of one of my own sermons preached without recognizing it; and that I was pleased once with the following lines, which a friend recited, without the least suspicion that I was the author of them:

'A head-dress or a syllable adjusts,
And talks of toilets as he talks of busts;
Now on his Hebrew roots pretends to starve,
Now vaunts his skill to cater or to carve;
Welcomes with minuet-steps my lord's approach,
Or hands with ease a mistress to her coach;
And, Aristippus like, all things to all,
Now cites the Fathers, and now gives a ball.'

This is too just a character of a clerical fashionist of my acquaintance long since deceased."—pp. 17, 18.

Would any thing have been said in this passage, of Hannah or of Crabbe's alleged affectation, had it not been "for myself?" We believe not. His question respecting the difference of closet reading and theatrical acting, whether conveying a fair insinuation or not, must not, however, be construed as expressive of any tight-laced sentiments; for Mr. Polwhele takes advantage of many opportunities of sneering at those distinctively, and not without illiberal vulgarity, termed *saints*. He is even anxious, one would almost suspect, of showing how much a man of the world he has been, and still is. He speaks freely of his hunting pastimes, of his masquerade and theatrical attendancies. He dislikes the Methodists and Calvinists thoroughly. "The most rigid," he declares, without reservation, "have some pleasure in reserve: those who profess the contrary, are hypocrites. Strict as they appear in the eye of the world, they generally indulge in some secret vice." He connects these sweeping charges against the saints, with the Temperance Societies, and adds, "I abhor the base hypocrisy, the unbounded mendacity, the flagitious self-interest of a large proportion of the gentry, who figure most prominently among the apostles of Temperance Societies." All very charitable in you, reverend sir; but are there no bishops, who are as strenuous churchmen as England can produce, among the patrons of these institutions? Mr. Polwhele says, that exposure, fatigue, and coarse food, are the sources of more misery than any other; and that a glass of gin with such food supplies the poor man, at the cheapest rate, with an antidote. This doctrine, if not novel, is, at least, not consistent with observation or experience; for, were it not for the gin-shop, would there be one in twenty of those who are said to be so much in need of a restorative or neutralizer, unduly fatigued, exposed, or badly fed? It is not the coarseness, so much as the want of food, which the poor have to

complain of; but were the money expended by any regular gin-drinker—he, for example, who is satisfied with but one glass after every meal—to be turned into nutritive and wholesome victuals, how much might be gained and saved of health and reputation! We fear, sir, that in your intemperate hostility to *saints*, you have displayed a bigotry that will strain facts to support even a bad doctrine. But to return to some of our author's correspondents.

"Wolcot knew little of Greek. When he assisted me in my School Exercises, he always looked to the Latin translations.

"He translated part of Gray's Elegy with me into Latin.

"Had the Doctor been fond of money, he would have accepted 300*l.* per annum, pension.

"Wolcot was presented to George IV. then Prince of Wales, who said, 'I admire your genius, but think it sometimes ill directed.' 'I hope your Royal Highness will in future have less reason to find fault with my humble muse.'

"Wolcot in his scuffle with Gifford, had mistaken the Juvenal W. Gifford for my Anti Jacobin John Gifford, who had much abused him in the Anti Jacobin Review.

"Taylor's Anecdotes of Wolcot tally exactly with mine of a similar cast.

"Wolcot had always the milk of human kindness, however acrimonious his satire may have been. Homo sum, humani nihil, &c. &c.

"Alas! when he dispensed his medicines with such anxious attention to the sick—when he gave his bread to the hungry (for he would go dinnerless rather than send a poor man empty away)—how much is it to be lamented, that in his generous feelings, and his exertions in consequence of those feelings, there was no Christian principle."—vol. i, pp. 31, 32.

We are farther informed, that Wolcot, in his treatment of fever and other diseases, anticipated the practice of the present day; that, with the exception of a few powerful medicines, he called physic "poison." There is not much in the following attempts at wit, on the part of this once celebrated man.

"It was an unhappy circumstance for Wolcot, that he had such an antipathy to Rosewarne: but Rosewarne was a tyrant. Wolcot was apprehended by a warrant from Mr. Gregor of Trewarthennick, in consequence of Rosewarne's 'swearing the peace of him.' Polly Harness, a witty relation of Sam. Foote's, but a relation likewise of Harness a *quack doctor*, happening to meet the Doctor in the custody of two constables, ironically congratulated him on the occasion! when he exclaimed: 'Thank you, Poll! a quack doctor, you see, between two pickle herrings!' 'There is much oil of *Foote* in Poll, (he would say) but more Tartar.' Wolcot was never so witty as when in a winter evening among his friends he was permitted to manage the fire in his own way. 'Talk of concave and convex,' he would say, 'give me con-poker; every coal shall do its duty.'"—vol. i, pp. 33, 34.

At one time, many years ago, it appears that Mr. Polwhele had the prospect of becoming curate to a rector, in Cornwall, whom he

designates as Old Pye. The stories told about this worthy of the establishment, and the heartiness with which the author retails them, might afford some presumptions in favour of the predominance of methodism among the Cornwall miners, if profanity in the church may be construed as irreligion out of it. If the *saints* be hypocrites, it is more than can be said of some churchmen.

"Pye was an odd character. His 'Map Sermon' on the devil shewing our Saviour all the kingdoms in the world, Pye, after various conjectures, used to conclude with a twang: 'Perhaps it might have been on a map.' This was one of his top-shelf sermons. Conscious sometimes of his having given us but a 'so-so' discourse, he would say, 'you can't always have a top-shelf sermon.' If a sermon by another clergyman in his presence, were spun out to an immoderate length, he would stand up in his pew holding up his watch; his loin of veal—not his week-day meal, but which usually solemnized the 'Lord's day,' would run a risk of being spoilt.' 'His pulpit (he would tell us) had stunk of Calvinism ever since the days of Samuel Walker.' Being asked by a grocer, why, on a particular occasion, he had not been at church, he answered, 'Grocers are not fond of figs.' He often took Bennet the organist to task, for playing 'jig voluntaries.' 'Why, Bennet (he exclaimed one Sunday), you will set all the congregation a-dancing.'

"Tyrrel (his clerk) used to read the first lesson. Pye would sometimes audibly correct him. Tyrrel was too emphatical, or not emphatical enough. Pye could read well; but I am sorry to observe, was very negligent in his reading, unless some strangers or people of consequence were at church. One Sunday, just as the Corporation were about to go down the steps from the Vestry-room, in pontificalibus, and the organ was bursting out into a roar, Pye turned suddenly about, and looking at the tables of Consanguinity, exclaimed! 'A man may not marry his grandmother.'—'D—d fool if he did!' And down marched the Mayor and Parson, and the Corporate Body, all with a smirk on their countenances. Old Jane (who was of Christ Church) officiating one Sunday at Truro—acted rather than read. In the first lesson (story of Jezebel) he cried with a loud voice, 'Who is on my side, who?' 'Throw her down.' The whole congregation was electrified. About this time, I walked with a party of ladies, to hear my cousin, J. B. Collins, preach. Instantly as he had delivered his text: 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing?' A dog (just under the pulpit) howled tremendously. A singular fact."—vol. i, pp. 36, 37.

And yet, in the very same letter, there is a fling at the grins and grimaces of the sectarians, who are so numerous in the province described, as if the contortions of the face were more unseemly than the blasphemy of the tongue. We think that the lines which we now quote, in one of the author's letters, dated March 3, 1812, betray at least more power than any sample that we have read in these volumes. The answer, which we also cite, is much better worth copying than the greater part of the local Reminiscences collected by the reverend memorialist.

"This day *James Stephens* or Duffin, a famous methodist preacher (see *Anecdotes of Methodism*) was buried at Castlehill, Truro, as a felo-de-se. He had drowned himself to avoid an apprehending warrant issued against him on a very serious charge.

"This man lived to an advanced age. He was once married. His wife was buried in the west of Cornwall: and the following epitaph written by himself was engraved on her tombstone, but afterwards removed by the minister:

'Woman! thou worst of all church-plagues, farewell!
Bad at the best, and at the worst a hell!
Thou apple-eating traitress, that began
The wrath of Heaven, the misery dire of man!
Thou slip of wormwood, bitter leaf of life!
Blest be the hour that rid me of a wife!
If ever woman is again my guest,
All hell shall say Amen, and Satan be the priest!'

"Answer by Miss Lugg, of Penryn (of *Diarian* memory.)

'Ask of thy prince, thou vilest wretch on earth!
What Demon claim'd thee on thy day of birth;
Supplied thy cravings, nurs'd thee by his power,
And acts thy guardian to the present hour;
Taught thee to hate the sex thou should'st adore,
And blast the fame of her who is no more;
Whose works how good, how virtuous, all can tell,
Tho' fortune link'd her to an imp of hell.'"—vol. i, p, 131.

From the second of the volumes before us—embracing correspondence with a number of individuals, between 1825 and 1835, in which, says the editor, "the fashions and opinions of the day, in politics and religion, are set forth by no ordinary writers"—we must give some specimens. Lord De Dunstanville is one of these extraordinary contributors, more than fifty of his letters being in the hands of the collector of the Reminiscences; and yet he says, "I have been very careless in preserving my letters in general." According to this negligence, he adds, that many of Sir Walter Scott's have been lost. It may be surmised, from the following epistle, that the gentleman to whom it was written could urge a suit with no small degree of pertinacity, whether to the annoyance of the noble correspondent or not, let the reader judge.

"*Lord de Dunstanville to R. P.*

"Dear Sir, *Tehidy Park, Nov.* 19, 1827.

"It will give us great pleasure to see yourself and son either on Wednesday the 5th, or on any subsequent day in the week: on Monday and Tuesday I am fully engaged; and so we are all the following week: if you come Wednesday the 5th, we dine on that day at four; on other days at half-past five; and I hope you will give us another day besides that on which you come. I am sure I shall have much pleasure in the perusal of your book. I will send your tracts as soon as I can, but the fact is that I have an extensive correspondence, and you know the number

of our franks are limited; besides which my ladies are great scribes, but not I hope Pharisees. This will be the seventh letter of *my own* which I frank this day. Expecting to hear soon when we may see you, I am, most truly yours,

DE DUNSTANVILLE."—vol. ii, p. 2.

His lordship died—as we are, soon after the insertion of the above letter, told—in 1835, and was buried in the family vault in Cornwall: and with the solemn event, Mr. Polwhele thus characteristically connects himself; adding, in his usual heterogeneous manner, the most whimsical and random notices and sentiments.

"SONNET—Written February 24th, between three and four in the afternoon, when the funeral procession was advancing towards Truro, and the minute bell at St. Mary's tolling:—

Dunstanville! is it not the funeral knell
That deepens, amidst visionary glooms,
The long, long shadows of the nodding plumes,
O'er 'down and dell,' to where thy Fathers rest?
Again—again—I hear its solemn swell,
Sad monitor of frail mortality!
Oh! in that sudden stillness—in that pause
'Without a breath,' my bosom beats to applause
That shames the shouts of millions. Every eye
I hail in all that countless multitude,
Set on thy *Coronet*—in sooth to say;
Number'd on earth amongst the great and good,
Be thine, in blessing others only blest,
The incorruptible *Crown*, through Heaven's eternal day!

"Half-past three o'clock, the minute bell still tolling. Amidst the universal pause, a pack of foxhounds, huntsmen, horns &c. sweeping down the streets—whooping, hallooing——to my feelings what a profanation! The exhibition of Punch and his wife Joan (or Judy) closely follow. I could dash the peripatetic exhibitor into the gutter, together with his Punch and Joan, his Devil and his Doctor."*—vol. ii, pp. 6, 7.

That worthy old gentleman, Mr. Urban, is frequently spoken of, with deep respect, in these volumes. There are anecdotes, also, connected with the writers in the British Critic, which carry us back, in imagination, and to regard with complacency, the caterers for public instruction and entertainment, in former years. Archdeacon Nares thus writes, in 1829, to Mr. Polwhele, and he again appends certain illustrative facts.

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* "Those ambulatory puppet shows, what are they to the puppet shows of other days! Our characters—Punch, Judy (or whilom Joan), the Devil and the Doctor.

"But the puppets were formerly as large as life, and they acted various characters, &c. They were like the first old plays in Greece. Such

"'Of the worthy Whitaker I knew very little personally, though we corresponded for some years. But it was all respecting the British Critic; and that connexion had ceased before we met at all. You have given some good account of him in your *Recollections*, and I am glad that you think of building a larger monument to his memory. I have been particularly pleased with your truly characteristic account of Randolph; who, though a good, a learned, and a well-natured man in essentials, had the rudest and most repulsive manners that I ever witnessed in any one. These qualities detracted much from his popularity as a Bishop, though he was a valuable one.

"'I congratulate you upon getting back to the possessions of your forefathers; and beg my best regards to your son Captain Polwhele, whom I well recollect to have met at the Royal Society Club, introduced by the President D. Gilbert.

"'Farewell, and prosperity attend you for this and many years, wishes yours very truly, R. Nares.'

"The death of my excellent friend, so soon after this letter, shocked me exceedingly. After about a week's confinement to his chamber, he died on the 23rd of March, 1829, at the age of 75. I must refer my readers to the obituary of the Gentleman's Magazine for his biography —the most copious and the most correct of all memorials of the deceased.

"I believe it is no where recorded, that Nares was tutor to the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe (my contemporary at Christ Church): it was there I first knew his Lordship and my much revered friend. There, indeed, my acquaintance with Nares was very slight. Many years passed away before, through Whitaker, I was recommended to the Archdeacon as an auxiliary in the British Critic."—vol. ii, pp. 13, 14.

We have some long extracts from the sermons of the memorialist, which were preached on notable occasions, such as on the evening of the late king's funeral. It is curious to see how the author labours to soften the vices and magnify the virtues of that monarch, although he says that he was not disposed to eulogize George IV. He evi-

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were the interludes of the Cornish—the Creation, the Deluge, Old Father Christmas, &c.

"In the puppet show of the Deluge, Punch used to exclaim 'Hazy weather, master Noah!'

"See the Pupæ Gesticulantes one of the Poemata Anglorum [Popham's].

"Punchius—ambiguis obscenus turpia dictis
Innuit, effuso testantur gaudia risu.

"I do not think that religious subjects are thus meant to be ridiculed or are profaned. The religion of all ages has been mixed up with their amusements.

"It is the fault of the present age, that whatever is religious throws a damp upon amusement; and then again affected delicacy shrinks from every indecent allusion as profanation."

dently prides himself on the supposed dexterity with which he treated the memory of the deceased. The sermon, so far as we can see of it, is common-place enough; and though neatly, or rather elegantly written, is feeble, and by no means particularly impressive in reading, whatever it may have been to the good people of Truro, from the suavity of the preacher's delivery.

One thing, however, is manifest, that the reformers of the present day need look for no tenderness from the same authority, whether in the pulpit or out of it, should he be called upon to characterize them. It would appear that in a discourse delivered on the fast day, in March 1832, he more than hinted that the visitation of the cholera at that time was a token of the displeasure of Heaven towards this once happy land, on account of the measures of these persons in and out of his Majesty's government. There is more of Christian wisdom in his remarks upon a letter of Lord Ashburton (Dunning) which was written soon after a domestic bereavement, when "his lordship's consolation," it is well said, "was not drawn from a Christian source." It may be surmised, at the same time, that Mr. Polwhele is one of those universal collectors and publishers, with whom it is not altogether safe to entrust any document, the disclosure of which may satisfy the little cravings of literary scandal-dealers.

"The letter was given to me by Mr. Tripe, merely as an autograph of Lord Ashburton.

"'*London*, 26 *April*, 1783.

"'Your kind condolence reached me in the due course of the post, and as the melancholy scene is now closed, I trouble you with this acknowledgment of it.

"'You suppose me in possession of every argument to bear this misfortune with becoming resignation, but I assure you I find none of the least use to me. It is true that I have occasionally read most of what is to be found where you or I should think of looking for arguments of this sort, from the celebrated letter of Sulpicius to Cicero on the death of his daughter, down to what is to be met with of more modern manufacture; —but Cicero's philosophy little availed him, and in a letter of his upon another occasion, you find him acknowledging that time alone had relieved him—non tantum literæ quibus semper studui, quantum longinquitas temporis mitigavit.

"'We have the satisfaction of thinking our little boy much better than he has been, but are far from being out of pain on his account.

"'I am, dear Sir, always faithfully yours, A.'"—vol. ii, p. 36.

One would hardly expect that such a sturdy aristocrat as he before us, would have had a correspondent in Cobbett; which of the two is the greatest egotist? Cobbett has been generally regarded as a personification of that sort of complacency, which an incurable vanity fosters. But has he not found a match?

"'*R. P. to W. Cobbett, Esq. M. P.*

"'*Polwhele-House.*

"'My dear Sir, *June* 26, 1834.

"'You may be surprised at receiving a letter from a correspondent of former years; a letter as from the dead to the living; and possibly you may deem it an unpardonable familiarity in my humble self to you, exalted as a senator so far above me. The fact is, that uniformly admiring your talents and abilities so powerful, and now delighted with your political sentiments and conduct, so disinterested and so nobly patriotic, I cannot suppress my poor little tribute of applause, however contemptible.

"'Notwithstanding some apparent deviations from what I think the standard of political truth, I have ever maintained among my friends—all of us of the old school—that Cobbett would one day arise, 'like a giant refreshed wine'—a mighty instrument in the hand of God for the salvation of his country.

"'Excuse, my dear Sir, these hasty lines from a plusquam septuagenary, who, from the days of our lamented friend Gifford to the present moment, has stood fast, amidst all the fluctuations of the times, a resolute Anti-jacobin. Truly yours, R. P.

"'P. S. In the recollection of the past, I cannot but remember with gratitude your presenting me with a little volume of my own poems, which you had reprinted in America. You left me; and went to the Great City, where, soon after, you almost died a martyr in the cause of aristocracy; all your windows were smashed about your ears, and you narrowly escaped with your life—Yet, at once, you turned against us—starting aside like a broken bow!!!'

"Mr. Cobbett has not been so inconsistent, as it may appear, on a superficial view of his character. From 1815 to the day of his death, he did all he could, in support of the farming interest and the interest of the Church. 'The great ground of defence,' says he, 'of the Church of England is this, *that it is the poor man's church*; that it provides religious teaching free of expense to him who has no real property in the country; that it provides a place of worship and administration of all rites and ceremonies for him as well as for the rich man; that he has as much right to his seat in the church, and the performance of all its services, as the 'squire, lord, or the king himself has; that the rich, having the lands and houses distributed amongst them, have been obliged to leave reserved to the poor man this *his share* of the country in which he was born, and which he is bound to defend against all enemies; that to take this church from him, and to tell him to go and hire and pay a minister, would be a breach of the social compact with him; that this church is one of the undoubted rights of the poor man; and that therefore the government is bound to uphold it. This is the great argument in defence of the Church of England, and indeed the only argument upon which any Church Establishment can be defended.'

"'*W. Cobbett to R. P.*

"'*Normandy, Farnham, Surrey,*

"'Dear Sir, 14 *July*, 1834.

"'I was very much pleased, and not less surprised, at receiving a letter,

with your name at the bottom of it. Good God! what have I seen, and what have I done, since I had the pleasure of seeing you! I am the completest instance that ever was known of the effects of diligence, sobriety, and fortitude. Ah, my dear Sir! if you had seen what I saw, when I came to England; and had been placed in the circumstances in which I was placed, you would have acted precisely as I acted.

* * * * *

"'You would have discerned, as I did very quickly, that, to uphold Pitt and his followers, was to assist in involving the nation in an expenditure, and in debts and taxes, which must, in the end, enable the sons of Mammon to overturn, bit by bit, all the ancient institutions of the country, or, which appears now to be very likely, to produce a state of things, in which no man, however great his talent and his virtue, would be able to suggest measures calculated to save those institutions. This is what you would have discerned; this is what I saw, and what I foretold from the beginning of my operations. This you would have foreseen also; and foreseeing it, you would have acted as I did.

"'I am duly sensible of the great value of your good opinion; I am very proud of it; you are the man you always were; and all the difference between you and me is, that I know these deceivers, and you do not. I hope that your health will long continue; and that all your family are well and happy; and I remain, with many thanks for your kind letter,

"'Your most obedient and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.'"—vol. ii, pp. 86—88.

Mr. Polwhele, while a consistent self-admirer, by no means figures as a very lenient critic of the works of contemporary writers. In his strictures on Osler's Life of Lord Exmouth, there is a good deal of nibbling which few biographers are secure against. Some of the notices, however, are much more worthy of publication than the average matter of these volumes.

"Our late biographers seem to have failed in their performances most egregiously. The Life of Hannah More is very deficient. So is Sam. Walker's; so is Lord Exmouth's. From Osler we learn little of Pellew's early days. It is true, he tells us, that Pellew ran away from Truro school, to avoid a punishment to which old Conon was much attached—flogging. But in his book Conon is 'the Reverend,' though a layman;—a title at that time confined to the Clergy; nor has he spoken correctly of Pellew's Penzance master. Pellew was one of the most daring of Conon's boys. I confess I rather stood in awe of him; though with his high spirit he had a very kind heart. Pellew would never suffer the weak to be trampled upon, but would fight their battles totis viribus. But I think he once thrashed me.

"That he married Miss Frowd, and that he resided first at Truro, then at Flushing, we are simply told. But many anecdotes of himself and family we Truro folks might be able to relate, from our friendly intercourse with him during his residence here—in the very house where my grandmother, and afterwards my mother, lived for several years.

Between Constantia (his sister) and myself, the billet-doux was passing

every week; and there was a sentimental correspondence, enough to give me a distaste of old Lilly and all his rules. Constantia was a boarding-school Miss at Tregolls (at present the seat of Sir R. Spry.) She was a romantic girl. The Elinor of Mrs. D'Arblay's Wanderer brings her forcibly to my mind.

"Of Mrs. Pellew (now Lady E. the relic of Lord Exmouth,) I have a letter now before me, dated Trefusis, 20 Aug. 1803. It is correct and elegant. It enters warmly into my feelings respecting my son Edward, who had been patronized by her husband.

"Osler's book has not enough of domestic story. The narrative of great events wants relief from the familiarity of trivial occurrences in private life. I do not, indeed, quarrel with Osler for not telling us how cleverly Pellew could scraunch or masticate a wineglass. But in looking to Pellew's public character, I find not the least mention of the bold measure by which he got his appointment to the first ship, which opened his career of honour, fame, and fortune. On Pellew's lineage, Osler need not have insisted. I say, 'Whatever his ancestry may have been, his posterity may look back to him with pride as a noble fellow.' His claim to pre-eminence was doubtless superior to 'all the blood of all the Howards!'

"Of Pellew's surviving lady, once the fascinating Susan, full of vivacity —pleasing to all, whether at Truro, or Flushing, or Trefusis (or wherever her subsequent residence may have been); of his brother Sam. Pellew, whose intelligence, and activity, and loyalty have long given life to Falmouth: of his children—of his kindred—all estimable, and some very distinguished characters;—our Biographer has said little or nothing. Of my intercourse with Pellew as a brother-magistrate, I think I have given anecdotes in another place, illustrating the thesis—'Omnis in hoc sum!' In every undertaking, by sea or by land, 'his whole mind,' as we say, 'was in it.' On a market-day, he of course met numbers of people on their way to Falmouth. But all he thought were going to our justice meeting, when few or none of them were aware that there was any such meeting in existence.—Thinking of his good lady, perhaps, he once filled up the blanks in a summons for '*fraud*'—'*Frowd*.'—so it looked at least; and the gravity of the Bench was indecently relaxed by a burst of laughter."—vol. ii, pp. 154—156.

For a specimen of the shifts, the turnings, and the history of the provincial press, take the account which the last of our extracts presents.

"I here call to my remembrance Harry Vivian, (uncle of Sir Hussey) whose faults were always attributable to a good heart—let the Saints sneer if they please—and who, after many years of gaiety 'too gay,' enjoys, I trust, the comforts of old age; benevolence to man, and peace with God. At the time when no Cornish Newspaper existed, this gentleman proposed to me a scheme for a *Truro* Newspaper; and but for my pusillanimous hesitation, Harry and I should have come out as joint Editors. On my declining the business, Flindell seized upon the project, and boldly stepped forth, and carried it into execution—I may say triumphantly; for he met at once with encouragement beyond his most sanguine expectations. Goadby, Editor of the 'Sherborne Mercury,' every week shewed symptoms

of decline; and Flindell, in the same proportion, increased in health and vigour. But it is not my intention to enter into detail. Budd started up with a Truro Newspaper in opposition to Flindell. From Flindell, after much fine writing—always energetic, often elegant—our Cornwall Gazette passed into the hands of Nettleton; from Nettleton to Shoberl; from Shoberl to Gillet. To Shoberl's ingenuity we are indebted, in a great measure, for the Annuals: the first of which was 'The Forget me Not.' 'Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,' should be its motto.

"In addition to Budd's 'West Briton,' was let out lately, 'The Guardian;' and Truro had to boast three political prints! The Guardian is now merged in the West Briton. In the meantime, Falmouth has two (if not three) newspapers; and at Helston, it is said, another is projected —each likely to bring grist to the mill. So that my faintheartedness has been often the subject of regret.—*M. S. Note.*"—vol. ii, pp. 184, 185.

The third volume of these Reminiscences contains poems which the reverend gentleman has written at very distinct periods. Extracts from the longest of these have for several years, their author states, been before the public, and have "excited a wish in the best judges to be gratified with the whole." Just so—and to these admirers we recommend them, assuring all others that the pieces are above mediocrity, and exhibit an ease and an elegance, which intimate that they have been composed by a writer much practised in the art of making verses, whatever may be thought either of the originality or energy of mind to be found in them. The scraps already quoted sufficiently display the character of Mr. Polwhele's muse. We have only to add, in conclusion, that these otherwise neat volumes are carelessly printed; the type is a very bad specimen of work for the present day.

ART. IX.—*Impressions of England.* By COUNT EDOUARD DE MELFORT. 2 vols. 12mo. London: Bentley. 1836.

THERE are two special reasons, independent of the general desire that prompts us to give our readers a glimpse of the current literature of the day, that have made us take up these volumes, this month, in preference to others that have lain longer on our table. One of these is, that we may, without delay, at all times ascertain what foreigners think and say of England and the English; for it cannot but be instructive and entertaining, to see ourselves by reflection, or as portrayed in the pictures drawn by intelligent strangers. The other cause of preference is still more particular, inasmuch as it is accidental. In an earlier article of our present number, we had occasion to notice the view taken of various grades of society in this country by a native writer, and to censure the tone especially in which he spoke of the higher orders. That the representations by the author of "The Great Metropolis" were, in respect of that class, distortions and gross exaggerations, we did not for a moment hesi-

tate to declare; and that he had never enjoyed the opportunities for forming a candid or just opinion on the subject, was nearly equally manifest. But here we have a writer, who, with regard to the English aristocracy, was very differently situated. He is himself not only a member of the upper class, but has had frequent and, for a time, constant access to many of those in this country who compose it. He may, therefore, be considered in the light of a witness who is competent to speak to the moral and intellectual character of the order in question. What, then, does he testify concerning the most exclusive circle in the British empire? The best answer we can return, couched in a few words, to those who have read "The Great Metropolis," is to say, that the evidence adduced by the plaintiff and the defendant, in an action before a court of justice, could not well be more opposed, than that of these contemporaneous writers. Let the reader judge which is the most worthy of being credited.

We admit that the Count is a flattering painter of almost everything in England, giving us not only the warm impressions of a sanguine temperament, but colouring his canvass, with few exceptions, when the sun must have been shining in his strength; he has dipped his brush in the liveliest colours of the rainbow. On the other hand, he was not a novice in the ways of the world, or a stranger to its gayest circles, when he wrote of England. He appears to have passed several of his stripling years at the court of Naples, when Murat flourished there; and he served for a time under Napoleon, before repairing to this country, where several of his relatives resided.

When in England, the Count seems to have been much in the metropolis. But Cheltenham, Tunbridge Wells, Ramsgate, Wales, Devonshire, &c. &c., are familiar to him. He evidently has a hearty liking to the sports of the field, and the excitements of a race-course. He gives faithful sketches of Ascot and Newmarket; and in a department where, perhaps, as just impressions of England can be obtained as in any, he seems also to have figured to advantage, if we may judge from the animation with which he alludes to its joys —we mean, the convivialities of the table. All these opportunities are made the subject of epistolary correspondence with "my dear Augustus;" and what we have now to do is, first to give our general opinion of the literary merits of the work, and, secondly, to adduce certain samples of its contents.

There is hardly room for two opinions, as regards the merits of the matter and the manner of these "Impressions." In both of these capacities, the writer is one of the lightest of the light writers of the day. Not that he is devoid of shrewd and sound sense, for he has a great deal of both in his head, but on account of his vivacity, and the precipitation with which he forms his opinions. The result of the whole is, that the work affords very pleasant reading,

though destitute of profound views. His sketches, however, are sometimes very cleverly done; on other occasions his suggestions are useful, and his satire caustic. And now for some specimens.

Although we have said the Count is too complimentary in general, he sometimes lays his rosy colours aside, and censures with a justice that is the severer, inasmuch as it is dealt out with the politest spirit imaginable. Take him on English pretensions and affectation.

"If, in order to attain pleasure and really to enjoy it, it was only necessary to make continual sacrifices of time and money, then the English would be the gayest people in the world—the people who best know how to amuse themselves. The persons in different classes who thus run after pleasure are indeed innumerable in England; it is like a determination, a continual desire, a real *entêtement*. Let it cost what it may, gaiety must be had: but, through all these efforts, the coldness and reflectiveness of the national character always pierce; and one might almost suspect, that this undeviating constancy only arises from the impossibility of ever attaining the desired end. In the highest, as well as in the least distinguished society, I have always received the same impression: there exists always in every *réunion* a restraint, an indifference too marked (particularly towards those who do not form the same clique, and in that case it goes so far as to become rudeness); there is a want of general ease and of general amiability, and this only becomes the more apparent from one's seeing all the trouble which has been taken that every one should be gay, very gay, and very much amused, which, alas! happens but rarely, not to say never. One might add, on the subject of the fashionable circles, that the principal thing is not precisely to enjoy personally, but to have it believed that you do so; that every body should know or think you do so—this is the important thing. There is not a brilliant party in London, or at one of the magnificent country seats, or at the mansion of a man of fashion, which is not immediately detailed in the newspapers; even the great dinners are described. After a royal drawing-room, the name and toilet of each lady who appeared is mentioned, one after another—ribands, laces, feathers, diamonds, pearls, even to the kind of silk or satin of which the dress was composed, how it was trimmed, with the technical and scientific expressions in French of the Parisian *marchandes de modes*; all is printed in the papers, and sometimes fills two or three of their enormous pages: if the occasion be a fancy or masked ball (where no masks are worn), then the dress of the gentlemen shares the same publicity, even to the form and colour of their inexpressibles; every thing being thus exhibited in the face of day, placed under the public eye, and detailed to attract the attention of the millions—even of those who, banished to the Indies, receive and devour the English papers. There must exist, then, I think, more vanity and show, prepared for public effect, than for the pleasure of the moment; besides, it is absolutely *de rigeur* in the supreme *bon-ton* to have an air of indolence, satiety, and *nonchalance*, which implies, that all this is not enough, that show and magnificence are so habitual, that they are become quite fatiguing."

Pleasure, in the way we like it, is a proverbial mode of speech,

which embraces a principle that may modify, in some degree, the author's censure. It is also reasonable to presume, that national character and individual enjoyment is nowhere, and perhaps least of all in England, fairly estimated by taking the *modes*, now instanced, as the ground of construction. Still there is much that is exceedingly frivolous, absurd, or ridiculous in these usages; and while they so forcibly strike strangers, as above described, such strictures as now cited, if considered well, must tend to work a reformation.

The generality of educated foreigners have but one way of characterizing the state of musical talent and taste in England. Our author forms no exception to the prevailing disparagement on this point. He says, that this country is the farthest from eminence in the art of any he knows; that the men, for the most part, do not comprehend or feel it; that they look upon a musician as a secondary sort of being; and that though at the opera they drawl out frequently "Brava, brava!" it is only because it is good style to do so. All this we may allow to be true; but while it must be conceded, that no people have ever or can ever attain to all that is refined in the arts, or great in the more matter-of-fact concerns of life, let us presume, that in devoting themselves to the latter field, the English have chosen the more profitable of the two, and that, without compromising their most substantial interests, they never will be supreme in the former.

But, connected with English musical taste and talent, the Count notices some circumstances which the author of "The Great Metropolis" will do well to insert in the next edition of that work, if he wishes to fortify his opinions concerning the upper classes, on the point of intellectual occupations.

"Since we are here at the Opera, I cannot resist my desire to speak to you of a certain box, deep and spacious, furnished with glasses and sofas, *une bagnoire*, situated close to the stage. There you may judge, not of the orchestra, you are too near it, and it is too powerful; not of the admirable voice of Rubini, for he turns his back to the box, which is placed at ten feet within the range of the foot-lights; but from this box you may judge of and admire the forms and grace of the *danseuses* in the ballet. It belongs to about a dozen of 'fashionables' of all ages, and is called the *dandy's box*. During the opera it remains empty; but when the ballet begins, about eleven o'clock (the time a 'fashionable' rises from table on a day that Taglioni dances), these gentlemen arrive, their minds fatigued and numbed, the consequence doubtless of an epicurean dinner, seasoned by some glasses of the choicest wines. They are, however, soon aroused; the appearance of a first-rate pretty *danseuse* affects them in an electrical and wonderful manner. They pass suddenly from their state of elegant inertness into one of joy, then into one of admiration; from that into one of enthusiasm, which they express by a clapping of hands which rivals that of the public, whose attention it does not fail to attract. One object they

have in view is thus gained; the second is, that their applauses do not escape the grateful ears of her for whom they are intended, and in the charming courtesy of thanks which she makes, a slight and graceful portion may be distinguished which is offered to her particular admirers."

The Count's use of the term *dandy*, we may be satisfied, is not undeserving of being adopted, when we learn that he has studied the natural history of that genus of animals throughout all its species and varieties. But he must explain himself.

"Do you know what a dandy is? There are at least ten different species of this animal. If you commence by the lowest, it is the city beau, to whom I have already introduced you at Mr. Jackson's dinner, presenting an orange to a young lady, by taking up the fruit between two spoons, and extending his little fingers to have an air of delicacy, and to appear unquestionably polite: but this is a vulgarian; we must ascend the scale, passing by the ranks of this interesting class, such as the puppy, coxcomb, fop, the half-fashionable, the complete fashionable, &c. till we at last reach the exquisite, the quintescence of all coxcombry conjoined. He shall be a young man, whether noble or *parvenu*, it matters not, so that he be rich; he must have an air of *nonchalance*, and appear *ennuyé* with every thing. He hardly deigns to speak at all; it is too fatiguing for his delicate organs. If you have the honour of knowing him, and should meet him, he will address you, 'Oh! how a-a-ye? am gad to see you;' but these words will be scarcely articulated, and pronounced in a drawling tone, as if he had some impediment in his throat which prevents him from speaking: this will be all you can get out of him. He is the epitome of self-sufficiency, affectation, and impertinence: he despises every social talent, wit, and amiability, because he himself is incapable of either; for he appears only organized for putting on cravats, wearing a well-cut coat, choosing pomades, perfumes, &c.: his pride is to attend to no one but himself."

We have seen what this foreigner says of the encouragement bestowed upon music in England. But he is not much more complimentary in reference to some others of the fine arts. With regard to the galleries of pictures, he remarks, that though the most valuable in the world are to be found in this country, consisting of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the old masters, and of chosen bits of the foreign schools, yet the works of native artists can hardly obtain a modest place in these honoured temples. He adds to this cutting announcement, the reflections we now quote—

"If, of the many thousand guineas given for old pictures, of which some are certainly very fine, but others so old and so dark that it is more than difficult to discover in what their great value consists; if, I say, a part of these enormous sums were expended in supporting and protecting native talent, there is no doubt that this art would soon receive an impulse towards a more elevated order: for it is not talent that is wanting. Without speaking of many other artists, can there be any thing more *spirituel*, more natural, than the charming productions of Wilkie, Rippingille, &c. &c.? It is true they are all fancy pieces, or *tableaux de*

genre for the drawing-room or boudoir; but Martin, Haydon, Etty, &c., have they ever received the least encouragement in their efforts to reach, in historical pictures, that point which their great talent promised? Shall I add, that one of these very distinguished artists was, a few years ago, in the greatest state of want; and that one of his pictures was sold by subscription, a few persons charitably interesting themselves in him, in order to procure him bread? And this in a country where more than one noble lord gives, without hesitation, as much as a thousand guineas for a Murillo, or a simple head by Rembrandt! But it is the fashion; and, as I must again and again repeat, before its magic power every thing bows down, every thing succumbs in England. The little encouragement given to English painters compels them to paint portraits, nothing but portraits, as the only means left to attain some degree of celebrity; and, what is still more essential, but not so glorious, some degree of fortune. Thus it happens very frequently, when you pay a visit, that, when the servant leaves you in the drawing-room, whilst he goes to let his master know that you are there, you make acquaintance with every member of the family, without passing through the introductions and usual compliments; their portraits being all there staring you in the face."

With regard to the melodramatic style as exhibited on the English stage, his eulogy contains a sly sort of critical sarcasm, which is interesting as indicating diversity in national tastes, and detecting absurdities or unnatural and savage manners, of which, till pointed out, those accustomed to them are unobservant.

"Two other points are absolutely indispensable in a melodrama; furious combats and death exhibited in all its horrible details; and I unhesitatingly declare, that there is no comparison to be made with English melodramas in these particulars. It is impossible to fight with more eagerness, with more skill, or apparent reality. I have seen a warrior who, before he attacked his implacable enemy, kissed the blade of his sword with a sort of enthusiastic ardour, and even sharpened it on his arm, like we do a razor on a strap. This caused me at first a hearty laugh; but I assure you, as soon as combat began, I experienced quite a different sensation. My warrior was engaged against a savage armed with a tomahawk; and the blows were exchanged with such rapidity, and appeared so seriously and furiously applied, that the illusion was complete; and when the warrior passed his sword, palpably to our eyes, two feet through the body of his adversary, coming out between his shoulders, I began to look around for some fainting ladies; but I was mistaken; it was very warm weather, and I saw no agitation but that of fans. There was perhaps, in some instances, a slight air of satisfaction visible on the countenances of these fair spectators.

"When death is to be represented, it is done with consummate effect. The victim rolls in the dust; and the convulsion, the trembling of the limbs, the vain efforts to pronounce a few words of vengeance or remorse —all is rendered to the minutest particular. But what a little deteriorates from the truth of such scenes is, that generally the conqueror during the whole time remains perfectly calm, looking quietly at his vanquished foe,

with his hand on the hilt of his sword, and the point turned towards the earth. It was in this manner that Richmond, in the tragedy of *Richard the Third*, stood coolly looking at the dying prince, whom he had just killed in a single combat at Bosworth Field; where, in history, terminated the reign of the tyrant, and at Covent Garden or Drury Lane the play of Shakspeare."

Foreigners seldom enter with the Count's zest and enthusiasm into our field sports. Without having really done so, he could not have given such a warm and happy description of them. At Ascot, for instance, we find him making use of a comparison which assures us that he possesses an artist's, or rather jockey's eye, during the courser's flight. "If," says he, "the racers have to make the great circle which surrounds the plain, then the latter is traversed in every direction by the numerous horsemen; who, being for the most part interested in the result of the contest, put their horses to their utmost speed, in order to see the rapid progress made by this mixed assemblage of blue, green, and purple, looking like a flight of pigeons which just skim the ground." But the animation and fidelity which he throws into his description of a grouse-shooting excursion, deserve still more to be admired—the greater part of which we extract. He informs his correspondent that these birds are superb; that they resemble greatly the *gelinotte* of the German forests, the plumage being thicker and much darker; and that the noise and rapidity of their flight, and the character of the regions they inhabit, render the sort of shooting now to be detailed peculiarly interesting.

"I shall endeavour to transport you quite close to me, to give you a shot at one of those superb birds, and join in all that took place for this desired end. Explain to me, if you can, why one never grows too old for this recreation;—why does the expectation, the desire, the success, cause always the same intense pleasure? Philosophers tell us that we tire of every thing—of honour, riches, glory; that an uniformly happy life becomes insipid; that one even tires of loving! But they did not comprise the pleasure of a sportsman in this enumeration; and if they had dared to do so, I would have presented myself as their champion, '*à l'outrance envers et contre tous.*' When we are going out shooting on the morrow, we can think of no other subject the evening before, and are as much engrossed by it at forty years of age, as at thirty or twenty. On retiring to one's room, one looks with complacency at the great shooting-jacket, the leathern gaiters, the strong shoes, the coloured neck-cloth, which are all spread out upon the arm-chair near the bed, prepared for the morning; one takes a glance at the gun-case, which is already open; the spring of the powder-flask is tried, and the double-barrelled Manton inspected; and when at last in bed, it is only after two hours' restless turning about, thinking or half dreaming of dogs pointing—of hares, pheasants, partridges getting up, that one falls asleep, to wake an hour or two before the usual time; when, on darting out of bed and rushing to the window, one exclaims, 'Fine weather, delightful! Why

does not the servant come with the hot water? how lazy those rascals are!' forgetting that it is only yet five o'clock, and that those 'rascals' are still reposing, for they rise to labour instead of to go out shooting. Well, now, then, you shall be a spectator of our excursion. Here we are, five of us! walking in a line, with an interval of fifty paces between us, and advancing slowly over these extensive moors, where not a single tree is to be seen: they are divided by valleys and hills, and entirely covered with heath, excepting in those places where masses of rock shew their irregular barren forms. There are, perhaps, a dozen parties such as ours scattered about: we hear occasionally in the distance their shots, repeated by the echoes from the valleys; but we rarely meet any of them, as the space we are traversing is very great. We are escorted by several horsemen, who are upon the neighbouring elevations: their occupation is to reply to the cry of 'mark! mark!' by keeping in view any bird which may have escaped a shot, or which may have risen without having been shot at, and marking the spot where it may have taken refuge. Mr. H. has brought his two brace of pointers into the field. All four are exactly alike, of a jet black; they are slight and high in form, and each muscle and tendon is strongly marked in their rapid motions. Although all are excellent, Mirza is her master's favourite; she generally takes the lead, and it is on her that her three companions seem to have the greatest reliance. See! the very instant that their subtle sense of smelling has seized the slight odour which they follow with so much ardour, their step has become suddenly slow and measured, exhibiting their suppleness and caution: it is like the velvety pace of a cat advancing on her prey. Mirza stops abruptly; her head is raised, her long muscular tail becomes stiff and stretches out horizontally; it is no longer a living creature that you see, but the emblem of immobility. The other three dogs stop also as if struck by an electric power, and all remain equally motionless, with their eyes fixed on her. We maintain the same profound silence, and nothing is heard but the keeper's or master's 'take heed! take heed!' pronounced slowly and in a low voice. A sign is made to me to approach; for Mr. H., in his undeviating courtesy, offers to me, as a stranger, the chance of the first bird that the dogs have found. As I had never yet seen this species of game, I was boiling with impatience to see it rise. Mirza's head indicated on which side it was, with ten others, perhaps, all lying squatted down under the heath at some paces from me. I was so near Mirza, that I could see her eye, which, though fixed, seemed to emit sparks of fire. The almost imperceptible movement of the nostrils shewed how acutely sensible they were to the smell which the air brought to them: the organ of destruction shewed itself in all its characteristics on this head. All at once a rustling sound like that of a cannon ball passing is heard; it is the grouse taking wing, uttering her cry of distress—a short low note, repeated two or three times; then the shot—the bird falls, and the four dogs disappear in the furze. Not a word is pronounced, no one moves, for the least motion might make the other grouse rise before I could reload my gun; and these admirable dogs had learned and understood the lesson, for they were all lying flat and without motion on the earth. You may conceive that it was with some difficulty I conquered my impatience (pleased and proud as I was

of not having missed my first bird) to possess in my own hands, to see with my own eyes, this sort of game, so celebrated in the chronicles of sporting in England."

The Count observes, when speaking of the general characteristics of English manners, that two things are remarkable; first, the aversion which the people have to the profound bows of most continental nations; and secondly, their decided dislike of any strong compliments addressed to themselves. There can be no question respecting the sobriety and sincerity of feeling thus evinced. Englishmen have a good right to value such a character as being of more sterling worth than all the bowing, kissing, embracing, and grimacing that ever were expended between man and man on the continent.

We have less difficulty in finding sketches in these "Impressions," that are fair-spoken, than was experienced in searching for reproofs or sarcasm, at the national expense. But few of our readers will accuse the notice we now quote as being inaccurate or in bad taste.

"I remember the first time I ever saw Mr. Canning; and you will permit me to remark, that in his single person he was of more importance than the whole of the diplomatic corps of which my ambassador made one. It was at a ball (at M. de Ch—d, then the French representative at the English court) that I saw him whose premature death has since plunged his whole country in grief, and whose loss has been deplored by every civilized nation. He was modestly seated in a corner, half concealed behind the door of the great room, where all the gay people were assembled; and, seeming to listen to the person with whom he was conversing, he occasionally passed and repassed his hand upon that noble and elevated forehead which added such expression to his physiognomy; and, far from appearing to seek, by a proud exacting look, the attention and respectful bows of those around him, he kept his eyes lowered and fixed on the ground. For him the ball, the brilliant fête had disappeared, and he was sunk in one of his grand and generous contemplations, in which was involved the honour and happiness of a whole nation."

Before extracting the Count's concluding and general estimate of England and the English, we may state, that though we have no doubt of the authenticity of these volumes, or of their having been written by a foreigner, judging according to their internal evidence, yet it is worthy of remark, that it is not said, whether they have been originally written in English, or are translations. But observing that the work is enlarged by a supplement about the women, the arts, and the field sports in France, we have been led to suspect that a good deal of the book-manufacturing system has here been practised, and that more hands than belong to one man have been employed in its getting up.

"For all that regards material or physical existence, for comforts, and

the precautions, taken against maladies, particularly colds (the frightful means of engendering that disease so fatal in England—consumption); for luxury of every description, for the extravagant expenditure of time and money offered to their individual persons, the English distinguish themselves amongst all people, from whatever rank you may choose them: but, on the other hand, they know but little of the real enjoyments of society, the pleasures of complete intimacy and of mutual good-will, and particularly that smiling good-humour and readiness to enjoy, which distinguish the French people—they who, notwithstanding the political commotions which are ever shaking their country, the dangers which are continually menacing it, the changes of its dynasty and constitution, nevertheless go on constantly and fully enjoying the pleasures of existence! I would represent England and France, those two great friendly rivals, in two distinct pictures, under the semblance of two female figures: the one of great beauty, but with a grave expression and reserved demeanour; in splendid apparel, with feathers in the head, and possessing an eye that haughtily and proudly seems to defy contempt, and exact respect rather than court admiration or inspire love. (The sky of this picture should be cloudy.) The other should be a graceful, lovely woman; her dress less magnificent, but more finished, more elegant; flowers in the hair; and her smiling lips and eyes should express just the contrary of those of her superb rival. (The sky of this picture should be on one side threatening storms, which the bright beams of the sun are dispersing)."

ART. X.—*The German Tourist.* Edited by Professor O. L. B. WOLFF and Dr. H. DOERING. Translated by H. E. LLOYD, Esq. Illustrated with Seventeen Engravings, from Drawings by A. G. Vickers, Esq. London: D. Nutt. 1837.

ALTHOUGH "The German Tourist" appears at the season and in the style of the Annuals, it is strictly an authentic description of the more northern districts of Germany, and is well calculated to be consulted as a correct and enlightened guide, for the future, to all who visit these regions. The work, according to the author's statement, was originally composed to record the result of his wanderings through almost the whole tract of what is called the German Fatherland—having been born in its most remote part, and having there spent the greater portion of his youth. He is, at the same time, anxious to claim for these regions a share of popular curiosity; and laments that travellers should generally confine themselves to the southern and western parts, to the neglect of the northern. For, while he admits that the former possess treasures and enticements which the latter cannot boast of, he earnestly pleads for the north, declaring that it has many attractions worthy of the study and admiration of the intelligent stranger. Nor can he have pleaded in vain; for the descriptions which he has given of Lubeck, Hamburgh, Berlin, Marienburg, Dantzic, and Konigsberg, with their

adjacent parts, contain much that is fresh and untrodden to the generality of readers, at least in Great Britain. The notices of towns, which figured in the ancient Hanseatic League, are particularly worthy of attention; their present constitution and customs conveying "a lively picture of the nature of that powerful association of the middle ages, which victoriously bid defiance to princes, and afforded the citizens permanent protection against the unjust and rapacious attacks of the predatory nobles." It is thus that the voice of bye-gone ages is still heard in the north of Germany; and not less loudly, when uttered by animating tales, and traditional poetry. It is in the same regions, indeed, that the ancient Saxon language prevails, and, to use the author's words, is the hereditary and peculiar distinction of the people.

The author gives rapid historical sketches of the towns he visits: notices of public buildings, of the works of art, and most peculiar scenery. All this he does well, and in a manner that will be very serviceable to future tourists of taste, or such as are in search of useful information regarding the parts described. The anecdotes he retails, and the accounts he gives of local customs, institutions, and every-day life, must, to the untravelled reader, be chiefly curious. We wish that he had been more lavish in dealing out matters of such real importance; for it cannot be doubted, that the lives and domestic habits of the industrious and homely inhabitants of Northern Germany, present many engaging and strongly characteristic traits. Indeed there is, in the volume before us, a sufficient interest, belonging to the glimpses of the kind mentioned, to make us long for many more.

Of the engravings that embellish our Tourist's pages, we must speak very favourably. There is a solidity of style about them, and a truth-telling aspect, that convinces us of their fidelity to the objects pictured. The Holstein Gate, Lubeck, one of the most singular and striking specimens of architecture in the world, faces the title-page, and forcibly at once arrests the eye. Several of the other plates exhibit magnificent or picturesque buildings, that deserve high praise as specimens of art. But it is always a difficult matter to convey anything like a precise idea of a picture, by a mere verbal description or enumeration of particulars; and, therefore, we must recommend it to those persons who wish to be gratified with novelties, beautifully delineated, to inspect and to judge for themselves; contenting ourselves with the general assertion, that these illustrations, and, in fact, all the features of the volume, are of a superior description. Respectability and elegance, guided by taste, are the terms of approbation which we feel it our duty and pleasure to bestow upon "the German Tourist."

Lubeck is the city from which our Tourist starts; and here he begins, as in the case of the other towns, with a cursory view of its

history. That our readers may have it in their power to estimate the amount of research which the writer has expended in these historical summaries, and his skill in condensation, we extract a considerable portion of this cursory view.

"On Saint Mary Magdalene's day, the 24th of July, 1227, the allies of Lubeck met the Danish army in the plain of Bornhövd, in Holstein. The sun fell hot upon the combatants, and so dazzled them, that the Danes had a great advantage; but the citizens fought intrepidly, with the brave burgomaster Alexander Von Saltwedel at their head, supported by the troops of the Counts of Schwerin and Holstein, led by the valiant Adolphus, against the superior numbers of the enemy, from morning till noon, when they feared that they must at length sink exhausted, and put up ardent vows to the patron saint of the day, whom they invoked as their deliverer. Soon afterwards the welcome cloud arose, and covered the sun, which they piously ascribed to the effect of their vows; and which inspired them with new courage. Towards evening Waldemar was obliged to give up the fight, especially because the men of Dithmarsh, who had been placed in the rear, fell upon the Danes, who were defeated and put to flight. Four thousand of the Danish troops fell upon the field of battle. At least an equal number were taken prisoners: and this victory insured the independence of Lubeck, which a modern writer calls, not unaptly, the Carthage of the North at that time. It continued to increase in power and consideration, formed an offensive and defensive alliance, first with Hamburgh alone, then with other cities, and became, in 1260, the head of the powerful Hanseatic league. It convoked the assemblies, which were held chiefly within its own walls; preserved the archives and treasures of the league; and its burgomasters were always the commanders of the Hanseatic fleets. Together with Cologne, it bore the highest burthen, and is said to have had, in the time of its prosperity, 50,000 citizens, able to bear arms. This prosperity continued as long as that of the league itself—with the decay of the league its head also declined; but while it flourished it always came off victorious from foreign wars, as well as from internal troubles, and a higher hand seemed to protect it. Thus, in the year 1384, a dangerous insurrection broke out within its own walls. Some discontented citizens united with the Holstein nobles, and assembled at the house of one of the conspirators, Arnolt Von Sorst: (in the Königs-strasse there is still a house adorned with a pictorial representation of this event.) Their plan was, supported by assistance from without, to murder all the members of the senate, and to plunder the houses of the richest and most distinguished families. St. Lambert's day, the 17th of September, was fixed for the execution of the plot; when a Holstein nobleman repented of having joined in it, and resolved to relieve his conscience from the weight of guilt which oppressed it. He was bound by a most solemn oath not to disclose the horrible plot to any living soul. His terrified conscience, however, found means to evade it. He hastened to the house of John Perseveln, and, he not being at home, asked his grown-up son to give him a glass of beer. His request being complied with, he addressed the glass in the following terms: 'To thee, glass, I say it, and to no living soul; unless the danger which threatens this good city be promptly and prudently averted, Lubeck

will be, before noon to-morrow, in the hands of its enemies, and the blood of its senators and honest citizens will flow through the streets.' The son immediately reported these strange expressions in the Senate-house. The conspirators were at once arrested, the gates closed, and the impending danger happily averted. Tradition relates, that the nobleman, after he had spoken these words, instantly mounted his horse, and galloped away with such speed, that one of his horse's shoes came off, which was thrown into the kennel at the distance of six houses.

"With the same good fortune Lubeck proved victorious in foreign wars; and though the Hanseatic league was by no means durable, as the welfare of the whole was always prejudiced by the interest of the individual members, yet the head was at all times respected, on account of its zeal and its power. The bright light of the doctrine of Lutheranism was well received in the sixteenth century, especially by the citizens; and though the Senate at first jealously opposed its propagation, it was soon compelled to open the churches to the teachers of the reformed faith. Even the most threatening remonstrances of Catholic princes, and of the Emperor Charles V. himself, could not prevail against their better conviction: the monasteries were dissolved, the adherents of the Romish faith left the city, and Jürgen Wollenweber, a high-spirited individual, placed himself at the head of the Senate, and directed the new institutions with energy and courage. It is true, he failed in his endeavours, and ended his life on the scaffold, far from his home; but the change which he had begun was permanent, the reformation prevailed. Even the thirty years' war, which spread desolation over Germany, did not so severely affect Lubeck as many other countries. It continued skilfully to avert its ruinous consequences, and was even chosen, several times, as the seat for the negotiations for peace, which indeed came to nothing. From that time, however, the greatness of Lubeck began rapidly to decline; the stagnation of trade, especially of maritime commerce; party dissensions and contentions among the citizens; and a heavy load of debt, incurred in consequence of the troubles of war, undermined the strength and prosperity of the city. The Hanseatic league was dissolved; trade had gradually turned into other channels; the free imperial city on the Trave was no longer the chief staple of the North; and though peace happily prevailed in the eighteenth century, yet Lubeck gradually ceased to be a commercial city of the first rank, and, though still a place of importance, was reduced to an inferior station. A fair prospect of happier days seemed to dawn upon it, in the first years of the new century, when, by the recess of the empire of the 25th of February, 1803, it was recognised as a free imperial city, confirmed in all its rights, and its territory enlarged. Unhappily, these pleasing hopes of reviving prosperity were annihilated, when, a few years later, war visited it with all its horrors. Let us go more into detail upon this subject. The battles of Jena and Auerstadt had been fought. General Blucher, who had followed the retreat with the Prince of Hohenlohe, on the left flank, was separated from him, threw himself with his corps into the territory of Mecklenburg, and being pursued by Bernadotte, Soult, and Murat, found himself more and more closely pressed. He therefore passed the Trave, and, with 25,000 men, entered Lubeck, in spite of all the remonstrances of the free imperial

city, which would have most willingly maintained its neutrality. The French followed him closely; and on the 6th of November, 1806, a sanguinary conflict took place between the two armies, which was but too soon continued within the walls. After an heroic resistance, Blucher was obliged to leave the city. The victors, perfectly ignorant of the real circumstances, considered Lubeck as a hostile city, and turned all their fury upon the unfortunate inhabitants. A dreadful scene of pillage ensued, which was not fully checked till after the lapse of three days. The citizens were ill-treated by the French in every possible manner. Blucher capitulated at Ratekau, on the 7th of November, and the unhappy city had now to receive and maintain the whole hostile army of 75,000 men. The humanity of Bernadotte * succeeded in putting an end to these horrors, and, by enforcing a strict discipline, at least to check the progress of such awful devastation. But Lubeck was wholly unable to recover itself; from that time it was depressed under intolerable burthens. Enormous contributions exhausted its treasury; its commerce was annihilated, and with that its principal resources dried up; and even the hope of better times vanished, when, on the 10th of December, 1810, it was incorporated with the French empire, and its constitution abolished by an act of violence, after it had existed 600 years. What Germany, and particularly the free imperial cities, which were raised to the rank of 'good cities of the French empire,' suffered under the yoke of French tyranny, is so well known, that we need not dwell upon it here. At length the day of deliverance arrived, after the French had made themselves masters of the city, for the second time, during the war, oppressed it without mercy, and treated the unfortunate citizens, who had but a short glimpse of liberty, with the greatest outrage. On the 5th of December, 1813, General L'Allemand capitulated to the Swedes, and left the city the same evening. The fall of Napoleon restored Lubeck to its ancient rights. It has ceased to be a fortress, but it is one of the four free cities of the German confederation. Its territory is about six and a half German (about 150 English) square miles in extent. The city lies between the Trave and the Wakenitz, on a moderate eminence; has nearly 3,300 houses, and 25,000 inhabitants. It has its ancient democratic constitution, which is founded upon the re-

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* "On the Sunday after this catastrophe, the free corps of the French Colonel, Ameil, loaded with the pillage of friends and foes in Mecklenburg, &c., and with the spoils of the unhappy Lubeck, arrived at a village near Hamburgh, where they held a kind of fair for the sale of their plunder. We ourselves saw soldiers, eager to lighten their burden, sell quantities of silver coin (a handkerchief full) for a Louis d'or; silver spoons for a shilling. Horses, many of them very good, but, of course, dreadfully jaded, were sold from half-a-crown to thirty shillings each. A friend of ours bought a horse, which proved to be a very fine one, for four shillings English. It was reported, that a splendid diamond necklace was sold for two Louis d'or. A noble-minded Frenchman, M. Charles Villiers, then residing at Lubeck, gave an animated and affecting account of the enormities committed by his countrymen, in a letter to Madame Fanny Beauharnois, aunt to the Empress Josephine.—*Translator's Note.*"

cess of 1669. The senate, consisting of four burgomasters and sixteen senators, is the executive and administrative authority. The assembly of citizens, divided into twelve colleges, form the legislative power. There is, perhaps, scarcely a city in Germany, which has more charitable institutions than Lubeck."

The rest of our snatches from these pages must be much shorter; but we were in this instance anxious to afford, not only a fair and unbroken view of the author and the translator's ability, but to adduce a narrative which cannot but impress the reader's mind with something like a proper idea of the horrors of war, and of the tremendous evils, crimes, and misery which mark the conqueror's steps. The rising generation, and even the aged and middle-aged, in these piping times of peace, are by far too apt to regard with inadequate fear and detestation, the enormities that are inseparable from victories, and sometimes to express a longing for what is called a *good hot war*, for the sake of giving an impulse to trade, or adding triumphs to national prowess. What a slender section in the history of the late European struggle with France, would it require of reason and humanity to contemplate, to put for ever to shame all the vapour that has been allowed to conceal, or falsely to gloss the most renowned general's career! Lubeck's story contains far more than enough of this kind of refutation; but it is by no means the only instance that might be quoted from these pages. Yet, what are the pages of "The German Tourist," to the history of Germany, as regards the records of rapine and blood?

Clock-making has long been an art that has been much cultivated by the Germans; and every one has heard of the wonderful pieces of mechanism that these ingenious and persevering people from time to time have contrived and finished. But few specimens can surpass, we presume, the great clock, which occupies the whole wall behind the altar, in the church of St. Mary at Lubeck, which was made so far back as the year 1405, though it has been altered since that time. The "Tourist" thus describes it—

"The lower division contains a moveable plate, with all the particulars of the calendar, from the year 1753 to 1875. In the division are the daily places of the sun and moon, and of the planets known at that time. The upper division is especially intended for the amusement of the people. With the last stroke at twelve at noon, a door on the right opens, from which issue the emperor and the seven electors, accompanied by an apparitor who passes before Christ, who gives them a benediction with the motion of his hands, when two apparitors make a profound obeisance, and some angels blow their trumpets."

Lubeck has produced many very eminent men, some of whom the author mentions by name. Sir Godfrey Kneller, afterwards so esteemed in England, is amongst the number. As to the citizens in general, it is said, that their most distinguishing characteristic is strict probity—combined with good nature and benevolence.

This is what might be expected in a community where commerce and trade are the chief occupations of the people. All those minor differences of social life, which prevail in many of the little German capitals, are also unknown in a society such as that of Lubeck, where, to have the right to the title of citizen, is the best and most respected of any that can be applied.

On leaving Lubeck, the "Tourist" proceeds to Hamburgh, which, according to the latest accounts, contains 125,000 inhabitants. Its constitution is a moderate democracy, founded on the recess of the empire of 1712. Commerce, as all the world knows, is the mainspring also of this city; but learning and the fine arts are not neglected. The character of the true Hamburgher, the author says, is marked by a few striking features. He is faithful, active, upright, and attentive to his religious duties: Hamburgh is his world: and, "there is but one Hamburgh," is his favourite saying: sociality and cordial hospitality are not the least virtues of the citizens of this city; the charms of domestic life being heightened by the various accomplishments of the female sex, who are instructed with very great care, both in the useful and ornamental branches of education. They are also reputed for being the best housewives in Germany; and the cookery of Hamburgh—the materials not only being ample, but, as it appears, the gourmands numerous and dainty—is universally celebrated.

One cause fairly alleged by the "Tourist," for the acknowledged fact already stated—that of Hamburgh being not merely distinguished by its commerce, but by the refinement of knowledge and society—is that of its being both a trading city and a sovereign state, which has its diplomatic agents at all the principal courts of Europe. Its immediately surrounding powers, each of which would willingly seize so rich a prize, require to be closely watched, and that a perfect understanding of European politics be maintained. Its ambassadors are consequently men of superior acquirements, who naturally shed over the whole surface of the community an ameliorating influence. Many of the young men also of the first mercantile houses of Hamburgh, repair for a time to England, France, and other countries, the farthest advanced in civilization, where they acquire foreign languages, and thus have access to the best society, and the most elegant literature that prevails in the world. The author says, that he has seen a company of above thirty persons of both sexes, all natives of Hamburgh, speaking English, in compliment to three or four English visiters, who understood no language but their own. From these and many other particulars detailed concerning the Hamburghers, tourists consult, without doubt, their interest and pleasure in repairing thither. We anticipate that our author's account will set not a few of those who are in search of a wife, to the city which fosters and contains so many ac-

complished ladies, and whose domestic attainments are so remarkable.

We quote one or two passages connected with Hamburgh, of an anecdotical description. In the year 1813, when the French drove the Russians from the city, treating it as an enemy's stronghold, and converting it into a fortress, the sufferings and oppression which the inhabitants endured were akin to those which Bonaparte and his armies were in the habit of inflicting on similar occasions. The author, after stating that these oppressors imposed a contribution of forty-eight millions of francs upon the city, plundered its bank, and lastly, when the allied troops approached to its relief, declared it to be in a state of siege, adds—

"From this moment the French laid aside all moderation, burnt and devastated the environs with such precipitation, that the poor inhabitants could save little or none of their property, and 40,000 persons, who were too poor to furnish themselves with a sufficient stock of provisions, were expelled from the city, exposed to the dreadful inclemency of a most severe winter, to famine and the ravages of an epidemic nervous fever."

In a note appended to this statement, the following affecting particulars are given:—

"The French proceeded with the greatest cruelty. Thus Davoust caused a number of unfortunate citizens to be taken from their beds on the night of Christmas-eve, 1813, to be shut up in St. Peter's Church, and at day-break, to be driven by his blood-hounds, like a flock of sheep out of the gates. The neighbouring town of Altona received the fugitives with kindness, and though itself in great distress, did its utmost to relieve them. It may be interesting to compare with this, another historical event. Just a hundred years before, the Swedish general, Stenbock reduced Altona to ashes, and during the dreadful conflagration, the senate of Hamburgh closed the gates of the city, to keep off the crowd of fugitives; gave a banquet to the ferocious conqueror, and accompanied him to the ramparts, to view in all its horrors—the spectacle of the burning town."

We have seen how much Hamburgh is renowned for its cookery, and the materials for furnishing an abundant table. Butchers, fruiterers, greengrocers, and poulterers, are numerous and well supplied. But the fish-women must not be omitted; and it may be conceived how well loaded are their stalls, when it is known that there are nearly seventy different species of fish in the Elbe. In fact, the fish-women of Hamburgh are not much less celebrated than those of Vienna, Paris, or Billingsgate, either for their traffic or their slang.

"It is related, that a Duke of Brunswick being desirous of hearing a specimen of this dialect went to the market, and offered one of the women a crown-piece to abuse him heartily, which she refused, saying, she could not think of abusing such a nice gentleman. Seeing that she could not be prevailed upon, he called her by some opprobrious name; on which, as he expected, she poured forth such a torrent of eloquence upon him, as

gave him a very satisfactory idea of the oratorical powers of the *Dames de la Halle*, of the banks of the Elbe."

We pass over the "Tourist's" sketches of Berlin, after quoting his general account of its modern character.

"This modern character everywhere strikes the stranger; he will look in vain for such remains of antiquity, as he finds in other cities, which were built at the same time; the little that still remains here is concealed from the eye, and must be purposely sought after. Berlin is entirely the residence of a sovereign; and owes every thing to the munificence of its princes, not to the public spirit of its citizens, though many individuals among them are by no means deficient in that respect. No city has such a variety of elements in its population as the capital of Prussia, and the bond of union, therefore, is not the idea of being citizens of Berlin, but Prussian subjects. Other cities in this country, such as Stellin, Konigsberg, Francfort on the Oder, have a peculiar, long-established character. Berlin never had such a one, at least, not in the last two centuries. This is no censure, but an historical remark; nay, in our times it might rather be considered as praise." "In short, Berlin is a royal residence, in the fullest sense of the expression, and in spite of its 200,000 inhabitants, who become every year more numerous, it is that alone."

According to the view now taken, the capital of Prussia must be unable to boast of any class analogous to our Cockneys; and to that extent, at least, is so much weaker and poorer than "The Great Metropolis."

We go forward to the last city described in the present volume, viz., Konigsberg, which is one of the most important to the north of Europe, being a considerable place of trade, the seat of the government of the province, and an university. The author gives, as on the other subjects of his notices, a sketch of its history. The account of its origin, which is very remote, is curious enough, and becomes the more so, from its connexion with the Teutonic order. These are the circumstances alluded to by us, as given in the pages before us.

"The connexion of the Teutonic Order, with Primislaus III., king of Bohemia, who had assisted the knights in their combats with the inhabitants of the province of Samland in Old Prussia, gave the first occasion for the building of a castle in the year 1255, which in honour of that prince, received the name of Konigsberg. It was built upon a hill; the oaks being cut down, and rammed into the earth, served as a kind of defence. At the same time, an advanced fort was erected on the spot where the church of the castle now stands, and several ditches were drawn round it. The castle of Konigsberg, to which the old Prussians gave the name of Twangste, which is that of the oak forest, had for its arms a knight in armour, wearing a crown, which was probably intended to represent Primislaus."

With regard to the present state of Konigsberg, it is stated to be much inferior, in respect of architecture, to many other great towns

in Germany. It has, however, a most excellent site. Our last extract from this interesting and well written volume will, like our first, be a long one. It contains anecdotes, and the account of several events which the "Tourist" connects with his cursory sketches of the city that stands where the oak forest once grew. And here, war and its disasters, form the burden of the story.

"In the year 1807, Konigsberg was occupied by the French, who, however, evacuated it soon after the conclusion of the treaty of peace. It has ever since remained in the undisturbed possession of the king of Prussia, as the second capital of the Prussian monarchy, and, by its flourishing commerce, has been gradually recovering its ancient prosperity. It was, however, again visited by the French in the Russian campaign, during which the king of Prussia was compelled to be the unwilling ally of Napoleon, after having been under the necessity of introducing into his dominions, the continental system, founded on the decrees of Berlin and Milan, with a view of ruining the commerce of England. This system, which, on the whole, did less injury to Great Britain, than to the continental states in which it had been enforced, proved, in many instances, injurious to the French themselves, of which there was a remarkable instance at Konigsberg, on the retreat from Russia. Count de Segur, in his history of the expedition, and the disastrous retreat, says, 'We were soon obliged to carry our humiliation to Konigsberg. The grand army, which for twenty years had shown itself successively triumphant in all the capitals of Europe, now, for the first time, re-appeared, mutilated, disarmed, and fugitive, in one of those cities which had been most humiliated by its glory. Its population crowded on our passage, to count our wounds, and to estimate, by the extent of our disasters, that of the hopes which they might venture to entertain. We were compelled to feast their greedy looks with only our miseries; and while dragging our misfortunes into the rudest of their odious joy, to march under the insupportable weight of hated calamity.' In this great distress of the French army, one of the first steps was in their old style, to demand from the magistrates, large supplies, especially of clothing, of which they were in extreme need, but to this requisition they received an answer, which was doubly better from its undeniable truth. The magistrates regretted that they were unable to comply with this demand, because the large stock of English woollen, and other manufactures had been burnt, in compliance with the emperor's orders. Count Segur, of course, does not relate this anecdote, but speaking of the fatal effects of the cold, he says, 'Eblè, the pride of the army, fell a sacrifice,' without any further observation; but we recollect that his fate, and the manner of it was greatly regretted in Germany, where he was highly esteemed, in consequence of his conduct, on a particular occasion, of which the following account is given."

This account goes on to state how compassionately Eblè had acted to the inhabitants of a certain small town, which he was peremptorily commanded by Napoleon to burn within twenty-four hours after the receipt of the cruel and despotic despatch. The "Tourist" then proceeds.

"It was reported at Hamburgh, by French officers returning from the (Russian) expedition, that this excellent man had been missing for three or four days, when he was found nearly expiring in a forest, where unable to move, he had subsisted on the dry leaves which he could reach in the narrow circle round him.

"To relieve the mind of the reader from the melancholy impression of the above anecdote, we well relate one or two others, which Konigsberg recalls to our recollection. When the French fugitives entered Konigsberg, many of them made a most ludicrous and motley appearance, having in their retreat, accommodated themselves with garments of every description and colour. One of the most conspicuous instances, was a French general, who arrived riding on a little pony, wearing a lady's pink silk cloak, with hat and feathers to correspond.

"Another general, who, on the retreat, found himself alone, riding through a forest at night, scarcely knowing in what direction he was proceeding, was not a little pleased at perceiving a light, which seemed to issue from a cottage. He accordingly rode up to it, and hearing, as he approached, loud voices within, dismounted, and went cautiously forward, uncertain whether the inmates were friends or foes. Happily he heard them talking French, and on entering, was still more gratified at recognising some men of one of his own regiments. His first question was, whether they had anything to eat, to which they replied, they had a piece of meat at the fire. This was, indeed, good news, and some hot steaks being served up, the general, as well as his men, did them ample justice. The former, however, remarked, that it would not be prudent to stop longer, and that as they were now strengthened by a good meal, it would be best to set out immediately, and desired them to bring him his horse. 'Your horse, general,' said they, 'why you have just been eating a piece of him. How do you think we could have got meat, if you had not luckily brought us a supply? We intend now to carry off as much as we can of the choicest parts, to subsist on by the way.'"

ART. XI.—*The State and Administration of the Law in England.*

WE cannot but hail, with satisfaction, the increasing attention of the legislature to the amendment of our laws in general, and of the progress of liberal and enlightened notions on this subject, in the great body of the people. We say this, because we are convinced that the general discussion of all subjects of public interest, leads, ultimately, to sound and salutary views of them; and, besides, we conceive, that the manifestation of a strong disposition to remedy the defects of existing institutions, implies the absence of the only obstacle that can ultimately frustrate its accomplishment. To have the will to improve them, is, in the community at large, to have the power. The power, indeed, is theirs always; and all that is wanted to give it effect, is, the inclination. To have a spirit of inquiry existing, is nearly all that the friend of justice requires; and when we see that spirit excited and in motion, we need not doubt of the results.

Among the members of the Bar, we find, few have attemped to discharge that debt, which Bacon holds every one to owe to his profession. Where do we find any, to use the language of that great man, who visit and strengthen the roots and foundation of the science. It has too generally happened, that they have learned to attribute to it an undue importance among the various branches of human knowledge and improvement, and also to bring themselves to believe, that in its forms, usages, and long practised rules, there are intrinsic excellence and advantage, which it is unwise to controvert and almost improper to change. While we regret, we may yet pardon such prejudices in the votary of abstract science, or in the professors of those arts whose objects are to excite the imagination or gratify the taste. The astronomer consumes the silent watches of the night in counting and noting the revolutions of worlds scarcely visible and immeasurably distant; why should we deny to him the pride of believing, that his pursuit is the purest and noblest that can engage the industry of our race? Such a belief quickens and rewards his own zeal, while it is innocent in every sense which can affect the interest or welfare of others. The artist or the mechanist, who limits his genius by the rules and theories of other days, is only left to find himself lingering in the race, and losing the profits or the honours which are gained by more enlightened competitors in the same pursuit. A prejudice, however, is only thus harmless, while it affects no one but him who has the right to indulge it, and may innocently do so. When it operates injuriously on the personal rights, the interests, property, or fortunes of mankind; when it excludes the lights which are shed on every kindred subject by philanthropy, research, and the certain progress of human knowledge; when it deals with things present, according to harsh, cold, or cruel doctrines of ages less wise and refined; when it upholds, as if they were sacred, forms and institutions that have sprung from obsolete customs, or arisen from the wants of a society altogether different; then prejudice ceases to be excusable, and those who uphold it ought to be regarded less as innocent advocates of the wisdom of other days, than as unwise and injudicious opposers of the improvement and happiness of their own times.

These principles are peculiarly applicable to jurisprudence; a science which directly affects all the social duties and relations of men. In preserving individual rights, it substitutes for the hand of power, a universal mutual compact, whose foundation is the intention and desire of protecting all, at the least individual sacrifice. In preventing or punishing the excesses of passion and crime, it acts not from the impulse of personal retaliation, nor assumes a control over the secret emotions of the heart; but it calmly inquires into the exact extent of infringement on the privileges or happiness of others, and seeks so to punish it as to prevent the repetition of

similar injuries, and bring home to the aggressor a full sense of the wrong that he has committed.

Such a science, therefore, is not abstract. It is immediately dependent on the state of human society. Its rules vary with the variations of knowledge, of refinement, of all the social arts. It improves in proportion to the improvements of civilization. Reason, and simplicity, and humanity remove its peculiarities, enlarge its utility, and soften its severity. It regards the present and not the past, equally in the things to be regulated and the manner in which they are treated; and he who, in our days, should govern himself in this science by the rules of Lycurgus or the Decemvirs, would not be more wise than a countryman of Arkwright or Laplace, who should calculate the motions of the stars like the astrologers of Chaldea, or weave our garments on such looms as were used by the fair-haired matrons of Troy.

Yet in no science has it been so difficult, as in this, to introduce these indisputable principles. In no science have its intelligent professors, those skilled in all its branches, and imbued with all its learning, united themselves so strenuously to maintain its actual excellence; to oppose its progressive improvement, with the improvement of all things around; and to reconcile us to the strange and obsolete forms, which are equally at variance with the reason, the customs, and the humanity of a later age. The despotic vigour of Justinian was requisite to reduce and to pare away the absurdities of centuries in the Roman law; Napoleon found it scarcely more difficult to unite into one, half the principalities of Europe, than to reconcile the conflicts of the parliaments of France; and even among us, amid all our wonderful progress in science and in art, men, prominent, intelligent and enlightened men, are still found, who vehemently uphold, in our civil and criminal laws, things equally absurd and inhumane; who seem delighted to find reason in the most ridiculous fictions; and who shake their heads now, with significant distrust, at the sagacity and philanthropy of Brougham, just as their predecessors may have done in former days at the innovations of Mansfield or of Bacon.

The administration of justice is a point at which the government of a country comes most frequently in contact with the people; and accordingly, when that is skilfully and impartially conducted—and, we must add, with a reasonable degree of cheapness and expedition—content and satisfaction will always appear as the habitual feelings, and disturbance or excess only as occasional disorders. What says Lord Clarendon, in his great historical and philosophical deduction of the causes which led to the civil wars? Why, he expressly dates the origin of a settled and rooted animosity against the king's government, from the period when an opinion began to prevail, that the principles and practice of the law itself had been made to bend to courtly interference and solicitation; when the

opinion of the judge varied after having had his breakfast with some of the court minions. So unbearable is that tyranny, which consists either in having no certain rules of living, or in being compelled to feel that their application is fluctuating and capricious! Even in our own times, has any man ever doubted that the main cause of the violence and disorder, so frequently noticed and lamented in Ireland, is the distrust of the great body of the people in the impartial administration of the laws, and the alienation and hostility which they consequently feel to the whole system? or, how long, even in this country, will our habits of subordination and respect for legal authority, survive the general confidence in the purity and fairness of our tribunals, if the practices which meet our gaze, while viewing the operation of the administrative functions, as exemplified in some recent instances, are not speedily remedied?

These considerations are indeed so obvious, that they have occurred to every one who has at all attended to the subject. It has been well observed, that all the costly apparatus of government—the Crown—the Navy—the Army—Taxes—Parliaments—Powers and Privileges, are really of very little other use than to maintain the Twelve Judges in due authority at Westminster. Cromwell, with all the energy and terrors of his government, felt himself bound to conform to this prevalent and favourite opinion of the country. If he had been merely a bad man, he would have been content to fill the judgment-seat with pliable and accommodating sycophants, ready to assist in the extension and consolidation of his power. But Cromwell, who with all his faults had the spirit of an Englishman, preferred, as is well known, the services of Sir Mathew Hale, who declined acknowledging his title, to those of more obsequious persons—telling that great Judge, that, although his conscientious scruples would not allow him formally to acknowledge his authority, he must proceed to administer justice in his own way, with that intelligence and purity which had uniformly distinguished his course. Napoleon too, the imitator as it has been said of Cromwell, in the midst of his violent and splendid career, found time to digest and new-model the law; and has left behind him a proof of his deep feeling of its importance, which, we may venture to predict, will survive, when the most brilliant of his victories shall have been forgotten—or, according to the expression attributed to himself, that he will go down to posterity with the Code in his hand.

And here we may observe, in passing, that the principal part of the machinery by which the connexion between law and the people is effected in this country—we mean the Trial by Jury—is, apart from all its other merits, the most powerful engine that was ever devised to secure the permanency and popularity of a government. It is not only that a large portion of the people is thus introduced to a practical acquaintance with the laws—and that too, where they appear in their most attractive shape, from the fairness, candour,

and publicity with which they are administered—but self-importance and vanity are gratified by an opinion, created by this exercise of duty, that they who are engaged in it, not only contribute to the support of public affairs, but actually form a part of those who are intrusted with their management. For this reason, probably, in conjunction, no doubt, with a sense of obligation, men are uniformly found to submit, in the exercise of this function, to privations and inconveniences of very considerable amount. Never, we will venture to say, was there an instance of so much willing and cheerful alacrity in the discharge of any other anxious and laborious duty. And this alone, if other examples were wanting, would be sufficient to show that our institutions, in general, are favourably viewed from their apparent connexion with this prominent and familiar branch of them, with which all the rest is felt to be amalgamated and virtually bound up. Nor shall we be easily persuaded to discredit the lofty commendations so often bestowed upon the self-sustaining power of the British Constitution, nor the proud predictions of its immortality, as long as this favourite and truly democratic part of our system is not perverted from its original purposes, or overwhelmed and borne down by surrounding corruptions. But we hasten from these preliminary observations—and enter at once upon the task we have now assigned ourselves, which is, to throw together some remarks upon the state of our whole jurisprudence, and to do every endeavour to keep alive that spirit of vigilance and inquiry which has been lately excited by proceedings both in and out of Parliament, and which, we would fain hope, will not be allowed to sleep again, till it has done its work of illumination and reform.

A distinguishing and prevailing evil is the inability of the Courts of Justice, as they now exist, or have been recently administered, to transact with reasonable expedition and cheapness, the judicial business of the country. Whether this has arisen from a gradual deterioration of the law itself, dilated and swollen into a mass so enormous, by multitudinous, and, of necessity, somewhat conflicting decisions, or by the injurious effects of crude, partial, and inconsiderate legislation, or whether the legal establishment of the country is no longer adequate to its increased wealth, population, and consequent demands for justice, we shall not here stop to inquire. Certain, however, it is, that it is but an indifferent compliment to the spirit of improvement in its application to this great and paramount department, that whereas in every other branch of art and science, the most rapid strides have been made towards perfection, the science of Jurisprudence has hardly been even approaching with any steady or persevering effort to simplify and reduce the whole into a connected and intelligible system. Since the celebrated statute of Frauds and Perjuries, which has certainly been eminently successful, and of which, if we mistake not, it has been affirmed that every line is worth a subsidy, hardly an attempt has been made

to bring legislation to bear upon the formal acts and contracts of mankind. In the Courts of Equity successive Chancellors may, indeed, have formed for themselves a set of principles, which those who come after them may observe, if they think proper, but from which they are at liberty to depart whenever they deliberately dissent from the judgment of their predecessors. But there is no immemorial rule—no statute—no code, in short, which those Judges must recognise, or are bound to obey. Even in the courts of common law, the decisions, however binding upon the parties, are not held to constitute the law, but are viewed merely as expositions of that law, which however is, in most cases, no where to be found in a more authoritative shape than in those very decisions, which are, at all times, questionable, and may be reversed.

It is, however, a matter of no small surprise, that whilst the accumulation of business, from the increase of population, trade, and wealth, is so great, the legal establishment is (with one single exception) upon the same scale as it was five hundred years ago. Twelve was the number of Judges at that, and at a still more remote period—and it is so still. It seems to us strange, that the very same number should still be supposed capable of transacting the legal concerns of the country, though they may have increased five hundred, or, perhaps, a thousand fold, within the period alluded to. Twelve formed the complement of Judges for the four principal courts of the kingdom, when their leisure was such as to admit of their hearing the adverse litigants state their complaint and defence in their own uniformed and untechnical language, and to assist them in the merely preliminary business of reducing their statements into the orderly form of legal proceedings. Twelve was supposed to be the appropriate complement, when the infinite variety of questions depending upon our foreign and domestic commerce was unknown; when the doctrine of bankruptcy, with its fruitful sources of litigation, had not been heard of, and when there were no poor laws, with their hopeful progeny of decisions.

Nor, whilst the same number of persons is destined to perform a continually increasing quantity of work, has there been a corresponding care to secure, in the persons appointed, the most efficient service. A notion, on the contrary, seems to have been growing into fashion, within the last half century more particularly, that there is something peculiar in the requisites for judicial employment, as distinguished from every other department of public or private business. Generally speaking, skill, supported by vigour and activity, is required for any work of importance. It seems, however, to have been discovered, amongst the knowing in such matters, that judicial fitness begins at the very period when fitness for every other employment is universally admitted to end. It does seem like treating the public with rather too little ceremony to call persons into their service at a time, when individuals would cease to

employ them, from an opinion of their failure and decline. For really there seems to be an anxiety to prove to the world, that, of all mankind, a lawyer alone is imperishable. At seventy, seventy-five, or even eighty, these persons are supposed to be fit for their most arduous and responsible duties, though there is not one grocer or mercer in a hundred who does not retire, from a modest sense of incapacity and unfitness, before the earliest of those periods. To speak of persons, now living, who, from any cause, may be supposed to be of doubtful pretensions to their situation, would be invidious, as it surely is unnecessary; and we are most ready to admit that some of them are exceptions to the general rule. But we only wish to see prevented, by some specific regulation, the continuance in judicial office beyond a given period.

Another evil is, that the solicitors are at once above their occupation, and below it: the briefs are swollen to an extent which renders them unfit for use: the speeches of counsel, who are sore let and hindered by the quantity submitted to their perusal, are extended upon the principle of compensating for defect of value by amount: acts of parliament are too long, and the speeches thereupon also: bills and answers, declarations and pleas, deeds of all descriptions (and conveyances particularly) are too long: judgments are too long; and so are the reports of them. Formerly, in five minutes' reading an intelligible point of law was presented to the mind; now you may read an hour or two, and collect no point at all.

The language and composition of legal instruments are a disgrace to the intelligence and information of the country. Nothing can exceed the cumbrous verbiage, offensive alike to good taste and to the sense sought to be conveyed, which is everywhere discoverable. Words are employed, one would think, not to express a meaning, but to hide it. Tautology, the most disgusting, unsparingly heaped together, oppresses and suffocates the few ideas which are, with difficulty, extracted from the bulk under which they labour. Everything about our system of laws partakes of this vicious profusion of nonsensical jargon.

The unequal pressure of business upon the courts of common law is, to a certain extent, unavoidable, though the peculiar constitution and exclusive nature of two of them (the Court of Exchequer and the Court of Common Pleas), does certainly contribute towards it. Wherever there is, already, the greatest quantity of business, there is sure to be more—and this is natural, and of course. Fashion determines the preference in this case as much as any other; and we question whether the utmost industry and labour of any court could keep it down.

The panegyrics bestowed, chiefly, it must be admitted, by lawyers, upon a system from which they derive most of their importance and emolument, though not quite disinterested, have been constant and liberal in the extreme. For our own part, we can scarcely join in this eulogistic chorus, until we find that any person

may adventure upon the assertion of his rights, without the hazard of encountering such inconvenience, as would induce any reasonable man to decline the experiment. To tell the people of this country that the courts of justice are open to their complaints, and that every man is, in the eye of the law, equal, however true in principle and theory, is so utterly at variance with facts, as to have become, in reality, a cruel and insulting mockery. It has been said that men, capable of such purposes, have found an uniform application to the law, and an uncompromising enforcement of its rules, the very best means of gratifying spleen and resentment, and of perpetrating injustice and oppression upon inferiors and dependents, that malignity itself could devise. If the poorest man in this country could indeed contrive to bring before the appropriate tribunal his claim or demand, whatever it might be, in a shape fit for decision, the chance of success, in his case, would, we doubt not, be equal to that of the proudest nobleman. But to that point, unfortunately, he *cannot* arrive. Practically, the law is *not* open to him. To obtain justice, is, as the matter now stands, a luxury—a privilege—an indulgence for those who are so far at ease in their circumstances, as to have a certain superfluity for the purchase of expensive gratifications. And without fear of contradiction, we assert, that these observations are applicable to the present means of procuring redress in all our courts of law. What greater benefit could possibly be proposed than the administration of equal justice upon terms accessible to every subject of the realm? or, if that be a forlorn hope, to remove some portion of the just and grievous obloquy which now attaches to a country above all others boastful of its institutions. That which, under certain circumstances, is dangerous, because uncalled for and unnecessary innovation, is, in other circumstances, rational and prudent experiment. But, from whatever quarter the light of improvement may break out, we are persuaded that mere practical lawyers will never accomplish the work of reformation.

Our present state is unworthy of an enlightened and free people. The time has arrived, when it has become impossible any longer to delay the remedy of evils becoming daily more apparent and more oppressive. The nature and extent of the change are questions that demand and should receive the deepest consideration. While we are determined, on the one hand, that no fear of innovation, or senseless clamour of prejudice, shall induce us to defer any longer a system of jurisprudence founded on the solid and permanent basis of public good, we must, on the other hand, acknowledge the absolute necessity of attention to the most minute and careful practical provisions, that shall do away with those incongruities that constitute the whole ground for amendment.

We shall return to the discussion of this subject generally, in our next number.

NOTICES.

ART. XII. — *Guido and Julius. The Doctrine of Sin and the Propitiator; or, the True Consecration of the Doubter, exhibited in the Correspondence of two Friends.* By the Rev. FREDERICK A. D. THOLUCK, D.D. Translated by J. E. Ryland; with an Introductory Preface by John Pye Smith, D.D, London: Ball. 1836.

ALTHOUGH "Guido and Julius" were a worthless work, the Introductory Preface should render the present volume popular. It contains, besides a highly interesting account of Dr. Tholuck, who is Professor of Divinity in the University of Halle, one of the most instructive sketches to be found in the English language, of the progress of sacred literature in Germany, but especially of the condition of the clergy, of the doctrines which they teach, and, in short, of the state of German religious education in general. We are constantly hearing of the excellence of the educational establishments in Prussia and the other states of Germany. But however well founded these accounts may be as regards secular and scientific knowledge, there seems to be a lamentable defect as respects the moral and religious institutions, not only with reference to the qualifications of those who are to teach the way of salvation to their fellow men, but the permanence and independence of the opinions and conduct of the pastors. The ubiquitous meddling of the government, as Dr. Smith characterises it, in all matters of private and public life, affects most injuriously the tenures by which the clergy hold their livings, and has the most apparent influence on the doctrines taught, and the diffusion of practical religion. We earnestly solicit the attention of all English readers to the lucid and impressive Preface, in which these statements are made.

But valuable as is this preface, the work which it introduces amply deserves it. Dr. Tholuck, who was born at Breslaw, in 1799, laid the foundation of his literary eminence, as Dr. Smith informs us, in the Gymnasium, and at the University of that city. He, in very early life, distinguished himself as one of the most able Oriental scholars of the day. At one time he was a decided infidel, and even openly maintained the superiority of Mahommedanism to Christianity. At length, however, an entire change took place in his views, and it is supposed that the volume before us contains the record of his own experience, and the picture of the conferences of certain learned friends, during the period when his conversion was brought about. At this time De Wette, now "the too celebrated" Professor of Divinity in the Swiss University of Basle, was Professor of Doctrinal Theology in the University of Berlin, but on account of certain sentiments which he was then supposed to entertain, received a royal monition to leave the country. Tholuck, though only in his twenty-first year, was commanded to fill the chasm, by delivering Lectures in the Exegesis of the Old Testament. In 1826, he was appointed to succeed the venerable George Christian Knapp, in the University of Halle, where "he maintains his standing with growing honour and usefulness." These notices, which we have gathered from Dr. Smith's Preface, we feel pleasure in following up, by extracting his account of the circumstances which immediately led to the publication of "Guido and Julius."

"In 1822, Dr. De Wette published a work in two volumes, with the title, Theodore, or the Consecration of the Doubter or Sceptic; a work

which professes to give a picturesque history of the studies of a Lutheran clergyman." This book, we are farther informed, contained certain most erroneous doctrines, dressed in an eloquent and sentimental style. Dr. Tholuck, therefore, published the volume before us, which soon went through a number of editions on the continent, as it will undoubtedly do in this country, now that it appears in an admirable translation, and is so well calculated to delight the whole religious community. Its title was, in reference to De Wette's work, "The Doctrine of Sin and of the Propitiator, or the *True* Consecration of the Doubter." And to continue our extract unabridged, "Thus was conveyed the requisite antithesis to De Wette's watchword. The design of the one book was to instruct a sceptical student how to silence his reason and appease his conscience, even on the supposition of his being ordained to the pastoral office; and, with an hypocrisy for which we have no epithet of adequate abhorrence, to go through the Ordination Service of the Lutheran Church, which is full of the strongest and most tender expressions of evangelical piety; concealing under all a conscious rejection of positive revelation, a refined, philosophical, mystical Deism: such was De Wette's way of consecrating the doubter. Tholuck's, on the contrary, was to take the hand of the young inquirer, harassed to very anguish with doubts and difficulties concerning the foundation of all faith, all religion, all participation in the supreme good, all hope in a world to come: and to lead him in the path of a profound investigation on the part of the understanding, a constant searching into the moral state of the mind, and habitual prayer to the most Holy One;—the path of truth and peace."

The book is a small one, but it is a rich and original gem, which will shine amongst the choicest treasures of doctrinal and practical divinity.

Art. XIII.—*Sir Orfeo, and other Poems.* London: Th. Sotheran. 1836.

These poems, we suppose, are the production of a young man, who has bestowed a good deal of study upon our old English romances, and the records of chivalry. There is a considerable display of ease and vigour in his verses; and if this volume contain the first of his efforts, we predict favourably of the future disportings of his muse. The dedication to Samuel Rogers is an elegant and happily expressed compliment to that accomplished poet, and at once led us to augur well of the author's taste. The slender volume deserves to be read by all who delight in the effusions, or feel an interest in the success, of an adventurous fancy.

Art. XIV.—*A History of British Quadrupeds.* Part. V. By Thomas Bell, F.L.S, Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy at Guy's Hospital. Illustrated by a Wood-cut of each Species, and numerous Vignettes. London: John Van Voorst. 1836.

This Part contains an account of the Dog, and its varieties; and therefore all those persons who have seen any of the preceding portions of the work, or who know anything of Mr. Bell, may presume it is not the least but the most interesting part that he has yet published. The typography is equally beautiful, and the wood-cuts as highly finished and life-like as the former

ones, while the subject, from its very nature, engages a style and earnestness in its description, commensurate with its importance and winning character. We have with delight observed the success with which the author enlists the tender feelings of the reader—because he heartily cherishes them himself—on the side of the brute creation. Were every subject of these kingdoms possessed of this book, we venture to predict, that more would be accomplished in a short time by it in behalf of that creation, than all the Societies instituted for the prevention of cruelty to animals, will ever accomplish. We found our prediction on this principle—that it is by elevating the character, moral and intellectual of the lower orders—and this may be done, by refining their sentiments—that a practical and lasting renovation of their conduct, and a powerful check to their peculiar vices is to be established. Let any man read the present part of Mr. Bell's work, and then see, if he will immediately afterwards vent anything like wanton cruelty towards his affectionate and confiding dog. For those, who have not yet seen any portion of this History, we extract a passage, that they may form some idea of the excellence and the beauty of its descriptions.

After a singularly engaging and appropriate introduction, in which he recognises the triumph of human art and reason over the natural instincts of inferior animals, producing variations from their original habits, "according to the nature, or more properly the corporeal and mental peculiarities, of the animals themselves," but no where so remarkably as in the case of the dog—the friend and companion of man, while still his faithful, humble, and laborious servant—Mr. Bell proceeds to notice other general facts in the history of domesticated animals, but especially of the instance immediately under consideration. One of the most striking of these facts is, "that the qualities induced by domestication become more intimately interwoven with the character of the animal by successive transmission from parent to offspring." The author supports this general statement by many examples; but his description of "The Pointer," besides other valuable information, is one of the most illustrative. "There is not perhaps," says he, "a single instance which confirms in a more remarkable manner the opinion before advanced, that the acquired propensities of the different varieties of Dog are transmitted from parent to progeny, than is offered by this useful race. Requiring, as it must generally have done, a long and persevering education, to produce even a moderate approach to the excellence of the present breed of Pointers, these sagacious Dogs will now, almost without education—or in technical phraseology, with very little breaking—exhibit a strong tendency to the peculiarity of their race, and stand at game of every kind, and this even while they are yet puppies.

"The Pointer is probably originally a native of Spain; and the Spanish pointer was formerly well known as a stanch, strong, and useful, but heavy and lazy dog. The English breed, however, is now very much preferred: it is exceedingly beautiful, good-tempered, stanch, and patient of fatigue; and at the same time light and active in its appearance and habits. A stanch Pointer will not stand at the scent of a bird or hare, but if it be in company, he will instantly back, as it is termed, if he see another Dog point. The perfection to which this propensity to stand at a scent of game is brought, is one of the most striking examples of the docility of the Dog. Whether it be absolusely superadded to the original instinct of the animal,

or a mere modification of it, can scarcely perhaps be satisfactorily determined. I have heard my father, a man of close observation and an enthusiastic sportsman, offer the opinion that the stand of the Pointer and the crouching of the Setter, are but the natural start of surprise or interest, which all Dogs give when coming suddenly upon the scent or sight of their natural prey;—modified of course by cultivation, and by transmission through many generations, each, by education, improving upon the capabilities of the former. The fact, however, that a Pig has been trained to point game, may be supposed to militate in some measure against this position. The person who performed this curious feat was Toomer of the New Forest, who was celebrated in his day for the perfect manner in which he broke his Dogs."

ART. XV.—*Edinburgh Cabinet Library.* Vol. XXI. *Circumnavigation of the Globe.* Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1836.

THE writers who have been employed on the various portions that have already appeared of the "Edinburgh Cabinet Library," are persons who are thoroughly acquainted with the subjects they treat of, and not a few of them are known to be deeply versed in the higher branches of science. In this respect this series of books occupies a place superior to the generality of cheap works, which have of late years been compiled for the benefit of those whose time, finances, or acquirements, cannot overtake the voluminous and abstruse forms which these condensed and popularly constructed volumes present. In the instance before us, there is an ably digested abridgment of the voyages which have been most serviceable in the history of Maritime Discovery, in the Pacific Ocean, from Magellan to Cook. The life here given of the latter, the most eminent of navigators, will be particularly acceptable on account of the quantity of information which it contains that is novel, yet of unquestionable authenticity, having been obtained from family documents. The fac-simile of Cook's original observations of the transit of Venus in 1769, adds very considerably to the value of the volume, and the interest attached to the life of that celebrated man.

ART. XVI.—*Materials for Thinking, extracted from the Works of Ancient and Modern Authors.* By AN INVESTIGATOR. London: J. H. Starie. 1836.

IT is a trite saying, but it is at the same time one which contains a true idea, when it is asserted that a three-volumed book may be thin or trashy in substance, while a few pages may be full of the treasures of thought. For example, here is the Investigator with his sixpenny-worth, that contains such extracts as the following. "Man may be justly entitled the great destroyer and exterminator of life, without regard to time, place, or circumstance. By his power, the strongest are overcome; by his ingenuity the most subtle are circumvented, and their energies of body and mind made subservient to his necessities or pleasures. He is superior to the whole animal creation in the noblest attributes; but he enjoys one pre-eminence for which even the lowest have no cause to envy him. All the destructive animals fulfil their dire offices upon creatures belonging to other

kinds; when the lion leaps from his ambush, it is in the neck of the wild ox or the antelope that he buries his claws; when the wolves howl in unison, it is the deer they are pursuing; when the scream of the eagle sounds shrillest, then let the wild duck beware! Even the insatiably ferocious tiger keeps aloof from his brethren of blood. But when the drums roll, and the trumpets clang—when the banner-folds are shaken abroad upon the air, and the neigh of the charger re-echoes the deep notes of the bugle; then is man, with his boasted wisdom, preparing to spill the blood of his brother, to drive his desolating chariot over the faces of his kindred, spread havoc and despair before his path, and leave famine and pestilence to track his footsteps."

We might probably find, among Investigator's selections, equally rich or more striking passages; but the one presented is a fair specimen of these "Materials." In truth, the publication contains gems taken out of the most condensed and elevated monuments of human intelligence and sentiment. We cordially recommend the work, therefore, as an excellent treasury for the exercise of the heart and the head.

ART. XVII.—*Humility; A Tale.* By MRS. HOFLAND. London: Newman & Co. 1836.

MRS. HOFLAND has long pursued a method of instruction, which must have been greatly influential in giving a desirable turn to the sentiments and the conduct of the young. This extremely valuable result, we may be sure, has been effected by these unpretending publications, when the pure and touching nature of their contents are regarded in connexion with their immense popularity. We need only farther say, that "Humility" is in every respect worthy of the talented and well practised hand which wrote it, as also of the persons for whom the work has been composed. As a tale it is interesting and impressive in a high degree, really adding a precious contribution to juvenile literature, even while we admit, that this class of books already present a wonderful variety of talent and excellence.

ART. XVIII.—*Wanderings and Excursions in South Wales.* Parts I. and II. By THOMAS ROSCOE. London: Tilt. 1836.

THE volume, of which these parts form the beginning, is intended to be a companion to Mr. Roscoe's "North Wales." It is also, in a special manner, to include the scenery of the river Wye. But we need not say more in praise of these specimens, than that they promise to be in every respect worthy of their predecessors by the same hands. The talents of Mr. Roscoe, of Cox, Harding, Fielding, and others, are here as conspicuous as ever we have found them to be.

ART. XIX.—*An Examinction of the Report of the Joint Stock Bank Committee, &c. &c.* By. T. JOPLIN. London: Ridgway.

As we anticipated, the subject of Joint Stock Banks is forcing itself, every day, more closely upon the attention and study of the public, and

naturally calling, from those persons most conversant with its intricacy, their most matured opinions concerning our monetary system. The present pressure felt in the money market, the state of the national currency, and the theory of banking, accordingly occupy the author in the publication before us, who is already well known as being one of the ablest writers the country possesses, on these and kindred topics. His knowledge and talents, however, we are convinced, were never more clearly and usefully exerted than on this occasion; and from what we have heard, the "Examination" is attracting much notice. Without going into the particular views which Mr. Joplin maintains, our readers may rest assured that they are deserving of the most anxious and patient consideration at this period, which, in some respects, wears a critical aspect, in the nation's financial and monetary departments.

ART. XX.—*Guidone, a Dramatic Poem; and Solitude, a Poem.* By W. SMITH, Esq., of the Middle Temple. Second Edition. London: Saunders & Otley. 1836.

IT is not often that we find "Second Edition," in these days, enlarging the title-page of a book of poetry; but the presumption must be, in this matter-of-fact and unimaginative age, that when such an unusual announcement is made, there is merit of no ordinary kind in the work. And such is the fact in the present case. The time has been when this dramatic piece, and probably still more certainly, when Mr. Smith's "Solitude" would have secured so much popularity as to encourage him to tune his lyre on many occasions, and fill a volume that would have stood upon its own merits and lived to future times. But instead of this, he begs, in his preface, that the present efforts "may be considered—both for past and future—as the sum of his acknowledged and very humble attempts at poetical composition." This is to be regretted, as the specimen we extract will show taken from "Solitude," in which a fine philosophy is dressed in rich harmonious verse. In this Poem, the writer's aim is especially to give a representation of the variable feelings, and inconstant sentiments, of a merely meditative solitude. The vague and transient ecstasies of such a condition are expressed with all the morbid sensibility which seems appropriate and real. We quote three passages, from distinct portions of the poem, which, afford some idea of the *Solitaire's* fluctuations.

"Thought only, and for ever! Ceaseless thought!
O for repose of action! for the rest
Of passion-goaded toil—that like a sleep
Wraps in its rude oblivion! Give me life!—
Its hopes, its fears, its vanity, its lies—
Give me the ancient motley! Let me laugh,
And weep—brief laughter and brief tears—have friends,
Have foes—and love, and enmities! O wealth
And dearest opulence to me were one
Of thousand vagrant impulses that course
Momently through the bosom of a child!
For nothing moves. My thread of life stands still,

And the tired Fate forgets the sluggish wheel,
And drops her song. Becalmed, yet anchored not—
No breath of heaven of all the kinds that blow,
Visits my flagging canvass;—never mine
The busy stir, the project, and the prize.
* * * * * * *
" Oh there is rapture in the conscious calm!—
Tumultuous thrill of felt tranquillity.
I gaze the utmost summit of the cliff,
Lone in the azure—an eternal rest!
I hear the rushing waters at my feet
With giddy murmur—an eternal lapse!
It seems my soul embraces both, and feels
Poised with the mountain, with the wave afloat.
* * * * * * *
" Now I will forth into the crowded world,
And grasp its coarsest pleasures. Arm outstretched,
I'll pluck life's tempting fruitage as it hangs,
And lagging wisdom, halting far behind,
May tell of sweet and bitter consequence.
I will be free as nature is—my power
One with me will. I feel I could do all
The highest passion prompted. Throat to throat
I could contend in mortal enmity,
For any foolish toy—could drive the steel
Down the warm bosom of my foe, and yield
Mine to his equal rage. Like a dull peasant,
Left by some stranger with a casket closed,
Have I this precious bauble of my life
Borne up and down, as if the wealth within
Were none of mine to deal with as I pleased—
My burden, not my boon. Weak scruples hence!
Life is no gift so precious but the right
To use it as we will may follow too."

ART. XXI.—*Letter to William Clay, Esq., M.P. containing Strictures on his late Pamphlet, on the subject of Joint Stock Banks; with Remarks on his favourite Theories.* By VINDEX. London: Ridgway. 1836.

THIS is another able pamphlet on a most important and at this moment an engrossing subject. The writer assails Mr. Clay's favourite theories with great confidence and power. Vindex is, in fact, rather a rough customer. At present, however, and until the subject of Banking and our monetary system be more fully handled—for we think that there is still room for clearer and more abundant elucidation than has yet been bestowed on the subject—we shall refrain from attempting to lay before our readers what seems to us the soundest and simplest line to be followed in legislating regarding it. In the meanwhile we quote, from the "Letter" before us, a view of the state of the public mind on the question, and an invitation to discussion, in both of which we join. "Not a

few believe that the present alarm and distress in the money market has arisen from the discussions which have lately taken place on the subject, in and out of Parliament; that the conflicting views from day to day expressed, have tended to unsettle the public mind, and shake that confidence which is the first element of prosperity in a commercial country. Credit may be likened to a mirror which the slightest breath will cloud, or to female reputation which a wink or conjecture may sully. Fair and candid discussion must, however, in the end, disclose the truth; and now that the whispers of interest and jealousy have done their worst, it cannot be too much encouraged."

ART. XXII.—*Jenning's Landscape Annual; Spain, Biscay, and the Castiles.* London: Jennings & Co.

LIKE several of our contemporaries, we must bestow unqualified praise on the "Landscape Annual for 1837." It is certainly the best of Mr. Roscoe's volumes, that we have ever seen, and this is no slight commendation. It is by no means a frivolous, or merely meretricious book, calculated to please the eye and amuse the fancy for a few days, and be forgotten, but is full of intrinsic value. It appears that the author has gone over, *in propria persona*, the ground described, and been a witness of much that he chronicles. The scenery, the architecture, the arts, the history, the present state of Spain, are each in their due turn the themes discussed in this year's "Landscape Annual," and in a manner suited to a work of authority. Nor has Mr. Roberts shown himself to be an incompetent illustrator of its literary excellence. In truth, his pictures are possessed of great merit, and offer some of the best specimens of the present advanced condition of the fine arts in this country, any where to be found. The firmness and clearness of these engravings are such as to convince us, that they must have been produced after drawings that were as faithful as the subjects of them are picturesque. The elaborate pains taken with the whole, and every department in the work, in fact have been made the means of elevating and perfecting its character, without frittering its effect and interest away.

ART. XXIII.—*The History, Geography, and Statistics of the West Indies. Vol. I. Forming Vol. IV. of the British Colonial Library. Illustrated with Engravings and Maps.* By R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, Esq. F.S.S. London: Whittaker. 1836.

IT is unnecessary to say more of this "Library" than what is announced of it by the proprietors, viz. that each volume forms a complete work of itself—that it is issued periodically at intervals of not less than two months—and that it is expected the whole will be comprised in twelve volumes foolscap octavo. Mr. Martin's large work, the more valuable contents of which are ably compressed in the series of which the present volume forms a part, is too well known to require more than this notice of the fact that it is regularly published. There can be no question of the whole being extensively introduced into the superior schools, for which such an abridgment, upon such an important sphere of matter as the author treats of, is admirably adapted to be permanently useful.

ART. XXIV.—*Sketches in Belgium, German Switzerland, Savoy, and France, including Historical Notices and Statements relative to the existing Aspect of the Protestant Religion in those Countries.* By J. HOPPUS, M. A. Professor of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, and Logic, in the University of London. 2 vols. London: Saunders & Otley.

NOTHING short of original materials, or of a remarkably lively and forcible representation of what are old, can possibly confer upon sketches of the wearifully trodden and described countries named above, a title to publication. It does not appear to us, that Mr. Hoppus has in either of these respects established a strong claim to favour. It is but bare justice, however, to let him explain his own motives and expectations in thus coming before the public. "It occurred to him," he says, "that by adding some compendious historical notices connected with the several countries, he might render the publication, in some degree instructive to young people; and that by interspersing an ordinary subject with reference to that which of all others is the most momentous in its bearings on the welfare of nations and individuals—the state and progress of religion—his work might not be destitute of moral use." These views are modestly stated, but still we have not found that they are decidedly realized. It is no easy matter for a stranger, whose residence in foreign countries has been so brief as to prevent him from being able to judge profoundly and thoroughly of the operative influences of religious creeds or peculiar tenets, to escape committing great mistakes even in his interpretations of their superficialities. At the same time, a portion of the author's sketch of the character of German literature, especially of German theology, is corroborative of all our previously entertained opinions with regard to that country on these subjects, although we are not aware that the account might not have been just as correctly and discriminatively given by Mr. Hoppus before he visited the Continent as afterwards. We extract from this account a few sentences.

"The name, rationalist, or anti-supernaturalist, is applied, in Germany, in strictness to those who, while they profess to regard Christianity as a divine institution, and Jesus as the Messenger of Providence sent for the welfare of mankind, deny that there is any thing in the Scriptures which involves the supernatural or miraculous agency of God, and maintain that Christianity is merely designed to introduce, confirm, and diffuse in the world, a religion to which reason itself might attain." "Another class of divines receive the Old and New Testaments as a revelation from God, in a higher sense than the rationalists allow; admitting it may contain things above reason, and regarding it as a depository of divine knowledge, communicated in a mode different from the ordinary course of Providence. They do not, therefore, professedly deny the reality of the Scripture miracles; yet they distinguish between the original and the present evidences of Christianity, in a manner which deprives it of the solid basis on which it rests—historical testimony; for they maintain that whatever might be the effect of the miracles which attended Christianity, at the outset, the principal, if not the only proof of its divinity to us, is its internal evidence of truth and goodness." "Though divines of this class have differed in theory from the rationalists, properly so called, it is certain there have been

not a few among them, who have so far symbolised with the thorough-going rationalistic school, as practically to do away with the essential doctrines of the Christian faith. Amidst the class of speculations, theological as well as philosophical, that have inundated Germany, the shades and hues of unbelief have been multiform and various; and when the strictest rationalism has not been avowedly maintained, Christianity has often been employed as little more than a kind of veil to some system of human philosophy. Hence among this large class, many of whom have termed themselves rational-supernaturalists, and supernatural-rationalists, in distinction from the systematic rationalists, the neologistic innovations have prevailed to such a degree as to produce lamentable effects in lowering the general tone of Christianity."

It is gratifying, however, to find such attestations in behalf of the Holy Scriptures and real Christianity as the spirit of these observations breathes, coming from one who holds an eminent position in an English University; especially since some persons, whose zeal is greater than their wisdom, have long made it a practice to represent and malign the institution referred to, as having been founded for the purpose of promulgating scepticism, or at least, of withholding from Christianity the respect and the homage which it merits.

ART. XXV.—*The Forsaken; A Tale.* 2 vols. London: Whittaker. 1836.

"THE Forsaken" can alone properly claim kindred with a school where Minerva at one time superintended the press, and which, we thought, was defunct, never to be resuscitated. We have not, at any rate, discovered anything in the present attempt at restoration, that warrants us to desire its accomplishment. We have not, in short, seen anything in the production, that could have led a judicious person to advise its publication, whether beauty, originality, or powerful effect be considered, with respect either to plot or individual character. Whatever talent the performance indicates, has therefore, according to these remarks, been fruitlessly directed.

ART. XXVI.—*A Pedestrian Tour of Thirteen Hundred and Forty-seven Miles through Wales and England.* By PEDESTARS AND SIR CLAVILENO WOODEN-PEG, Knight of Snow-down. 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley. 1836.

WE believe there never was a bushel of chaff which did not contain some grains of corn; and we had thought that it was impossible for any one to write two volumes of goodly size, containing between seven and eight hundred pages, with a due proportion of lines on each, and not to have said something that was worthy of being read and remembered. But we have been undeceived as respects the latter instance; for here is a work of the dimensions and appearance now supposed, of unmitigated, and intolerable nonsense and rubbish. What could possess the author to fancy that he had a spark of wit in all his frame, must remain a mystery, we fear, so long as paper, pen, and ink are to be its vehicles. We declare that we were never more fatigued in the endeavour to do our duty by the public, than in wading through these handsomely got up but trashy volumes.

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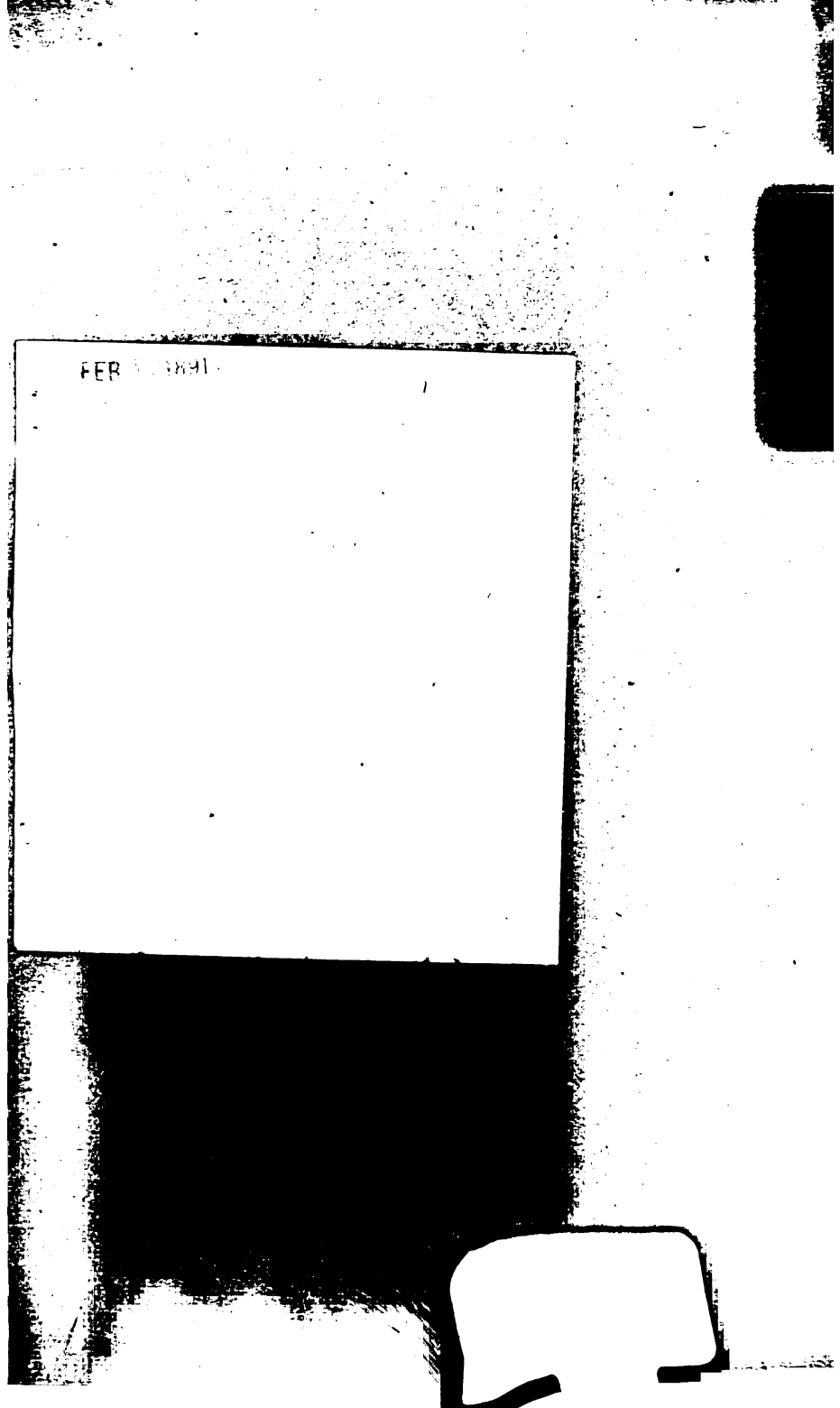
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